

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

1935 - 1942

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February 5, 1935

My dear Miss Strong:

Thank you very much for your letter. However, we are more hopeful than you are.

We enjoyed so much seeing and talking with you when you were here.

With all good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

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Miss Anna Louise Strong  
Care Miss Lillian D. Wald  
Westport  
Conn.

ack  
2/15/35

Many thanks  
but we are now  
hopeful than  
this

January 29, 1935

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

I have you to thank not only for the interesting two hours of a luncheon but also for being compelled to analyze, during my return journey, the deeper differences between two civilizations. You and the President asked more fundamental questions than I usually get; I felt that I did not quite give you what you wanted. May I add a bit?

The President's questions seemed to reduce to two practical problems; how the Soviets get money for all the popular demands, and how Stalin wields power. Your own questions dealt rather with ultimate social relations. How can diverse social groups be got to act jointly? Isn't the Bolshevik's problem of production simpler than ours of over-production?

Money, --I saw in a flash that of course it is the President's problem. But not in the USSR. I never had to pose that problem either personally or nationally in thirteen years. Time, not money, is the problem there. Personally, one's salary seems always more than the time one has to take to hunt things to buy. Nationally, the problem is to get schools, factories, tractors --quickly rather than cheaply.

I asked myself why? But of course your problem must be to get money from unwilling owners. Even the activities of the present administration unjustly termed socialist, become therefore government handouts which impoverish the state. Even when you speak of taking over public utilities, you think of running them at cost of a loss to benefit the "consumer", i.e. small business and property owners.

In the USSR the government budget <sup>income</sup> regularly runs above outgo, and even above scheduled plan, since they own both natural resources and means of production. Over-production there is not a worry; it is an increase in national income. So their "money" problem becomes; Which industries shall we run at a loss in order to establish them or to cut costs of basic necessities? Which shall we compel to pay for their plants out of three or four years income? On which shall we profiteer shamelessly in order to use the surplus for health, education and losses of needed industries?

A totally different problem. In deciding it, popular demands expressed through elections, letters to the press and popular pressures (such as drift from farms to industries and vice versa) are correlated with the logic of industrial production, as studied by economists and engineers. This correlation takes place through constant conferences, through the press and through elections. But it is a problem of time rather than of money. Speed depends on how much local initiative can be stirred.

Thus I have known peasant villages to vote nearly the whole surplus of a year's farming to building the "swellest school in the valley". They said: "The province gives us 200,000 rubles for a seven grade school, but we want ten grades, (which includes high school), so we'll put in another 200,000 from the harvest of our collective farm." This probably stunted them on clothes and shoes, and if they go too far in this, the Central authorities usually suspect that some local agitator is agitating unduly and that there will be a comeback from a discontented minority. Barring such comebacks, such local agitation is encouraged.

As for Stalin, --after leaving you I saw Troyanovsky, who is an old friend of my husband's. I asked him if he agreed with the picture of Stalin I gave you. He said: "I well remember Stalin from earliest days, --an unobtrusive youth sitting in conferences, saying little, listening much. Towards the end he would venture a mild suggestion and we began increasingly to see that we always took it. He summed up best the way to our joint purpose."

Stalin's authority is greatest among those who have known him longest; it has spread steadily to wider and wider circles. His chief power lies in his ability to analyze and explain the daily changing correlation between the logic of industrial development and the demands to be satisfied today. He has refused several chances to make himself the personal "god" of the people. I remember especially March 2, 1930, when his statement "Dizziness from Success" was acclaimed by the peasants, who seized him as personal champion against the mistakes of local Communists. Stalin checked this promptly, saying: "That statement was no personal announcement. The Central Committee does not permit personal announcements. It was a reconnaissance undertaken by the Central Committee".

So when the President asks whether people in these conferences don't feel that they "have to" agree with Stalin, the answer is both yes and no. Personal wire-pulling is not, I think, his characteristic, but the painstaking search for the adjustment of each bit of human material into a place where it can function, is. I have even been told by people in a position to know, that it was Stalin who tried to the last to "save Trotsky" against the rising ire of the Central Committee. I don't repeat this in America, not wishing to lose my reputation for sanity, but I can quite believe it myself....At least I saw that what threw Trotsky out was his own persistent drive towards uncertain conspiracies in foreign ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ revolutions against the rising demand of the masses for peace and construction. Stalin sensed this demand and organized it, and that threw Trotsky out. But I don't think Stalin wanted to waste good human material, --not even Trotsky.

Your own question how to get joint action and whether Russia's problem is not simpler than ours, I answer: Yes, much simpler. But not because production is simpler than stopping or reorienting production. How the Bolsheviks would love to have as their problem the organizing of the fine industries and skilled workers of this country instead of the backward, illiterate folk in the vast ruins of civil war with which they began...It is rather thrilling to think what could be done here, how much more swiftly and at how much less human cost.

Their problem is simpler because they have no fundamental clashes over ownership, but only clashes over which district or industry shall be developed first. How intriguingly different would be their problem in a country like ours. It would be: which of our steel mills, textile mills, mines etc. shall we run at full blast to produce all we need, and which can be reorganized for something else...This problem would be posed for discussion in meetings of workers and engineers in every mill of the country, and also through the press. Fraternal delegates between mills would be going back and forth and scientists would be working on new uses for old mills. Every meeting would face the question: Can our mill be shown to be the best equipped to continue production, or is there something else, --a hospital, school or what-not, into which it can be remodelled?...All the actual or possible production of the country would be yours to adapt, divert and use, unmodified by any claims of owners, but merely by advice from managers.



But I see your tragedy. The people trust you to use power for their benefit. And you want to do it. But you haven't power to use. Power resides in ownership of the means of production; the financiers have it, not you. But the people think you have it, and so, in spite of their great faith and your own sincerity, they will grow disillusioned....

Or rather,..you have really a sort of power. Such power as the people had, they gave you. But they themselves haven't all power to give. They have only the power of their hunger for life, which in moments of revolt, when it is clarified by analysis into a clear will and direction, may become the greatest power in the world. But the power of ownership over the means of life,-- that is the day by day power which works incessantly, buying brains, confusing governments, persistent. That power is in the hands of the big financiers, and neither you nor the people can get it, except by a bitterer struggle than anything they, or you, have intended yet.

I think the transfer of power from the hands of the few owners to the hands of joint ownership of our common means of life, might have come gradually in this country through the seizure of credit during the bank moratorium, when the financiers were scared and the people aroused. The power of credit, in state hands, daringly and intelligently and ruthlessly wielded, might have forced industry after industry into line with a public policy and broken such owners and industries as did not conform. Big financiers do it. Perhaps the people also could have done it through you. No other country has done it....Most other countries are seeing the big financiers use both the power of credit and state power now to compel lesser industries and beneath them the people, to their will.

That would have been a titanic, all but impossible struggle. It didn't occur. Now the struggle will be even more titanic, -and longer. The financiers will force you steadily to the right, and if you do not go, they will be ready, either through the ballot or by subsidizing veterans, to put in someone who will. Yet every time you yield, in the interests of peace, they will push you further. As they did the German Socialist governments, and MacDonald. They have to do it, for they also struggle to advance and survive. .. You still have the power of the hunger for life of great masses, but this power is only strong when it is clarified and organized for struggle; it always loses out in conference and debate...I think myself it is losing now, in this country and will until some new crisis like the moratorium, forces or permits a bitterer seizure of power.

With great admiration for you personally and utmost sympathy for the difficulties of your position,

*Jane Louise Strong*

*Very sincerely yours,*

January 18, 1937

*file*

My dear Miss Strong:

Mrs. Roosevelt would like very much to see you and hopes you can either lunch with her here at one o'clock on the 23rd, or have tea at five. However, it is doubtful if the President can see you as he is so extremely busy.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider  
Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Miss Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Wolcott  
4 West 31st Street  
New York, New York

DD

after tomorrow sure.... You know, I think most of us have sized them up wrong. Franco's not going to rule these people. The only question is whether he will start a world war with his German-Italian intervention...

Anyway I should love to see you.. I have Saturday free, also next Wednesday and the following Saturday.. I believe those are your best days.

Very truly yours,

*Anna Louise Strong*

Hotel Wolcott  
4 West 31st  
New York.

I also attended the Constitutional Congress in Moscow. Thrilling, but not near as thrilling as Spain.

*Let. 27 d. Franco in Spain  
Anna Louise Strong*



ON BOARD  
CUNARD WHITE STAR  
"AQUITANIA"

Jan 13, 1936

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

I'm just back from the Madrid front-line trenches, which I left on New year's day. I've been in Barcelona, Valencia, Albacete, Alicante, besides a couple of villages. I visited the front lines on three sectors of Madrid and talked with folks from leading officials to front line fighters...

I think you would be interested. I think the president would also. I saw dugouts made into school-rooms, where soldier boys who never had a chance to go to school were now learning reading, writing, arithmetic while rifle shots pattered on the sandbags. I saw men who had recently learned to read putting up a hand-lettered sign, "Comrades, the ~~liberty~~ liberty of the world lies in Madrid! ~~xxxx~~ Forward to Victory!"

For me the chief memory is not ~~the~~ the horror, but the amazing confident joy. That was what was unexpected and incredible. Men who feel themselves at the prow of man's progress against fascism, and are absolutely certain of victory. Today possible, tomorrow probable, day

Mrs  
Shaw

Mrs A. Rice was very glad  
to see you & hopes if  
you see her, cannot visit  
her at 1 pm on Wed. or  
have tea at J. Daulton  
very much of her own  
see her as he is in the way



*Miss Wheeler*

February 1, 1937

*100*

My dear Miss Strong:

I have your letter of January 30 and I shall be glad to see you when you come to Baltimore. I have two teas on the 8th, but if you can come in about 5:30 I will be free and have a chance to talk to you. I will be away Saturday and Sunday.

Very sincerely yours,

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Miss Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Wolcott  
4 West 31  
NYC

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BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Jan 30, 1937

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

I am writing from that charming Chinese guest-room of Mr. Filene's which you used when in Boston; Mr. Filene sends greetings as he starts west to lecture on the Constitution.

It is possible that this note will cross a letter from you telling me when I can see you. If not, this is to say that I shall be lecturing at the Baltimore Community Forum on Sunday afternoon the 7th, and in Washington the same evening.

I could therefore come to see you any time Saturday or Monday--or of course Sunday at any time when I am not lecturing. I have perhaps a slight preference for Monday, since some people at the Town Hall want to give me a tea on Saturday. But this preference is too slight to count; if any news from you suggesting Saturday is waiting at Hotel Wolcott, I shall come on that day. If either of these times is inconvenient, I could stay over a day; my next definite date is Feb 10, in New York, in the evening.

Very truly yours,

Anne Louise Strong

February 24, 1937

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My dear Mrs. Strong:

5 Thank you so much for your letter  
and for the one which you translated for me.  
I was so interested in what you say and hope  
very much to see you when you return to the  
East.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Wolcott  
5th Ave. and 31st St.  
NYC

DD

CABLE ADDRESS WOLCOTTING

TELEPHONE LACKAWANNA 4-7800



*Received*  
24 1937

## HOTEL WOLCOTT

FIFTH AVENUE AND THIRTY FIRST STREET

NEW YORK

February *FEB* 13 1937

J. SEIFER  
RESIDENT MANAGER

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

You asked me what the reaction of the ordinary people in the USSR was to the trial. My husband has sent me some clippings from the newspapers of letters which poured in from the people. I think you will be interested in one very striking one which I have translated for you.

I am inclined to think that Stalin made a bad mistake in ever letting Trotsky out of the Soviet Union. The man is really incredibly dangerous, the more so because he has a very remarkable degree of magnetism which sweeps whole crowds of people off their feet. I know because I once gave him English lessons and I am still ashamed to remember how completely he could sway my convictions if he took the trouble. In Spain a small band of his followers have done more to undermine the cooperation of the progressive elements than one hundred times that number of anarchists. Mexico will be very sorry to have him and I sincerely hope we will never let him in here.

I am feeling terribly depressed today at the news of Malaga--at the thought of hundreds of people who jump into the bay to avoid the incoming fascists.

THE BEST HOME AWAY FROM HOME IS A GOOD HOTEL



CABLE ADDRESS WOLCOTTING

TELEPHONE LACKAWANNA, 4-7800



J. SEIFER  
RESIDENT MANAGER

## HOTEL WOLCOTT

FIFTH AVENUE AND THIRTY FIRST STREET  
NEW YORK

The "Time's" report said that the troops which actually took the city were "20,000 Italians, several thousands Germans, some Moors and the Foreign Legion." It is such a raw invasion by first-class military powers against a decent people.

I hope to see you when I return from the west sometime toward the end of April.

Yours,

*Anne Louise Strong*

P.S. I met this morning an important group from the Society of Friends, some of whom saw you the day I did. I am glad they are going in for relief of children in Spain in a big way.

THE BEST HOME AWAY FROM HOME IS A GOOD HOTEL

### A MOTHER'S WORD

(Letter about the Trotskyite trials by a factory worker who was also delegate to the Constitutional Congress of the RSFSR).

I came here to the trial almost direct from the Kremlin, from the hall of the Seventeenth Extraordinary Congress of Soviets of the RSFSR. And representatives from all ends of our immeasurable land, one after another, came upon the tribunal. They all spoke of the joyous happy life which the party in the soviet power has given to all of us--to the worker and the collective farmer, to the Russian and the Buriat-Mongel, to the swineherd and the member of the Academy of Science. and

But here see on the benches of the accused, these wretches, these spies, these murderers, without even blushing, told how they had wished to snatch from us everything that we won in fourteen years of the Revolution; how they traded in our happiness, our freedom; how they sold us to our worst enemies.

I have passed my 55th year. For thirty-six years I have worked in production. Before the Revolution I never knew a single bright day. At 4:30 before dawn, I went to the factory and until late in the evening, wore out my health there for a pittance to make the bosses rich.

I bore twelve children but raised only three. The rest perished from hunger, from poor care, from the lack of medical aid. Capitalism devoured nine of my children. Can I forget that, can I forgive that? Can I ever forget how my one-year old Peterkin sick with pneumonia was burning up, but the foreman refused to let me go to him and even cursed me for asking. I came back from the factory after work and found only the cold body of my son.

After the Revolution I was left a widow with three children who remained. My husband died in the civil war in the ranks of the Red Army near Orel. The Soviet Power helped me raise my children. Now we all live together, I, my three daughters of whom two are married, their husbands and five grand-children. You wouldn't believe how well we live, how merry and joyous. The grand-children, everyone of them, are strong and healthy, fresh and fat as little cucumbers. My soul rejoices just to look at them.

Until the Revolution I never paid any attention to my health. I thought, I'll get sick and die--all the better--but now with the slightest trouble, I rush right off to the clinic. I want to live like anything.

And all of this, my happy old age and the happy childhood of my grand-children these traitors want to take away,--these beasts of the anti-Soviet Trotsky center. But they don't get away with it! Our Government, our Stalin are surrounded by a strong wall of Party and non-Party Bolsheviks which no one will ever be able to break.

I am a woman, I am a mother, I am a grandmother, but my hand wouldn't tremble for a second if they gave me the task of executing the merciless sentence which must be imposed upon all of them by the Supreme Court.

(Signed) Maria Michialovna Vasilieva  
Worker of the factory,  
"Red Triangle"

Delegate to the Extraordinary  
Session 17th All-Russian Con-  
gress of Soviets.

TELEGRAM

*file*  
*1/21/37*

The White House  
Washington

Swumc 50NL

Denver, Colo., Feb. 24, 1937

MRS. F. D. ROOSEVELT.

I beg you look into Reynolds Neutrality Bill now under consideration which em informed contains provision illegalizing even collection fund for Spanish people. If such provision passes prepare see me and thousands loyal Americans jailed for flagrantly, energetically resisting infamous law which violates both American liberties and all humaniterian decency.

Anne Louise Strong.

655am



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5/12/37

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Miss Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Wolcott  
New York, N. Y.

Replying your wire address communication Mrs. M. T. Scheider  
20 East Eleventh Street

Mollie Somerville

TELEGRAM

The White House  
Washington

EPO. RA. 9-

New York, N. Y., May 12, 1937

Secretary to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Might I know Mrs. Roosevelt's address New York Wire via Postal  
Telegraph Collect.

Anna Louise Strong Hotel Wolcott.

May 18, 1937

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My dear Mrs. Strong:

I talked to my husband and he said he would speak to Cary Grayson. He agrees with you that something should be done. However, the difficulty is that Franco will not give any guarantee and, therefore, there is no security that anything will be developed for any one. The other side, of course, will give it. Franco does not need food because he is in the country districts and, therefore, knows that the chances are greater if he keeps food away from the other side.

I have understood that the work which had been done under the International Red Cross had some criticism leveled at it. I do not believe there was any criticism about our Red Cross. However, my husband said he thought you should come down and see Cary Grayson as soon as he has talked to him. I will let you know when I think that advisable.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Wolcott  
4 West 31st Street  
NYC

A:SS

*File*

NEW YORK  
N. Y.

May 20, 1937

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

While you have been looking into the possibility of the Red Cross, I have been canvassing other possibilities. I found that many of the persons whom I met were very doubtful about the possibility of the Red Cross doing anything and felt that we should not wait for them. Some of them, in fact--and this includes not only left-wing people but some rather prominent social workers--were even critical of the methods which the Red Cross has occasionally used. One person stated that the Red Cross has already been giving a small amount of money for Spanish relief and claims to have spent it in about equal proportions on both sides of the battle front, but that no record exists in Loyalist territory of any allocations made by the Red Cross, and that their activities there consisted chiefly in using their funds and prestige to demand and finance the evacuation of adult political opponents of the Spanish Government.

I do not myself know the truth of these statements but they are sufficiently common so that whatever organization undertakes relief in Spain will have to safeguard itself, not only by past reputation, but by a clear statement of what it means by "impartiality" and just how its funds are being used.

I hope very much that you will succeed in getting the Red Cross to take the initiative in forming a national Committee. I am merely mentioning the above comments to show you that the Red Cross alone will not convince everybody and that representatives of all kinds of groups now working for Spain should be included in any National Committee.

In the meantime I have tried to formulate the principles which, it seems to me, might ensure an impartial distribution. I agree with the Friends' Service in thinking that impartial does not mean an arithmetical division of funds between the two sides, but an investigation of need by outside observers



NEW YORK  
N. Y.

May 20, 1937

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, #2

and an allocation of funds where they can be used to meet the need. In any case, we are going ahead at the National Conference of Social Work and shall try to start something there.

Mr. Roy Howard is getting in touch with Newton D. Baker; my brother, Tracy Strong, is well acquainted with Charles P. Taft and will communicate with him.

The Society of Friends is energetically taking part in trying to form the Joint Committee and I think we shall be able to form some kind of organization which will be ready either to go ahead alone or to be absorbed in anything wider which the Red Cross may start.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which will probably go out Wednesday evening unless it is modified by something I hear from you.

Very truly yours,

*Anna Louise Strong*

Hotel Wolcott  
4 West 31st Street  
New York City

Proposed letter to the one hundred signers of the Guernica protest.

May 20, 1937

Dear Mr. ....

Together with one hundred other leading Americans, you recently joined in protesting the bombing of Guernica. Because of the wide response to this protest and the limited field yet reached by existing agencies for Spanish relief, it is proposed to form a "Joint Committee for Spanish Children", and to institute a drive for a million dollar fund to save children's lives in Spain, irrespective of politics or battle-lines.

The plan proposed is as follows:

(1) An executive committee of distinguished leaders of American social work, to which all existing American agencies doing relief of children in any part of Spain are invited to send official representatives.

(2) Immediate drive for funds through strong and widely representative local committees. It is expected to bring over for a lecture tour the Duchess of Athol, Chairman of the Joint Committee for Spanish Relief in England, who has recently visited Spain.

(3) Investigation of needs to proceed simultaneously with the raising of funds through:

The American Friends' Service, already represented in Spain on both sides of the battle-line;  
The World's Committee of the Y.M.C.A., which plans to send investigators;  
Investigators chosen at the National Conference of Social Work, Indianapolis, by the Social Workers' Committee on Spain;  
Representatives of any other agency affiliated with the Joint Committee, or direct representatives of the Joint Committee.

(4) As rapidly as funds are raised and as the investigation proceeds, help will be given to children in any part of Spain in accordance with need and irrespective of the side of the battle-front, provided the local government authorities admit the representatives of the Committee for purposes of supervision and medical inspection, and accept joint responsibility for creating the conditions which make relief possible, i.e. transport, accounting, impartiality in selecting recipients.

You will wish, we think, to become a charter member of this committee and to take part in forming its program.

Formation of the Committee and the final formulation of program will take place Wednesday afternoon, May 26th, during the National Conference of Social Work, Indianapolis. If you are unable to be present, please send your acceptance of membership, your ideas as to Chairman, members of executive committee, etc., and a statement of what you can do in your community.

Very truly yours,

Proposed signers: (Those checked # have agreed already).

New ton D. Baker  
Charles P. Taft  
Samuel Untermeyer  
Charles Fenwick  
Roy Howard  
Major-General William N. Haskell  
Frank P. Walsh  
#Rev. Dr. Rufus M. Jones (American Friends'  
Service)  
#Bishop Francis J. McConnell (North American  
Committee)  
#Lillian D. Wald  
#Tracy Strong (World Committee, Y.M.C.A.)  
#Harold H. Lund (Social Workers Committee)  
#Dean Manning  
Edith Abbott, (President National Conference).

June 1, 1937

*file*

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Mr. Davis' secretary in New York tells me that he has not received any letter from you regarding the Spanish children so I judge the letter went to his Washington office. He is going down to Washington this afternoon and will be there for several days. Mr. Pickett is also going to be in Washington on Thursday and will make a special effort to see both him and Mr. Grayson.

Mr. Wardwell was approached in a preliminary way--perhaps unfortunately, by Mr. Walter Pettit, a personal friend of his. He said that doctor's orders forbid him to take on any extra work at present. I do not regard this as necessarily a final refusal if Mr. Norman Davis approaches him and points out the importance to him. If, however, he should find acceptance impossible for reasons of health, would Mr. Norman Davis himself be able to assume the Chairmanship?

In any case, Mr. Pickett will be telephoning you on Thursday. If you can only help us get the right person to head this organization, then I am sure the whole matter will go ahead. I run into wide interest everywhere. In fact the interest is so great that there is danger of the movement starting in ~~one~~ half dozen places at once with considerable resulting confusion, unless we can rapidly get the right Chairman who can launch it with the proper backing.

Very truly yours,

*Anna Louise Strong*

Hotel Wolcott  
4 West 31st Street  
New York City

*Tell her that  
Norman Davis  
EB*



June 1, 1937

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Dear Dr. Strong:

I appreciate your kindness in writing as you did in your letter of May 29, and I will give your letter to the President.

With many thanks and all good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Wolcott  
New York

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Thank you  
very much  
E.R.

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FOTI  
Jice

May 29, 1937

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

A chance sight of Dorothy Thompson's column on my way to New York reminds me that persons who disagree with the President do not hesitate to say so rather vociferously, while those who agree often take his tremendously fine acts for granted without telling him so.

I therefore want to tell you how during the past few months I have been ever more and more impressed by the tremendous historic significance of what the President is doing. The climax came when I read that wages and hours bill. I thought: "Is it really going to be possible for America to make these deep, necessary transitions without the terrible cost in blood which Europe is paying,---simply step by step through the intelligent daring of a Chief Executive"?

Two years ago when I first met you I wrote you a contrary opinion. The words I have forgotten, but they implied that the President would come to an impasse and would not be able to go further, and that America also would repeat the bloody class struggles of Europe. You replied: "We are more optimistic".....Well, now, I retract my words...There will of course be struggle--there is bloody struggle even today in parts of America. But these things are relative; they may be worsened by stupidity in high places, or greatly lessened by intelligence. As long as we have good-will combined with brains and organization, as we have today at the head of our government, there is no "impasse".

I do not over-estimate what any one person can do. My talk with Cary Grayson showed me poignantly how a man of good will, even in a high place, may be limited by hangovers of old organization, by other departments, by the men through whom or with whom he must work....Such difficulties, I assume, hamper even the President...Yet in spite of these difficulties, I am beginning to believe---and I am not a person who believes such things easily,---that you and he will go down in American history as a twin force which, more than any other persons, helped America through those difficult transitions which all nations are making in our generation--with a minimum of pain. By a most amazing combination of intelligence with daring, of good-will with shrewd knowledge of personalities and organization.

This letter is merely to express that appreciation which, most of the time, one forgets to express...I shall let you know later the results of your word to Norman Davis, and shall keep you in touch---till I sail June 9 on the Queen Mary---with the progress of the work,

Yours, Anna Louise Strong

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May 20, 1937

STRONG

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I should be very glad, of course, to see Mr. Grayson but I think it should not be I alone. There should also be a prominent representative from the Society of Friends and someone from the Indianapolis Conference of Social Work. A movement is definitely under way to form an American "Joint Committee for Spanish Children". I enclose a preliminary copy of a letter which probably in a somewhat modified form will go out soon to one hundred leading people. You will see by the list of signers that we have secured the leading people in the field, at least, of social work.

I shall be in Indianapolis all next week at the Conference of Social Work. There is to be a mass meeting on Spain on Wednesday afternoon. Many of the persons whom we hope to interest will also be there, among them Charles P. Taft, who has been suggested by several persons as a possible national Chairman of such a drive. If we could get Mr. Taft and Governor Murphy in leading positions--a prominent Catholic Democrat and a prominent Protestant Republican, and join with them the Society of Friends as a chief distributing agent, we could certainly claim to be non-partisan. We hope at least that a preliminary organizing committee will get under way in Indianapolis.

If you will note the fourth paragraph of the enclosed letter, you will see that our conception of non-partisanship differs rather noticeably from that which Mr. Grayson seems



May 20, 1937

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, #2

to have expressed to you. As Clarence Pickett has said to me, our non-partisanship is not "arithmetical" and does not in the least imply that money should be divided with rigid equality between two contestants. This, it seems to me, is really taking part in a war by holding the scales between belligerents. I agree with the Quakers that we should rather ignore the war, go where the need exists and where we are allowed to come in to relieve that need.

Of course there is need in Franco's territory, bitter need, if only among the tens of thousands of families whose bread-winners he has slain. If he is unwilling to admit neutral observers of his actions, we can't help that. But to let his refusal of relief dictate the policy of the United States in territory outside his control is just too much. It is letting an unrecognized belligerent dictate our policy toward a recognized government. It is saying that because Franco is uninterested in healing the suffering in his own district, we must let children starve where they can be reached.

If Mr. Grayson is able to receive us, I would suggest that on our way back from Indianapolis, perhaps on Saturday, the 29th, or Monday, the 31st, it might be possible for a delegation of interested persons to visit him. If you can arrange such an appointment and let me know at the Hotel Claypool in Indianapolis (preferably by Wednesday morning but if this is impossible, anytime) I should be very glad to arrange for representatives of various groups to go to Washington to see him.



May 20, 1937

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, #3

Whether or not this is done I think it would be advisable for the Red Cross to give out some clear publicity as to its activities. There are all sorts of rumors around. The latest statement that I heard was that the activities by the Red Cross, as stated by themselves, had "consisted only in assisting Americans in Spain". I haven't the faintest idea of what they are doing and when I am asked, I have no answer to give.

I am planning to sail on the Aquitania June 2nd and hope that I can go to Spain for two weeks' time to report on the condition of children and the facilities for taking care of them either for the Social Workers' Committee on Spain which already exists under the Chairmanship of Miss Wald, or for some wider committee which may be organized. I understand that it is rather difficult to get permission from the State Department for this. Perhaps my interview with Mr. Grayson might help in that direction, in which case I should be doubly glad to see him.

Very truly yours,

*Anna Louise Strong*

Enc.

*copy*

May 20, 1937

Hon. Frank Murphy  
Governor of Michigan  
Lansing, Michigan

Dear Governor Murphy:

In common with other Americans you have been affected with a rising sense of horror over the merciless slaughter of non-combatants today in Spain. But no news dispatches tell the full story of human suffering. Every day cabled appeals for thousands of homeless children reach our office; of children fleeing before the rain of death-dealing bombs and seeking where they may find shelter and food. It is estimated that over two hundred thousand children are either homeless refugees or in homes subjected to daily bombing. All existing agencies for relief in Spain are utterly inadequate to meet this need.

It is therefore proposed to form an American "JOINT COMMITTEE FOR SPANISH CHILDREN" and to institute a drive for a million dollar fund to save children's lives in Spain, irrespective of politics or battle-lines. The plan proposed comprises:

(1) An Executive Committee of distinguished leaders of American life which would establish cooperative relations with existing organizations carrying on relief for Spanish children.

(2) Immediate drive for funds through strong and widely representative local committees. It is expected to bring over for a lecture tour the Duchess of Atholl, Chairman of the Joint Committee for Spanish Relief in England, who has recently visited Spain.

(3) Simultaneously with the raising of funds, investigation of needs to proceed through:

- The American Friends' Service, already represented in Spain on both sides of the battle-line;
- Consultants chosen by the Social Workers' Committee on Spain;
- Representatives of any other agency affiliated with the American Joint Committee, or direct representatives of the Joint Committee.

May 20, 1937

Hon. Frank Murphy, #2

(4) As rapidly as funds are raised and as the investigation proceeds, help will be given to children in any part of Spain in accordance with need and irrespective of the side of the battle-front, provided the local government authorities admit the representatives of the Committee for purposes of supervision and medical inspection, and accept joint responsibility for creating the conditions which make relief possible, i.e., transport, accounting, impartiality in selecting recipients.

Formation of the Committee and the preliminary formulation of its program will begin Wednesday afternoon, May 26th, during the National Conference of Social Work, Indianapolis. If you are unable to be present, please send your acceptance of membership, your ideas as to Chairman, members of Executive Committee, etc., and a statement of what you can do in your community, to my New York office.

The following persons have joined me in sending this call:

Rufus M. Jones, Chairman American  
Friends' Service,  
Dean H. Taft Manning, Bryn Mawr College,  
John R. Mott  
Felix M. Warburg  
Lillian D. Wald  
John A. Kingsbury  
Homer Folks.

Very truly yours,

Bishop Francis J. McCormell

Special Delivery <sup>Special</sup>  
Delivery



Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D. C.



322

7

Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Wolcott  
4 West 31st Street  
New York City



100

June 1, 1937

My dear Dr. Strong:

Mrs. Roosevelt has checked on  
the enclosed list the names of people  
whom she knows. They would be very good.

Very sincerely yours,

Malvina T. Scheider  
Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Wolcott  
New York  
N.Y.

0

*File*

*STRONG*

*100*

June 4, 1937

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Mr. Pickett saw Norman Davis yesterday in Washington. Mr. Davis is willing to try to secure Mr. Wardwell when he returns to New York but this will take another week.

Meantime, the idea of a JOINT COMMITTEE FOR SPANISH CHILDREN has been arousing so much interest and so many questions regarding the relation of existing organizations to this coming organization, that last evening, Miss Irene Lewisohn invited a dozen people from different organizations to meet in her apartment to learn what had been going on. Those present were Miss Van Kleeck, chairman of the steering committee appointed at Indianapolis to canvass the question; Harold Lund, chairman of the Social Workers Committee on Spain; William Dodd, Jr., secretary of the American Guardians for Basque Children; and Miss Sondergard, head of the Theatre Committee on Spain, and others.

All of us had found that the idea needs only to be mentioned to arouse sympathetic response. Miss Sondergard had already heard from people in Hollywood who wanted to raise money for children in Spain. Mr. Dodd said that the Duchess of Atholl had been ready to sail June 9th for a two weeks' tour in the United States but had abandoned the idea since no sufficiently broad committee now exists to arrange for her tour. We learned that there is already, besides the Social Workers Committee, a Theatre Committee, a Writers Committee, a Psychologists Committee, and a group of four Summer Camps near New York which have challenged each other to raise money for Spanish children from their summer guests.

Since persons like yourself, Cary Grayson and Norman Davis are moving towards securing the right persons for the larger citizens' committee, we did not wish to take any premature action. We felt that the building up of this broader committee might take some time as no worth-while chairman will agree without some consideration. An attempt to rush the wider

June 4, 1937

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt -2-

organization might even have bad results. However, it was felt that there should be some center to which the growing interest might communicate its ideas and plans and receive information from others who are interested. None of the existing organizations are quite qualified to do this as each of them has some partial approach or limited field.

It was therefore decided that any interested groups like the Friends Service, the Theatre Committee, the American Guardians, etc., would be asked to appoint representatives (similar to the small steering committee appointed at Indianapolis by the Social Workers, which consists of Miss Van Kleeck, Walter Pettit and Harry Greenstein), and that all such groups should form a loose and informal "Joint Conference for Spanish Children", meeting once a week to pool information and having an office at 130 East 22nd Street, Room 600. There is no chairman for this Conference but Mr. Lund will act as correlating secretary.

The group will help promote the securing of important people in all walks of life for the larger JOINT COMMITTEE. Meantime it will answer questions about the existing channels for Spanish relief. All of them regard the Friends Service as the key organization, both for preliminary investigation and perhaps for eventual supervision of distribution in Spain. When the larger committee is set up, this Conference will either go out of existence or will act under the other more important committee in rallying various professional groups behind the whole movement.

Meantime a Philadelphia committee got under way yesterday and suggested Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Fels for the national organization. Mrs. Keyes, whom I met at your luncheon, suggested Dorothy Canfield Fischer and also Mrs. Meloney as possible members of the National Committee.

We shall all of us hope to advise with you either directly or through Mr. Pickett, regarding



June 4, 1937

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt -3-

any important steps that are taken in trying to build the larger JOINT COMMITTEE.

I hope I may be hearing from you regarding the possibility of your helping us secure some of the persons you checked.

Very truly yours,

*Anna Louise Strong*

Hotel Wolcott  
4 West 31st Street  
New York City

P S Mrs Meloney has agreed to go on the committee. Her desire that I should keep on actively working for it was so definite that I am considering postponing my trip to Spain until the committee is actually set up and has an office working....My reason for leaving at this time had been that I felt I myself was so obviously a "left-wing" person that as soon as any other group could be got to go ahead, I should drop out of the picture, lest I narrow the appeal of the Joint Committee itself...I felt that organization had now reached a point ~~xxx~~ where it can go ahead and that perhaps my best use would be writing stuff from Spain, and keeping out of the actual work of organizing...Mrs. Meloney thought otherwise; she wanted me working to help get the thing going..If you have any reaction on this matter I shall take your judgment. I should like the answer soon as my ticket is scheduled for Wednesday.

100

June 14, 1937

Dear Dr. Strong:

Many thanks for your letter of June 8.

I will be glad to hear from you and will let  
you know what happens here.

Good luck to you.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Wolcott  
NYC

JUN 9-1937

June 8, 1937

*Franklin D. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D.C.*

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am sailing tomorrow for Spain to gather material for the Committee--both for Mr. Pickett, the "Survey" magazine and Mrs. Meloney's "This Week". Everyone here is now awaiting the arrival of Mr. Davis and the indications are that things will go ahead very well as soon as he arrives. I imagine that within a few weeks, definite information about Spanish children will be needed and I hold myself in readiness to return when asked for.

You will probably hear from William E. Dodd, Jr., who is at present connected with the "American Guardians"--the group which has been trying to bring over Basque children. I have had a talk with him and he agrees with me that the Administration has doubts about transporting children and feels it would be best for all of us to work together on a big drive for funds to be spent in Spain and France. He is now in the process of trying to win over his committee which should give us some very good people, including Caroline O'Day. I think Mr. Dodd himself will be very useful somewhere on the Executive staff.

If I should find anything in Spain which I think will be of interest to you personally, I shall write to Mrs. Scheider's address in New York.

It has been a very great joy to have become somewhat more acquainted with you and I shall hope to see you when I return. If you should feel at any time that I am needed in connection with the work of the Committee, you have only to speak to Mr. Pickett.

Very truly yours,

*Aimee Louise Strong*

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

*file*

June 2, 1937

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you ever so much for checking the names whom you thought useful for the Executive Committee. I have furnished the list to Mr. Pickett who will be in Washington Thursday and who will probably phone you about the question as to who can best approach these people. If it is not too much trouble you may yourself be able to help with some of them. Of course when once we get the Chairman this will be simpler.

I have also asked him to discuss with you whether it might not be permissible now to stimulate a little publicity in the form of editorials in the Times, Scripps-Howard papers and the Post calling for a nation-wide assistance to Spanish children. Even though the Committee is not yet organized, there is material at hand on which such an editorial can be based.

There is, first of all, your own comment in "My Day" on May 29th; next, the signing of an appeal by seven or eight key people including Mr. John R. Mott, Mr. Homer Folks, Dr. Rufus H. Jones, Mr. Felix M. Warburg and Miss Lillian D. Wald; and third, the Resolution passed by three thousand social workers at Indianapolis calling for a Joint Committee for Spanish Children.

I should not want to do anything prematurely but it seems to me that some publicity of this kind would be in order even now. Of course if a Chairman is secured within a day or two, it would be best to launch the publicity simultaneously; otherwise the publicity might help us secure a Chairman. If I do not hear from Mr. Pickett that you advise delay, I shall consider doing something of this kind toward the end of the week or the beginning of next.

Thank you very much for the interest you have continually shown in the Spanish children. Unless you have some objections, I am going to see to it that one of the children's homes thus



June 2, 1937

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt -2-

founded is named the "Eleanor" Home. I should like to give it the whole name but I feel this would be considered a "political act".

Very truly yours,

*Anna Louise Strong*

P.S. I am seeing Mrs. Meloney Friday afternoon and expect to ask her to be on the Committee and to help us secure one or two prominent Catholics. I hope you approve of this.

February 24, 1938

Dear Miss Strong:

I showed your letter to the President and he says there is nothing, he feels, that can be done at the present time. The feeling in this country is decidedly pro-Chinese, but not to the extent of going to war with Japan, and as long as we are not at war with Japan, there is nothing to be done but to remain neutral.

The mere fact that not having invoked the neutrality act has been helpful to China has only been possible because of the undeclared war.

You are a most wonderful person in the way you get to all the trouble spots in the world. Unofficially, you can go, of course, and say whatever you choose, whereas those of us who are officials have not that privilege.

Very sincerely yours,

SO

Miss Anna Louise Strong  
508 Garfield Street  
Seattle, Washington

FEB 18 1938

Hongkong  
Feb 6, 1938

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I have just been spending six weeks in the interior of China, going as far northwest as the Eighth Route Army, as far south as Canton, and seeing much of the Hankow officials, lunching with Dr. H H Kung, with T V Soong, meeting Madame Chiang Kai-shek, seeing much of Mrs Sun Yat-sen, who is an old friend of mine and talking with all kinds of folks in cities, villages and on railroads.

Incidentally I have met many of our own diplomatic and consular representatives, and have found them more helpful than I have known them anywhere else in the world. I don't know whether you know that an American military observer has been travelling north Shansi with the Eighth Route Army over a district twice the size of Belgium, crossing the so-called Japanese-held railroads almost at will into territory allegedly surrounded by the invaders but still governed by, and paying taxes to, the Chinese authorities. He will have an amazing story to report.

There are things both good and bad to report about the situation. But perhaps the most surprising thing is this: that from Marshal Yen Hsi-shan in the far northwest and from the Tsing-tao chief of police in the far northeast, and yesterday at lunch with the mayor of Canton, I heard the same thing in almost identical words: "We must thank the Japanese for compelling China to organize, to become unified, to become modern, to become patriotic. The Japanese invasion has unified our country in a way that could not have happened in twenty years of our own effort. The Japanese airplanes bombing peaceful civilians have made Chinese peasants patriotic in a way we never knew before. They turn out by the hundred thousand to build new highways, because they are 'anti-Japanese highways'. We will come out of this war victorious with a modernized country".

All of them agree that the struggle will be a very long one, even if mitigated by periods of relative peace. Chiang Kai-shek said in a private talk to his generals: "America had to fight nine years for freedom; we can fight nine years too". They---or perhaps I should not say "they", but "the more far-seeing of the leaders"---are taking this very seriously and preparing for a very long pull. For a time long enough to build railroads and roads across the hinterland of China, to Burma, to Indo-China, to Russia.

They are rather perturbed that America is so indifferent for they think they are fighting America's war as well as their own. Most Americans out here also think so. For if Japan could dominate China, and give this vast population of very excellent warriors but with very unwarlike souls,-- give them a Japanese-led psychology and lead them into battle, then we would really have to tremble for the future of the white race and of all our ideals of civilization. China organized by herself, does not threaten our civilization, but rather enriches it; but a China organized by Japan would pull down the world. They know it, and they think America ought to know it.

From out here it looks as if America is the key to all possible international assistance to China, and that it is America who blocks the help that other nations are ready to give. It looks also as if the President understands very well the situation, and showed in his Chicago speech the way and will to help, but as if action is held back by our isolationists, even by our well-intentioned pacifists, who do not see that world peace--and even American peace--can only be collectively secured.

If I am right in this, and if you wish to have more interest aroused in China, I want to put myself at your disposal in any way I can. I reach Vancouver Feb. 26, and proceed to Seattle, (address 508 Garfield St) where I start my lecture trip. This I shall be doing anyway, but there may be things more important than just my usual gatherings. Some people out here said: "You ought to speak to the Senate; it's sometimes done"...I didn't know it was ever done by outsiders; is it?...Is there any way in which I can be




used by the big Red Cross drive?

If there is anything of this kind that you wish before I myself reach America, I am writing my lecture manager, Mildred Smith, Little Bldg, Boston, that anything you suggest is to be done. She will of course have a whole series of lecture dates already made, of which I at present know nothing except that they begin on the coast and take me east sometime in March. But either between these lectures or after they are over, my time is available either by lecture or writing for any of the campaigns that are arousing America to help China, first place being given to anything you recommend,

Very truly yours,

*Anna Louise Strong*



100

June 27, 1938

My dear Miss Strong:

Mrs. Roosevelt has asked me to acknowledge your letter of June 16 and to tell you that she is giving it to the President.

Very sincerely yours,

Administrative Officer  
Social Correspondence

Miss Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Wilcott  
New York  
N.Y.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

21

June 29, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MRS. ROOSEVELT

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

June 16, 1938

Molly Somerville  
Acting Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Dear Miss Somerville:

Please thank Mrs. Roosevelt for her message. I notice, both by the press and by your signature, that Mrs. Schneider is ill. I hope very much that she will soon recover.

Mrs. Roosevelt might be interested to know that I wrote about the idea of large-scale American investment in China to Julean Arnold, our commercial attache in China, who is now on vacation in California. He told me that Mr. Pierson, president of the Export-Import Bank, was deeply interested in the idea, so I wrote also to Mr. Pierson. He replied that before this "war" began a program had already been approved for long-term credits to China, for internal development, but that the "war" has upset this program.

I also heard from a friend that General Motors had applied for RFC backing for several million dollars worth (I think it was thirty million) of autos, rails, and all kinds of equipment that they wished to sell to China. The request was refused, but in a rather tentative manner, with the implication that American public opinion had not yet reached the stage to support such obvious assistance to the Chinese government in its war.

It seems clear, then, that the desire to assist exists, together with a large amount of information regarding the possibilities for development and investment. Probably some reorientation of these possibilities, to center them on the far western provinces, reached through Indo-China, would be necessary. What is mainly needed, however, seems to be the correct political formula which would emphasize friendly assistance to China's "reconstruction" and "peaceful industrial development" in such a way as not to arouse pacifist attack. I am sure that the President, with his genius for phrasing, and Norman Davis, with his interest in large-scale relief, will be able to find the formula.

Yours very truly,

*Anna Louise Strong*

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6/27*

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hand-drawn*



July 8, 1938

HW

Dear Dr. Strong:

I was interested to know that you had been invited to write on the subject of financing China's industrial development, and I know that you would write a fine article. However, as far as the financing of China goes, this Government has no legal authority to do it.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Wolcott  
NYC

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 5, 1938.

MEMORANDUM FOR  
MRS. ROOSEVELT

Will you tell the lady that  
so far as the financing of China  
goes, the Government has no legal  
authority to do it?

F. D. R.

*Send a letter to the lady re: bookend*

*FR*

JUN 27 1938

New York City  
4 West 21 Street  
Hotel Walcott  
June 25, 1938

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Some time ago your secretary wrote me that you had shown to your husband the letter which I sent you regarding large-scale financing of China's industrial development. She also said that you had been quite interested in the letter.

A similar personal letter by myself to Mr. Waldo, head of McClure Syndicate, brought an immediate request for an article. I was at first very much pleased at the thought of getting publicity for the idea in this manner, but I was moved to discretion by his concluding words, "Probably Secretary Hull will find various reasons why it can't be done, but I might be able to get Glenn Frank or Herbert Hoover interested."

This showed me that Mr. Waldo saw possibilities of using the material as an attack, yet I did not see how this could be done. But the person whom I next consulted for material about the whole project -- Mr. Jaffe, who was just over in China -- also suggested that I should not write the article since he was consulting with Mr. Hornbeck and other officials of the State Department and the administration, and he thought that publicity "at the wrong time" might injure.

My own feeling had been that publicity about a good idea is always good, and that, since the administration is definitely in advance of much of American public opinion on all foreign affairs, it might even be a help if I could break down a little of the isolationism in all those Western press to which the McClure Syndicate goes. But I realize that I am better at journalism than at politics and so I have delayed to think the matter over. I don't suppose that you would care to give me any guidance in this matter but if you would care to do so, I can assure you it would be followed.

L & P

What should I say

EN

Very truly yours,

Anna Louise Strong  
Anna Louise Strong

February 2, 1939

100

My dear Mrs. Strong:

I talked to the President and he says both money and wheat are being sent to France for the refugees.

I shall be most interested to hear what your observations are as you go about the country.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Wolcott  
5th Avenue and 31st Street  
New York, New York

T:DD



12-237 JKA  
New York  
January 28, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

On thinking over our conversation about Spanish relief I very definitely agree with you that the wheat so far donated through the Red Cross, and in part paid for---as to processing--by donations of private persons, should go into Spain itself where the need is greatest. The French, as you said, won't let people actually starve who have once reached France. The donations of private individuals were made for people in Spain, and that fact should be respected.

But isn't it possible, for those who have actually reached France, to do something of a different type altogether. Direct government gift of wheat, of the type we would give to Chile or to any natural calamity....Not as a gift to Spain, since that is controversial, but as an assistance to a sister nation France, who should not have to bear the whole burden...An immediate offer to France to bear the "wheat" part of whatever burden of refugees she assumes could hardly be made good grounds for attack; at the same time it would satisfy a large public who want to feel that we are helping. It would also strengthen France to go further than she otherwise would. It would be a natural follow-up of what was done about the air-planes, for instance, letting France feel that she is not left alone in the world, but that what can be done peacefully in a humanitarian way, will be done to share a joint burden.

Thank you for a most interesting and helpful conversation. I shall certainly keep you informed of anything I see that would interest you. ..In fact, if in any way whatever I can be of help in strengthening the New Deal forces between now and 1940, either by adding information or by writing or otherwise, I am ready to give any time or energy needed...For I consider these two years in America decisive for the future, not only of America, but of the world...the President's place in history is not only in one country; all countries affect each other today. No country more than America; perhaps none as much

Yours,

Tell her the  
Anne Louise  
Lending money  
from the Red Cross

100  
February 20, 1939

My dear Miss Strong:

Mrs. Roosevelt and her secretary are away and in their absence I have been asked to acknowledge their mail.

I shall bring your letter to Mrs. Roosevelt's attention as soon as possible.

Very sincerely yours,

Administrative Officer  
Social Correspondence

Miss Anna Louise Strong  
Hull House  
So. Halsted St.  
Chicago, Ill.

k

NOTE the ghastliness of this  
thing that we have brought  
about..Note also that 300  
French Deputies, half the  
Chamber, have signed a manifesto  
AGAINST recognizing Franco.  
Don't let US do it; DON'T.

A L S

*Mower in Chicago Daily News*  
2 \*\*

**War's End Up to Franco;  
Peace Assured if He Drops  
Plan to Kill Off Loyalists**

EDGAR ANSEL MOW  
DIO

mier Juan N



PRESIDENT  
WILLIAM H. HOLLY  
SECRETARY  
MEDA Z. STEELE  
TREASURER  
HELEN ROSENFELD  
DEAN  
CURTIS W. REESE

ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE  
700 OAKWOOD BOULEVARD  
CHICAGO

next address Hull House,  
S Halsted St.  
Chicago.  
in Feb 23 - 24

TELEPHONES  
OFFICE  
DREXEL 6600  
DREXEL 6601  
RESIDENTS  
KENWOOD 10160  
DEAN'S RESIDENCE  
ATLANTIC 0131

February 27, 1939

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

Impression picked up around the country so far :

There are great masses of people--probably millions, judging by my samples---who are worried about what is happening to the New Deal. They are for it, sometimes passionately, sometimes passively. But they are not organized for it, and they are being put on the defensive by the well organized attacks from the anti New Dealers. The latter have the machine in most places; no New Deal machine is being built. You also noticed this at the last election; you raised the question "Can Democracy work"?

It can, but it won't work by itself. It isn't enough for the President to give an occasional speech by radio or even an occasional tour. Their love and respect for him is great, but that isn't enough to carry the business. ~~mixix~~ They are put in retreat by the very aggressive attacks of the enemy. Millions are willing to do their bit for the New Deal---a vote or a small act--- but they need leadership. Not only on a national scale but in the localities. There must be centers, many of them, to mobilize and organize the people. Otherwise you will lose the Democratic Party, and the Republicans will put up some pseudo-liberal, and the old ~~confusion~~ confusion will return.

The Reactionaries are organized. Each person has his part assigned. Coughlin does his job and Dies does his and Walter Lippmann does his...why aren't we organized, consciously and with functions assigned...Some of the things I mention below are done anyway, but are they done consciously and as part of an organized drive?

Murphy should be used to expose before the people, week after week, the crookedness of the major enemies, the big capitalists. Investigate the Associated Farmers, a fascist terrorist organization. etc. etc.

Hopkins should be used to split the forces of Wall Street and big ~~business~~ business by building up Latin American business in the spirit of the Lima conference.

Ambassadors abroad, those who are New Dealers, should build up support for the President's foreign policy, which is NOT the foreign policy usually carried through by the State Department. Our airplane sales to France probably prevented Mussolini from getting too obstreperous; that was fine. But a foreigner told

PRESIDENT  
WILLIAM H. HOLLY  
SECRETARY  
MEDA Z. STEELE  
TREASURER  
HELEN ROSENFELD  
DEAN  
CURTIS W. REESE

ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE  
700 OAKWOOD BOULEVARD  
CHICAGO

TELEPHONES  
OFFICE  
DREXEL 6600  
DREXEL 6601  
RESIDENTS'  
KENWOOD 10180  
DEAN'S RESIDENCE  
ATLANTIC 0131

me---I don't know whether it is true or not---that Bullitt was the "main support of Bonnet" in the crisis, because of Bullitt's anti-Soviet feelings, which are known to be intense. That's very bad, if true...When we give things like planes, we should get something for it. Not merely strengthen Bonnet and Chamberlain, if we do.

These are just examples. All this isn't enough. We need a New Deal "Farley." Say a New Deal Club\$ or a Modern Democracy Club\$, in Washington and all over the country...Build up radio personalities that steadily beat Coughlin; the President can't demean himself by doing this, but somebody should..Build up columnists or cultivate and win over columnists. Have as many centers of propaganda of all varieties as the Reactionaries have.

Item One. A friend told me: "The New Deal saved my father's neck. But he doesn't know it. It was never explained to him, so he hates the New Deal. He's a fish man on the Coast; the New Deal bought at cost price his surplus herring. But all he sees is that "if Roosevelt hadn't interfered with private business, he might have sold that herring catch at profit, instead of at cost. Why isn't this explained to him? By continuous propaganda of all kinds."

Item Two. At Vassar College I found a newly organized Conservative Club. They get their program from the State Republican Party, but they call themselves "Conservative Club" because they "hope to get also a good many Democrats"...Well, why aren't we starting New Deal Clubs. If Farley objects that all this should be done by the Democratic Party, tell him that "we hope to get a good many of the Republicans won over in this manner". But the main job of such clubs should be to insure that the Democratic Party itself goes New Deal easily with a bang at the next convention. Not just as a result of costly political trades.

Item three..."If Wall Street gets into power at the next election they'll never permit another election", said a friend. That has stuck in my mind. It may be true. If we get reaction now, it won't be just the usual rythmn of democratic government. The people will only vote for reaction if they are confused by the "machine" and by having no "machine" of their own. Then when they get Hoovervilles, they'll react by wanting a bigger, better New Deal...Can you see Wall Street letting them vote it in again? Under the conditions of world war that will be prevailing? I can't.

So that's serious. Something has to be done about it, for if America fails, the world goes down to blackness. You are the people to do it, more than anyone anywhere,

*Anna Louise Strong*

March 20, 1939

My dear Mrs. Strong:

I was very much interested in the conclusions which you have arrived at during your trip. They sound very sensible to me, and I have given your letter to the president to read.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Anna Louise Strong  
c/o Mrs. Charles Niederhauser  
Creek Drive  
Menlo Park  
Calif.

DD



*Thank her. This has the  
sounds very interesting to me  
3.20.39*

*ER  
Lucky to get to  
had*

Seattle, Wash  
March 8

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

The rest of my trip has clarified and emphasized the conclusions already sent you, namely:

- 1) Reactionaries by various pressures and by their utter arrogance, have succeeded in putting the New Deal forces on the defensive. Many people actually feel apologetic about supporting the President, which is amazing, since a majority support him.
- 2) Numberless persons are drifting under this pressure into a position first of doubt and then of vague opposition. Yet most of these same persons, given a little encouragement, are glad to snap back into enthusiastic support.
- 3) They need leadership of all kinds: the President on the radio, other New Dealers built up as radio speakers, local political organization etc. etc. We still have a majority, but it is unorganized, and in that condition it won't be a majority for ever.
- 4) It is a big mistake to try to "appease the aggressor" by giving political jobs to reactionary democrats, at least in the West. They merely sabotage the New Deal and make people wonder if there is really any difference from the Old Deal. The state of Washington, where Martin controls the legislature, and gives a worse deal to labor than the Republicans in Oregon (the Governor, not the initiative) is disheartening people here and causing a backslide from all political action.
- 5) The New Deal must go forward aggressively or it will slide back. If it slides back, it will be catastrophic. Some people already discount this and think it would be well to let the reactionaries burn their fingers for four years. This defeatism is in my opinion suicidal; if Wall Street gets control again, under the present world war conditions, they will never let the people express themselves again. Already talk of disfranchising people on relief is widespread. We would move straight into fascism.

I enclose a memorandum prepared for me by an energetic New Dealer in Minnesota, who expresses the Farmer Labor Party view. -- I myself am thinking of staying awhile in this country to do a book on what the New Deal has done for the West ... I have suggested to Mr. Boettiger a series of articles on that theme, but I am not sure whether his advertisers will stand for my name on it... A series on How the West has Changed in the Twenty Years of my Absence.



You may be interested to know that the Seattle Councilman with whom I dined last evening, Hugh DeLacy, named one of his infant twins after you. You and Mr Roosevelt are enthusiastically loved by the people who are fighting for progress.

Yours,

*Anna Louise Strong*

care Mrs Charles Niederhauser  
Creek Drive  
Monlo Park, Calif.

P S I remember now that it was Louis Bromfield who told me that Bullitt is "too much on the side of Bonnet". Many people fear a gentlemen's coup d'etat into fascism, with possibly Bonnet leading it, and Chamberlain helping. Who then sets our planes?

Copy

## MINNESOTA SITUATION

### 1) Propaganda Deluxe

There is not a single public champion of the New Deal in Minnesota. The press, with insignificant exceptions, is hostile. Morale is collapsing.

(Regular news broadcasts are needed immediately. Inside dope, humorous, accurate. Build a nationwide fan audience.)

### 2) New Deal Sabotage

The heads of the various Federal agencies are either lukewarm, hostile, or actively plotting against the New Deal. Suspect Farley plot, situation widespread in Midwest, Active New Dealers actually starved out.

(Attempt to buy off opposition fatal mistake. Replace with active New Deal missionaries.)

### 3) Belly Issues

The President held the ranks with belly and pocket-book issues, began to lose them with abstractions about the Supreme Court and Reorganization.

(Build public support on issues people FEEL. The rest will follow.)

### 4) Rebellion at Stagnation

People are tired of the same-today-and-tomorrow-forever aspect of WPA etc. In November they expressed decided preference for the chance of advancement on a job to continued stagnation.

(We go on or we go back. We have already established the concepts of:

No one shall starve.

The right to organize.

Underconsumption due to lack of purchasing power.

Next would seem to be some aspect of the concept Cooperation

W R Sassaman  
701 River Road  
Minneapolis Minn.

April 13, 1939

100

Dear Mrs. Strong:

I came back with the same feeling about California that you evidently have. Unfortunately, the LaFollette Committee has not been given money to finish its investigation, and without holding final hearings it cannot document the proof it has in such a way as to avoid prosecution. Therefore, your suggestion cannot be carried out although we all know it is vitally important. The only reason the Dies Committee got its money is that they had so much publicity the Congressmen heard from their constituents about withholding money from them.

I hope you will stay in this country as I think you will probably get a great deal that is worthwhile.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Anna Louise Strong  
664 Creek Drive  
Menlo Park, Calif.

T:DD

Dear Mrs Boettiger,  
This note is really for your mother; read it yourself  
if you like, A.L.S. Best wishes for you and the baby!

664 Creek Drive  
Menlo Park, Calif.  
April 5, 1939

APR 10 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

The New Deal is going to be smashed across the country before the next election unless the Associated Farmers in California are thoroughly exposed...By "exposed" I mean public hearings by the LaFollette Committee, followed by criminal prosecutions by the Department of Justice.. Nothing less will serve but something spectacular enough to force its way into the press and radio in a state where nine-tenths of the rural newspapers do not dare even print the findings of ~~xxxxx~~ government committees, as a general rule.

People have been jailed here for circulating news about the Wagner Act. I enclose one of the circulars; it is "subversive literature" in rural California for which men are beaten up and jailed. This was last year; Olson is trying to give the people some of their American rights again. So is the Federal Farm Security Administration; their camps are a ray of light---a little bit of America in the blackest fascism I have ever seen.

But they can't do it alone. The Olson administration is going to be sabotaged and smashed out of existence unless the federal government helps them with the biggest guns of publicity available...Members of the LaFollette Committee have said that they have evidence of criminal tie-ups involving the biggest business organizations of the State, and the whole Merriam administration in conspiracies which resulted in many cold-blooded murders. They have said it is much bigger than Harlan, Kentucky...

When the President was out here, all the migratory labor camps were burned off the landscape where he was to pass; newspaper men were threatened with 60 days in jail if they didn't get out of the way with their information. John Steinbeck---who has just issued with Harcourt Brace a tremendous novel "Grapes of Wrath" which I beg of you to read---was invited to drive around with the President one day and show him things; this was cancelled as soon as MacIntyre found out that the President was going to see certain unsavory facts. Steinbeck told me: "That's all I know; I don't know whether MacIntyre is sabotaging the President, or somebody is sabotaging MacIntyre".

An official of the F.R.A. planning to start a farm



labor camp in Imperial Valley, was informed by the sheriff down there: "If you come here, we have a nice rape case waiting for you, with victim and witnesses all ready". This thing goes on openly, yet it is never allowed to reach the general public. The Associated Farmers even convinces the small farmers that the New Deal is responsible for some of their own decrees.

The Associated Farmers is spreading rapidly into other states, as far east as Minnesota. Unless it is exposed, it will have a complete fascist control of the western states by the next election. For it is getting memberships now among bonafide farmers, who are either terrorized or ignorant of what it is all about.

People here don't think that a Department of Justice prosecution will be enough unless it is preceded by aggressive public hearings, forcing the news into the open. That will smash the thing: more or less at least. It will at least give a fighting chance to democracy.

I shall be around here for another week or so. Then I must make up my mind whether to stay longer in America or go back to Moscow. I am inclined to stay here, if I can get any outlet for the things I want to dig up. I want to do articles and then a book on America Rediscovered. What the New Deal has offered to the people---a chance to preserve their American democracy. How they must fight to preserve and extend it. Or else!

If you think at any time of any way to use me in this, let me know. Otherwise I'll keep on getting a few facts and trying to make use of them, until my literary agent tells me to go back to Moscow,

Yours,

*Laura Louise Strong*

P S Thank you for your letter and for showing my last one to the President. This State, however, really seems to me a great emergency; it will be either the spearhead of New Deal victory in 1940, or the center of New Deal collapse.

Men have been jailed for having this "subversive" leaflet in their possession. It was issued by the farm laborers themselves

## **ATTENTION!**

### **MIGRATORY FARMERS AND FARM WORKERS!**

Section 7 of the National Labor Act Reads as follows:

"Employees—workers—shall have the right to self organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection."

In plain language, you have the right to join any labor union you desire, and to bargain with your boss for better hours, better wages and living conditions.

If you are a stranger in the State, you must protect yourself, and at the same time make a better living possible for your family and the many thousands of farm workers, by refusing to accept wages below the standard in effect in the community in which you find temporary employment. As a stranger, you may be taken advantage of and offered low wages by labor contractors and others. In desperation and in the face of hunger you may be tempted to work for a pittance. Once you do so you will find it almost impossible to get a living wage on the farms of this State. **RAISE your standard of living. Never LOWER it. If you must live in a farm labor camp, DEMAND that it be clean and sanitary. The LAW will back you up.**

As an American Citizen you have equal rights with those who live in houses in the towns and cities. Your tent or your trailer is your home. Freely discuss your living and working conditions with your fellow workers, and bargain collectively with your employer in efforts to better those conditions. The Law guarantees you that right.

Be A good citizen. OBEY the law. USE the law to help you to be a healthy and happy citizen—an AMERICAN citizen!

Educational Bulletin No. 3

D. F. 68 ,

"D.F" means

"functional democracy", turned backward. A spontaneous secret organization.

June 9, 1939

Dear Dr. Strong:

Many thanks for your letter of June 1, which I read with great interest. On your travels during the summer be sure to see the farmers who have obtained electricity through the T.V.A. It is an interesting story.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
664 Creek Drive  
Menlo Park  
Calif.

August 19, 1939

My dear Mrs. Strong:

Thank you so much for your letter.  
It is most helpful and I will show it to the  
President.

I would like very much to meet your  
husband and see the Soviet Pavilion. However,  
rather than have dinner there with you, I would  
much prefer that you dine elsewhere with me!

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Anna Louise Strong  
c/o Henrietta Herz  
119 East 39th Street  
NYC

DD



*Thanks so much  
for the helpful & warm  
information to  
be had about  
the husband &  
the children  
I hope they  
will be  
with me!*

August 14, 1939

*Ed. S.  
8-19-39*

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

A few additional notes. My husband is coming over from Moscow to be at the Soviet Pavilion. I hope I may have the chance to present him to you. Incidentally, have you seen the pavilion; it is really worth while. Would you consider having dinner there as our guests some time towards the end of the month. Or would that be bad policy?

Word from Minneapolis indicates that ~~the~~ all is not lost..It depends on the last act, the FBI-Grand Jury, which may either save everything or mar it irretrievably. I have given details to Mr. Carmody, so you need do nothing about it..Briefly one hopes that the investigation will exonerate the "legitimate" labor groups, AFL, CIO and Workers Alliance, and fix Murphy's charge of racketeering firmly on the Dunne brothers in a way to discredit them with labor, to rehabilitate "honest organized labor" in the eyes of the farmers, and thus restore the progressive alliance...There is enough proof to do this; the Lafollette Committee has most of it..They have, it seems, even murdered with impunity. Business men of St Paul paid them a "ransom" of \$100,000 for keeping out of their city. etc. etc..There is, of course, danger that the whole hearing will be handled just the wrong way, for the Dunes have always had protection when they needed it, either from the liquor ring or the Republican machine. But Carmody should be able to take this up properly; and Benjamin of the Workers' Alliance has told it all to Hunter.

I've thought much about "you can't strike against the government". It needs clarification before the President's trip. To me it was a rather awkward way of stating an obvious truth, that the government's relief policy cannot be determined by its beneficiaries..But I think 1) you can strike against particular sub-departments of the administration, as has been done many times without criminal intent or charges. 2) You can protest against Acts of Congress, by a demonstration to show the extent of popular feeling. But 3) to call a strike and to refuse work to others as pressure to change the laws of Congress is revolutionary pressure designed to affect laws otherwise than by popular vote, and is justified only if the machinery of democracy has broken down.... This formula rationalizes it to me in a way which I can explain to trade unionists..But I'm not at all sure it is the President's idea... I do know that his statement has confused organized labor considerably,

Give my regards to Miss Thompson,

*L  
Anna Louise Strong*

P.S I am across river in upper New York not very far from you, but shall be going back to the city Monday. Meantime mail is forwarded from Henrietta Herz, 119 East 39th New York City

August 14, 1939

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

So many ideas result from my stimulating visit with you that I fear you will lack patience to read them all. So first let me say how splendidly the President's press talks and message to the Young Democrats put the Tories on the defensive and snatched from recent defeats, if not victory, at least commanding heights for the next battle.

Next, let me add that my cross-country trip convinces me that two thirds of the people are behind the President, at least to the extent of wanting him rather than any one else they know. But he has no organization. The organization is Farley's, which is not the same thing. Compact Republicans face split Democrats, not organized for the New Deal. That is the fatal weakness which might throw the people into reaction. How shall it be met?

1) Third Term Boom. It is natural and correct that you--and he--shrink from a third term campaign. But it would be suicidal for him to discourage the third term boom till the final minute--if then. This popular boom is the force that can give the Democratic Convention into his hands, enable him to take possession of the organization and name his own successor.

Personally I hope that he will be his own successor; nothing else will satisfy the people so well. A farm mother of eleven near TVA bursts out spontaneously to me; "Do you think he will run again; I hope he will". Farmers, workers, hitch-hikers across country spoke similarly. Burke's mention of the third term idea on the Los Angeles radio got more phone calls and letters than anything else he ever said. The Minneapolis WPA strikers cheered the third term more than anything else at their first meeting; (Later they didn't, but that's another story). I need not tell you how widespread the demand is. It is no reflection on democracy--rather the reverse--that people should wish to keep the services of a man of integrity with such unique political intuition. BUT if you want to avoid a third term, the only way you can do it without catastrophe is to let the third term boom get so strong that it gives the President absolute control of the Convention, to name a successor for whom he can campaign as for himself.

2) "Middle of the Road" and Organization on the left Senator Pepper's tactic was bad when he attacked "middle-of-the-roaders". The President's was excellent when he spoke of "radicals" in a friendly way which dissociated himself from them, and of "liberals" as including the great majority and himself. This brings behind him both radicals and middle-of-the-roaders, which is the coalition we need. Reactionary tactics is to link the President with extremists and show Garner as champion of normalcy. It must be beaten by showing the President as championing the American tradition --life, liberty, pursuit of happiness for all classes--against a brutal reaction which threatens starvation and civil war to the people for the sake of their own dictatorship of industry.

The President's position in this respect would be strengthened if there were a strong, growing organization to the left of him, criticizing him for not going far enough. I spoke to you about the need of "an attack on the New Deal by its friends." Vast numbers of people are dissatisfied by its inadequacies and the corruptness of its administration in the states. They seek, and will find, a voice. Republicans won in 1938 by giving them a voice which channelized their vague discontents in the direction of reactionary fascism.

But their natural voice should be a New Deal organization to the left of Roosevelt, attacking sabotage and corruption, demanding that the New Deal move faster, faster...Getting the benefit which comes with the technique of attack, but stopping short of a split with the President.

Nucleus for such organization exists in people like Schwellenbach, Guyer, organizations like the Washington Commonwealth Federation etc. They will not be strong enough to control the Convention; hence their chief function should be not merely to "get behind the President", but to build up demands more radical than his, and threaten organizational split to the point where they scare the conservatives into accepting Roosevelt's more "moderate demands". This is their honest attitude, which they stifle prematurely in the interests of unity and the fear of disloyalty. It should be intimated to them that when they hail the President as complete expression of their dreams they force him into the position either of leader-on-the-left, or else make him keep his middle-of-the-road position by going further right, both courses that are catastrophic.

The President is exactly where he ought to be for the bulk of the American people in this year of our Lord 1940. He certainly does not go as far as I would like to, and possibly not quite as far as you would like. But he goes as far left as the American people would stand for; and they couldn't stand anything further right without economic disaster, as will be seen when the public spending stops. The President needn't go to the left and he needn't go to the right. He must dig in where he is, and fight...But friends of his should be given encouragement to build strong organizational pressure from the left, which he can then reconcile with the middle-of-the-roaders.

3) Explaining the New Deal. More people are for Roosevelt than for the New Deal. This is the reason for the third term boom, and Negrin to the contrary, the fact must be used and not thrown away. People trust Roosevelt as a human being, but they don't quite know what this damn New Deal is. Its friends never explained it fully; its foes mis-explain it, and corrupt it.

Thus miners in Butte tell me that Anaconda cut their weekly wages just before the last election "because of the Wages and Hours Bill". A Butte mother of three children sees them hungry because her husband was thrown off his WPA job by a Farley-Wheeler appointee for having too energetically campaigned for Roosevelt's New Deal, exemplified by O'Connell. Ten farm tenants in Freeborn County, Minn. are given farms averaging \$9000 each and feel eternally grateful to the board of Republican donors! A South Dakota farmer tells me; "Nobody but Republicans can get on WPA in South Dakota". Same goes for Minnesota "After Stassen. In Flint, Michigan, Vice-President Mott of General Motors collects (via the Mott Foundation) all the credit for adult education and recreation done by 100 WPA teachers. Etc.etc. etc..Everybody makes capital on the New Deal except the New Dealers; if they do, it is "playing politics"..Moreover, to many people, New Deal means merely WPA handouts. The Wagner Act, the corn loans, the bank insurance are taken as disconnected Acts of God unrelated to any program, and still more unrelated to any need of their votes for its continuance.

Publicity both colossal and intimate is needed. Intimate in every county, colossal on a national scale. Get the Motion Picture Democratic Committee to make several films for you, donating the talent. One film is not enough. There are great epics in this country beginning with the 1932--33 chaos, Hoovervilles etc. Show the new national parks unrolling in beauty, the new national wealth in super-highways, schools, etc. etc America is the only country which had the daring to use idle labor for increasing the national wealth. Show one fourth the orchards saved in Santa Clara Valley, North Dakota rescued from starvation... the face of the land replanned for human need.



And don't forget that not only more abundant life has been given, but more abundant liberty as well..Of which reactionaries prate! Show Harlan and Imperial Valley getting their first taste of human rights; show auto-workers wives whose husbands "come home at last like human beings, no longer terrorized by the foreman and the speed-up!". But it mustn't be just soft soap listing of benefits; it must arouse people to struggle. "The New Deal isn't a hand-out; it's a fighting chance".

4) What Next? I don't myself know what the New Deal is. Nor does anyone else I know. It must be defined and given a philosophy. The time is now, on the President's trip west. This is the time to show what he has been driving toward, and what he intends to do next....The preservation of American democracy against the economic dictatorship threatened by the royalists...He must predict the result of Congress' recent actions, the plot to throw the country into economic crisis. He must also outline his own emergency program to meet this economic crisis, if and when it comes this winter....Next steps of the New Deal.

What next steps? I don't think a greater WPA will do it, for under our present economic system, public works are not allowed to supply the real needs of the people...housing, clothing, food, better standards of life. Nor do I think your idea of public ownership of utilities is the next thing to fight for; this merely increases enemies without increasing jobs....Increasing jobs on a wholesale scale is the thing most needed; the only thing that will answer.

The lending program introduced at the last minute in Congress begins, I think, the best approach to the problem. The key to the economic problem is large scale capital investment. If that key is left in the hands of private monopoly capital, it will be used to destroy democracy. The key must be in the hands of democracy...even though the corporations may be semi-private. The virtue of the lending bill was that it approached this problem; its defect was that it approached it too late and was hopelessly messed up by amendments... It should be completely revamped...perhaps some form of corporation similar to RFC, lending to any productive business which government decides is in line with public need. Not to the banks, but direct to industries which hire and fire men....Or, instead of lending, a government guarantee of a minimum 2 1/2 percent profit on large scale things like really cheap housing, and other things that people need.....Speaking of housing, the joint sabotage of the contractors and the labor unions must be broken by guaranteeing an increased annual wage to labor, but longer annual working days and therefore cheaper building costs...

There are a lot of things like this..The President has his own economists. The point is to get jobs to people, through existing channels, by government guarantee. Not necessarily by government purchase or even lending, but by a guarantee which gives no excuse for the plea of lack of confidence".... And whatever the program devised by the President, he should carry it to the country, together with a simple explanation of what the New Deal has been, is, and may be. Then the country will make Congress pass it in January, there will be a dramatic emergence from the collapse caused by the last Congress, and we can go forward to the Convention and election,

Yours, with regards,

*Anna Louise Strong*



file 100  
August 25, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

The more I think of it, the more I am convinced that Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Bullitt have simply fallen for British propaganda, and that it is senseless to order Americans home. Behind the terrific storm of war scare from London and Paris, I note that Berlin is quiet, "going on week-end picnics without thought of war", and that Poland reports no increased tension, while other points in Eastern Europe report "tension less".

My guess is that Hitler is moving not towards war but towards an Eastern European Non-Aggression Pact, leading towards an East European Customs Union, independent of London finance, based on German industrial ability and Russian food... That Stalin, whose aim is to break the united front of world-finance-fascism, found that the attempt to get British and French democracy to control Chamberlain was failing, and chose instead to appeal to the tool, ~~aworkla-x~~ Hitler, offering him, in place of war, an East Europe economically independent of London in which German capital might have full expansion.

I think this is what the German cabinet has been debating 24 hours in continuous session since von Ribbentrop returned... and that it will lead to an undermining of Nazi ideology, to an expanding and successful Germany, relieved from fear-psychosis, and therefore gradually moderating her sabre-rattling and even her internal programs... I expect the possibility 1) of an East European Non-Aggression Pact; 2) a Customs Union not relying on London; 3) a gradual return of Czecho-Slovakia to autonomy and independence within such a customs union... BUT it means the twilight of London finance capital, which is why they have gone insane.

As for America, we have everything to gain from the Soviet-Nazi pact which has definitely hamstrung Japan, just as Chamberlain was getting ready an Eastern Munich,

Yours,

*Laura Louise Strong*

PS But why does our state Department always play Chamberlain's game?

August 24, 1939

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

Not knowing whether you are at Hyde Park or in Washington, I send this to both addresses, because I want to give you a view of the Soviet-Nazi pact quite opposed to most of the views pouring into the White House. I may be crazy but I'm betting that Hitler's next speech will be conciliatory, --that the pact has saved peace in Europe for the time being without sacrificing Poland.

Why do I think this? I start, as most people don't, with the belief that Stalin wants peace in Europe and acts for it intelligently in economic terms. In his mind I think the situation shaped like this; and that he wasn't far wrong:

- 1) Hitler's aggressions have always been based on the backing, and sometimes on the pushing, of some sections of London finance capital, who encourage him partly for profit and partly as bulwark against Bolshevism.
- 2) The real danger to Poland was not a German attack against British ~~2~~ armed help, but another British sellout like Munich. Meantime Chamberlain satisfied the British people and kept Moscow quiet by long intentionally fruitless parleys, preparatory to blaming the new Munich on Moscow.
- 3) So Moscow acted. The present pact removes at once all desires from all sections of London finance capital to back Hitler in Poland. It unifies Britain completely to protect ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Poland and therewith insures that Hitler won't attack.

Why did Hitler sign a pact that hamstring his aggression? My guess is that no government in Europe wants to do its own fighting, and Hitler feared he might be forced into war and made the goat. Moreover he has lost faith in Japan as ally, and is having trouble digesting the Czechs...His real desire is not so much for territory as for a continuous succession of "triumphs" which he can give the Germans instead of food. The Soviet pact gives him such a triumph; he can now take up the role of defender of peace, who has freed Germans from fear of encirclement. This temporarily strengthens him with the German people, though at the cost of fatally undermining Nazi ideology, based on being a bulwark against the Bolsheviks.

Anyway, that's why I think the Soviets acted. And also to make plain to the world the vast difference being Chamberlain's offer of "military alliance" and their own "mutual defence against aggression", which is a sort of limited League of Nations, open to all comers, the more the merrier..and not inconsistent with the Soviet-Nazi pact.

I liked your Hobby@Lobby program--quiet a relief from present day politics....Joel arrives Sunday; I'll write you next week again. If you want a private view of the Pavilion before it opens some morning, I am sure it can be arranged,

Yours,

*Anna Louise Strong*

August 28, 1939

Dear Dr. Strong:

I forwarded your letter to the President so that he could get your point of view.

I cannot, however, say that I agree with you. I have always felt that, in theory, Communism was closer to Democracy than Nazism. In spite of the realization that Stalin was a dictator and that Russia was going through somewhat of the same type of thing that all revolutions seem to have to go through, still one had the hope that in the future the theory of Communism would make a world in which Democracy and Communism might live together.

This treaty does not seem to me to be in the interest of peace. It simply says to Hitler, "We will not attack you, so you are sure of having one less enemy; we need your machinery and you need our raw materials, and we are quite willing, for our mutual benefit, to have a trade agreement with you. As far as we are concerned you can go ahead and take possession of any of the other countries that you choose without our help."

England and France will be in a much more difficult position. Of course, it seems quite possible that there may be in addition to this some secret agreement by which Russia will take her share of any particular country she is interested in controlling. I will agree with you that it may tend to keep peace for the present, because it makes it somewhat difficult for anyone to stand up against Germany. But where do Germany's attitudes ever find a check and will we see the Nazis now?

Some of the statements made in the last few days by various members of the Communist party in this country seem rather odd and I cannot say that this whole strange performance gives me much hope for peace in the future.

I am willing to concede that England has always been a selfish nation in her attitude toward other nations in her foreign policy, but most nations are selfish and, on the whole, we all enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom while England was mistress of the seas. I wonder if Germany would give us the same amount. She strikes me as being just as selfish and somewhat less supple.

Let us hope you are right, however, and I am glad you feel as you do. Otherwise you might be feeling very unhappy about Russia.

Very sincerely yours,

30

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
Monticello, N.Y.



P S I liked your Hobby-Lobby program...A relief from the political form of the world today!

August 24, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Not knowing whether you are in Hyde Park or Washington, I send this letter to both addresses, because I want to convey to you a view of the Soviet-Nazi pact quite opposed to most of the views probably pouring into the White House. I may be crazy, but I think this pact may have saved peace for the time in Europe and without the sacrifice of Poland. I think there's a chance that Hitler's next speech will be conciliatory.

Why do I think this? I start, as most people don't, with the belief that Stalin wants peace in Europe and acts for it intelligently in economic terms. In his mind, I think the situation shaped like this; and perhaps he wasn't far wrong:

- 1) Hitler's aggressions in Europe have always been based on the backing, and sometimes on the pushing, of some sections of London finance capital, who encourage him partly for profit and partly as bulwark against the Bolsheviks.
- 2) The real danger to Poland was not a German attack against British armed defense, but another British sellout like Munich. Meantime, to satisfy the British people, Chamberlain was keeping Moscow quiet by long and intentionally fruitless parleys, preparatory to blaming the new Munich on Moscow.
- 3) So Moscow acted. The present pact removes at once all desire of all sections of London finance capital to back Hitler, unifies Britain completely to protect Poland and therewith insures that Hitler won't attack.

Why then did Hitler sign a pact that hamstrung his aggression? My guess is that no government in Europe wants to do its own fighting, and Hitler feared he might be forced into war and made the goat. Moreover he has lost faith in Japan as ally, and is having trouble digesting the Czechs....His real desire is not for territory per se, but for a continuous series of "triumphs" which he can give the Germans instead of food. He gets such a triumph through the Soviet Pact, and can now claim that, freed from fear of encirclement, he will take up a role as defending peace.....This temporarily strengthens him with the German people, as bringer of "security", tho at the cost of fatally undermining Nazi ideology, based on being a bulwark against Bolsheviks.

Anyway I think that's why the Soviets acted. And also to make clear to the world that Chamberlain's talk of "military alliance" had nothing in common with the Soviets' talk of "mutual defense against aggression", which is a sort of limited League of Nations, open to all comers, the more the merrier...and not inconsistent with the Soviet-Nazi pact.

Joel arrives Sunday. I'll write again after he comes. If you want a private view of the Pavilion, before it opens some morning, I am sure it can be arranged,

Yours,

Bama Louise Strong

100

September 5, 1939

My dear Dr. Strong:

Mrs. Roosevelt received your letter of August 30 and your wire of September 2. She asks me to tell you that she will hope to see the Soviet Pavilion at the Fair on Friday, but at the moment she is very uncertain of her plans.

If you will send a note to her at 20 East 11th Street, giving your telephone number, she will call you if she has any free time.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Latham  
4 West 28  
New York, N.Y.

0

TELEGRAM

The White House  
Washington

FR New York NY Sept 2 1939

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

The White House

Still hoping for peace, but no longer expecting it. What remains  
now is help president keep America out of insanely useless war.  
Some day the chance will come again for him to make peace move  
but what will the world be then

Anna Louise Strong.

950amd

Hope to be at you Sunday  
but so uncertain can't say for  
sure. If she will see letter to  
Dr Ell

August 30, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

It continues to look more and more like peace, doesn't it? And if Europe avoids war this time, as I think she will, it may be peace for quite a long time. Some-thing, I am not sure what, has cracked in Germany..The letter Hitler sent Daladier seems in an utterly different vein from anything he ever wrote before.. I think that, when this difficult moment is past, we may see changes both in Germany and Eastern Europe, moving towards relief of tension....At least I hope so. I shall send you tomorrow a copy of a news story I have just done for a syndicate .

Joel is here since Sunday. We are staying at Hotel Latham, 4 West 28th, at least till after Labor Day, after which we may possibly move to Flushing. Let me know what you want to do about visiting the Soviet Pavilion. Any time whatever that suits you will be all right. The building is open to the general public from ten till ten; it is most crowded on Saturdays and Sundays. I do not know whether you would want to see the crowds, or to have a private view some morning before it opens, what you want done about allowing, or not allowing, people to know that you are coming. Whatever you choose, and whenever you choose, just tell me,

Very truly yours,

*Anna Louise Strong*

Hotel Latham  
4 West 28



Sept 6, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I am at Hotel Latham, 4 East 28th, telephone  
Caledonia 5 8300, room 941. I expect to be in my room  
Thursday night and all of Friday morning.

I liked your piece about the Athenia. Among the  
atrocious things occurring, it is indeed of first importance  
to suspend judgment until proof comes in; my friends are  
divided about half and half as to ideas as to who did it, and  
why?

Yours,

Laura Louise Strong

*file*



Mrs Franklin D Roosevelt

or Miss Malvina C Thompson

20 East 11th St

New York City

100  
Sept. 17, 1939

Dear Mrs. <sup>Anna Louise</sup> Strong:

I do still want to see both your husband and the Pavilion, and I may be able to do it the end of the month.

I read your story for the Federated Press with interest. Of course, I still do not agree with you in many of the things you say. For instance, I do not think there is a shadow of an excuse for thinking that Great Britain would sink her own ship on the way to Canada.

In view of what has just happened, I think one has to accept the fact that Russia is under a dictator who is acting as all the other dictators in the world act. Deladier may be a dictator but the French have never been good at staying under a dictator so I doubt if his hold is as strong.

I agree with you that the people of the world must control their governments, but I think Chamberlain, even with his efforts of appeasement which were futile, stands before the world a better figure than either Hitler or Stalin at the present moment.

Very sincerely yours,

LINEs NOT YET DRAWN IN EUROPEAN WAR  
 By ANNA LOUISE STRONG  
 Federated Press

As war's horrors spread over Europe, the world's two greatest nations--the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.--are doing their utmost to stay out. They appear to wish to stay out for much the same reasons; to save the lives and welfare of their own citizens, to be able to promote peace when this becomes possible, and to be ready to bind up the wounds of the world.

The future hope of the world lies in these two great countries. Both know that if war spreads it may not be possible to remain aloof. Both know also that the issues of this war are not yet drawn in a clear form.

The clearest picture of the forces preceding the war comes from the short speech of Molotov, presenting to the supreme soviet the analysis of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact. The 3-year attempt of the Soviet Union to form a peace front strong enough to restrain the aggressor nations had, in Soviet opinion, failed.

Poland's refusal of Soviet armed assistance was the final fact making it clear that the war was being directed toward Soviet borders. Seeing this, the Soviets stepped out of the battle, as far and as long as they could.

The war, in its present form, is launched by governments all of whom are guilty. On the one side is Hitler Nazism, the most naked aggression in Europe. On the other side is not the democracies, but the Deladier dictatorship, the Chamberlain chicanery, and the Polish state, built on a suppression of minor nationalities only second to Hitler's, and with hands still red from the rape of the Czechs.

It is not clear yet whether Britain and France intend to prevent the dismemberment of Poland or whether they will merely smash Germany, which is quite a different thing. It is not clear whether the Athenia sinking was a Nazi insanity or a British provocation. Never has there been a more confused war in which anything is possible.

As neutral observers we must distinguish three possibilities in Britain's conduct of the war. The Chamberlain group may wish to carry on a minimum action on the western front until Poland is swallowed by Hitler and another Munich pact can be negotiated. Second factor is the Churchill group, which wants to fight Hitler in order to extend British imperialism, not to smash fascism. Finally there is the British labor group--not yet in the government--which might make this a real war for democracy against fascism.

Similarly in Germany there is more than one group in this battle. The bitter and Nazi group for world conquest has at least temporarily surrendered to the Soviet-German pact, which renounced dreams of the Ukraine. There is another group which would like merely to conquer Poland and sue for peace with Britain. There are also Germans from the old republic, who want Danzig and the corridor because of their German populations, but who might be glad to give back the Czech republic and to get rid of Hitler.

Neither side, unfortunately, can yet be trusted to be conqueror. But on either side new forces of the common people may emerge.

The job of peace-lovers at present is to keep out of this war and prevent it from spreading, to observe and wait watchfully in the hope that aggressors and oppressors on both sides may be overthrown from within. Chamberlain cannot lead an anti-fascist struggle, but the British people might. Hitler cannot save the Germans from Versailles, but the German working class may do so.

Watch then whether Britain really aids the Poles, or merely holds the western front preparatory to a bargain with Hitler. Watch also when Hitler offers peace terms, whether they are terms of Nazi aggression or dictated by anti-Nazi pressure from the German



Sept 12 1939

Hotel Latham,  
4 East 28th  
Sept. 9, 1939

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

So sorry you could not at this time see Joel and  
see the pavilion. Perhaps when you come back from the west ?

You may be interested in my story in Federated Press;  
I enclose a copy..

Yours,

*Anna Louise Strong*

Hotel Latham  
4 East 28 NYC  
September 5

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

I completely agree with the chief premise of your letter, that Communism is closer to Democracy than to Naziism, and that this will create a future in which Democracy and Communism can live together.... Stalin, incidentally, also agrees. His words: "Socialism and Democracy are invincible" are engraved on the Soviet Pavilion. He means them; they all do.

I do not think that the Soviets felt themselves to be walking out on the "democracies" when they signed that Non-Aggression Pact. (The enclosed speech by Molotov presents their view-point officially; I have underlined places that seem to me important.) I think they felt, much as does America, that they had tried long and hard to form a combination of forces that might preserve the peace, and had not been able. And that, instead of a real "peace front" which might prevent war, Chamberlain was intentionally inveigling them into a war in which they would have to do the chief fighting, not for democracy, but more and more for a Daladier-dictatorship which betrayed Spain, a Chamberlain-chicanery that sold out Europe, and a semi-fascist Poland built on suppressed minorities, with hands still red from the rape of the Czechs... So.. they walked out, not because they loved the Nazis better, but because they didn't think the fight worth the cost.

I am glad that both the USSR and the USA are staying out --as long as they can--from this battle, in which all governments concerned are very guilty, and all peoples concerned are much to be pitied and helped... I think the two countries stay out for much the same reasons; the lives and welfare of their own citizens, and to extend the sphere of peace in the world. Also to be able, as the President said, to bind up the world's wounds afterwards.

Anyway, I note that my husband, -supposedly a regular Bolshevik-- goes wild with delighted excitement over the President's speeches, and declares that "Just two countries, America and the Soviet Union, are the hope of the world"... He told me tonight that the stock market boom in human misery made him sick at heart with this degradation of America, but that when the President moved tonight (we heard a radio statement) to stop profiteering and selling of securities of belligerents, he thought: "There's a man! A really great man! Here's a real world leader of our times, one of the few men able to ~~xxx~~ handle the events of today".. It is the first time I ever heard him enthusiastic over anything outside socialism and the USSR.. It reminded me that not long since I heard Earl Browder state that the actions of President Roosevelt had caused a fundamental revision of the beliefs of the Communists; it had made them for the first time concede that real gains could be made for the working-class under a "bourgeois-democratic-government", and that, if the real democracy of the New Deal could be established, it should be possible to proceed from this, step by step, without violent overturn, to socialism..)

If present world events have not destroyed your willingness to meet Joel, or to see the Soviet Pavilion, or both, we should be happy at any time,

Yours,

Anna Louise Strong

**The Meaning  
of the  
Soviet-German  
Non-Aggression  
Pact**

**By V. M. MOLOTOV**

10

for Mrs. Roosevelt.  
from aSB

*This pamphlet is the full text of the speech of V. M. Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, before the August 31, 1939, meeting of the fourth special session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.*

**The Meaning of the  
Soviet-German  
Non-Aggression  
Pact**

**By V. M. MOLOTOV**

**C**OMRADES: Since the third session of the Supreme Soviet the international situation has shown no change for the better. On the contrary, it has become even more tense. The steps taken by various governments to put an end to this state of tension have obviously proved inadequate. They met with no success. This is true of Europe.

Nor has there been any change for the better in East Asia. Japanese troops continue to occupy the principal cities and a considerable part of the territory of China. Nor is Japan refraining from hostile acts against the U.S.S.R. Here, too, the situation has changed in the direction of further aggravation.

In view of this state of affairs, the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression between the U.S.S.R. and Germany is of tremendous positive value, eliminating the danger of war between Germany and the Soviet Union. In order more fully to define the significance of this pact, I must first dwell on the negotiations which have taken place in recent months in Moscow with representatives of Great Britain and France. As you know, Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations for conclusion of a pact of mutual assistance against aggression in Europe began as far back as April.

True, the initial proposals of the British Government were, as you know, entirely unacceptable. They ignored the prime requisites for such negotiations—they ignored the principle of reciprocity and equality of obligations. In spite of this, the

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Soviet Government did not reject the negotiations and in turn put forward its own proposals. We were mindful of the fact that it was difficult for the Governments of Great Britain and France to make an abrupt change in their policy from an unfriendly attitude towards the Soviet Union which had existed quite recently to serious negotiations with the U.S.S.R. based on the condition of equality of obligations.

However, the subsequent negotiations were not justified by their results. The Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations lasted four months. They helped to elucidate a number of questions. At the same time they made it clear to the representatives of Great Britain and France that the Soviet Union has to be seriously reckoned with in international affairs. But these negotiations encountered insuperable obstacles. The trouble, of course, did not lie in individual "formulations" or in particular clauses in the draft of the pact. No, the trouble was much more serious.

The conclusion of a pact of mutual assistance against aggression would have been of value only if Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union had arrived at agreement as to definite military measures against the attack of an aggressor. Accordingly, for a certain period not only political but also military negotiations were conducted in Moscow with representatives of the British and French armies. However, nothing came of the military negotiations.

They encountered the difficulty that Poland, which was to be jointly guaranteed by Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R., rejected military assistance on the part of the Soviet Union. Attempts to overcome the objections of Poland met with no success. More, the negotiations showed that Great Britain was not anxious to overcome these objections of Poland, but on the contrary encouraged them. It is clear that, such being the attitude of the Polish Government and its principal ally towards military assistance on the part of the Soviet Union in the event of aggression, the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations could not bear fruit. After this it became

clear to us that the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations were doomed to failure.

What have the negotiations with Great Britain and France shown? The Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations have shown that the position of Great Britain and France is marked by howling contradictions throughout. Judge for yourselves. On the one hand, Great Britain and France demanded that the U.S.S.R. should give military assistance to Poland in case of aggression. The U.S.S.R., as you know, was willing to meet this demand, provided that the U.S.S.R. itself received like assistance from Great Britain and France. On the other hand, precisely Great Britain and France brought Poland on the scene, who resolutely declined military assistance on the part of the U.S.S.R. Just try under such circumstances to reach an agreement regarding mutual assistance, when assistance on the part of the U.S.S.R. is declared beforehand to be unnecessary and intrusive.

Further, on the one hand, Great Britain and France offered to guarantee the Soviet Union military assistance against aggression in return for like assistance on the part of the U.S.S.R. On the other hand, they hedged round their assistance with such reservations regarding indirect aggression as could convert this assistance into a myth and provide them with formal legal excuse to evade giving assistance and place the U.S.S.R. in a position of isolation in the face of the aggressor. Just try to distinguish between such a "pact of mutual assistance" and a pact of more or less camouflaged chicanery.

Further, on the one hand Great Britain and France stressed the importance and gravity of negotiations for a pact of mutual assistance and demanded that the U.S.S.R. should treat the matter most seriously and settle very rapidly all questions relating to the pact. On the other hand, they themselves displayed extreme dilatoriness and an absolutely light-minded attitude towards the negotiations, entrusting them to individuals of secondary importance who were not invested with adequate powers.

It is enough to mention that the British and French military missions came to Moscow without any definite power and without the right to conclude any military convention.

More, the British military mission arrived in Moscow without any mandate at all (*general laughter*), and it was only on the demand of our military mission that on the very eve of the breakdown of the negotiations they presented written credentials. But even these credentials were of the vaguest kind, that is, credentials without proper weight. Just try to distinguish between this light-minded attitude towards the negotiations on the part of Great Britain and France and frivolous make-believe at negotiations designed to discredit the whole business of negotiations.

Such are the intrinsic contradictions in the attitude of Great Britain and France towards the negotiations with the U.S.S.R. which led to their breakdown.

What is the root of these contradictions in the position of Great Britain and France? In a few words, it can be put as follows: On the one hand, the British and French Governments fear aggression, and for that reason they would like to have a pact of mutual assistance with the Soviet Union provided it helped strengthen them, Great Britain and France.

But, on the other hand, the British and French Governments are afraid that the conclusion of a real pact of mutual assistance with the U.S.S.R. may strengthen our country, the Soviet Union, which, it appears, does not answer their purpose. It must be admitted that these fears of theirs outweighed other considerations. Only in this way can we understand the position of Poland, who acts on the instructions of Great Britain and France.

I shall now pass to the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact.

The decision to conclude a non-aggression pact between the U.S.S.R. and Germany was adopted after military negotiations with France and Great Britain had reached an impasse owing to the insuperable differences I have mentioned. As the negotiations had shown that the conclusion of a pact of mu-

tual assistance could not be expected, we could not but explore other possibilities of ensuring peace and eliminating the danger of war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. If the British and French governments refused to reckon with this, that is their affair. It is our duty to think of the interests of the Soviet people, the interests of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (*Prolonged applause.*) All the more since we are firmly convinced that the interests of the U.S.S.R. coincide with the fundamental interests of the peoples of other countries. (*Applause.*) But that is only one side of the matter.

Another circumstance was required before the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact could come into existence. It was necessary that in her foreign policy Germany should make a turn towards good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union.

Only when this second condition was fulfilled, only when it became clear to us that the German government desired to change its foreign policy so as to secure an improvement of relations with the U.S.S.R., was the basis found for the conclusion of a Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. Everybody knows that during the last six years, ever since the National-Socialists [Nazis] came into power, political relations between Germany and the U.S.S.R. have been strained. Everybody also knows that despite the differences of outlook and political systems, the Soviet Government endeavored to maintain normal business and political relations with Germany. There is no need now to revert to individual incidents of these relations during recent years, which are well known to you.

I must, however, recall the explanation of our foreign policy given several months ago at the Eighteenth Party Congress. Speaking of our tasks in the realm of foreign policy, Stalin defined our attitude to other countries as follows:

1. To continue the policy of peace and of strengthening business relations with all countries;
2. To be cautious and not to allow our country to be drawn into conflicts by warmongers who are accustomed

( to have others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them." \*

As you see, Stalin declared in conclusion that the Soviet Union stands for strengthening business relations with all countries. But at the same time Stalin warned us against warmongers who are anxious in their own interests to involve our country in conflicts with other countries.

Exposing the hullabaloo raised in the British, French and American press about Germany's "plans" for the seizure of the Soviet Ukraine, Stalin said:

"It looks as if the object of this suspicious hullabaloo was to incense the Soviet Union against Germany, to poison the atmosphere and to provoke a conflict with Germany without any visible grounds." \*

As you see, Stalin hit the nail on the head when he exposed the machinations of the Western European politicians who were trying to set Germany and the Soviet Union at loggerheads.

It must be confessed that there were some short-sighted people even in our own country who, carried away by over-simplified anti-fascist propaganda, forgot about this provocative work of our enemies. Mindful of this, Stalin even then suggested the possibility of other, unhostile, good-neighborly relations between Germany and the U.S.S.R. It can now be seen that on the whole Germany correctly understood these statements of Stalin and drew practical conclusions from them. (*Laughter.*) The conclusion of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact shows that Stalin's historic prevision has been brilliantly confirmed. (*Loud applause.*)

In the spring of this year the German Government made a proposal to resume commercial and credit negotiations. Soon after the negotiations were resumed. By making mutual concessions, we succeeded in reaching an agreement. As you know,

\* Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, International Publishers, New York.

this agreement was signed on August 19. This was not the first commercial and credit agreement concluded with Germany under her present government.

But this agreement differs favorably not only from the 1935 agreement but from all previous agreements, not to mention the fact that we had no economic agreement equally advantageous with Great Britain, France or any other country. The agreement is advantageous to us because its credit conditions (a seven-year credit) enables us to order a considerable additional quantity of such equipment as we need. By this agreement, the U.S.S.R. undertakes to sell to Germany a definite quantity of our surplus raw materials for her industry, which fully answers the interests of the U.S.S.R.

Why should we reject such an advantageous economic agreement? Surely not to please those who are generally averse to the Soviet Union having advantageous economic agreements with other countries? And it is clear that the commercial and credit agreement with Germany is fully in accord with the economic interests and defense needs of the Soviet Union. This agreement is fully in accord with the decision of the Eighteenth Congress of our Party, which approved Stalin's statement as to the need for "strengthening business relations with all countries."

When, however, the German government expressed the desire to improve political relations as well, the Soviet government had no grounds for refusing. This gave rise to the question of concluding a non-aggression pact.

Voices are now being heard testifying to the lack of understanding of the most simple reasons for the improvement of political relations between the Soviet Union and Germany which has begun. For example, people ask with an air of innocence how the Soviet Union could consent to improve political relations with a state of a fascist type. "Is that possible?" they ask. But they forget that this not a question of our attitude towards the internal regime of another country but of the foreign relations between the two states. They forget that we hold the position of not interfering in the internal

affairs of other countries and, correspondingly, of not tolerating interference in our own internal affairs. Furthermore, they forget the important principle of our foreign policy which was formulated by Stalin at the Eighteenth Party Congress as follows:

"We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country."

The meaning of these words is quite clear: the Soviet Union strives to maintain good-neighborly relations with all non-Soviet countries provided that these countries maintain a like attitude towards the Soviet Union. In our foreign policy towards non-Soviet countries, we have always been guided by Lenin's well-known principle of the peaceful co-existence of the Soviet state and of capitalist countries. A large number of examples might be cited to show how this principle has been carried out in practice. But I will confine myself to only a few.

We have, for instance, a non-aggression and neutrality treaty with fascist Italy ever since 1933. It has never occurred to anybody as yet to object to this treaty. And that is natural. Inasmuch as this pact meets the interests of the U.S.S.R., it is in accord with our principle of the peaceful co-existence of the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries. We have non-aggression pacts also with Poland and certain other countries whose semi-fascist system is known to all. These pacts have not given rise to any misgivings either. Perhaps it would not be superfluous to mention the fact that we have not even treaties of this kind with certain other non-fascist bourgeois-democratic countries, with Great Britain herself, for instance. But that is not our fault.

\* Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, International Publishers, New York.

Since 1926, the political basis of our relations with Germany has been the treaty of neutrality which was already extended by the present German government in 1933. This treaty of neutrality remains in force to this day. The Soviet government considered it desirable even before this to take a further step towards improving political relations with Germany, but the circumstances have been such that this has become possible only now.

It is true that it is not a pact of mutual assistance that is in question, as in the case of the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations, but only of a non-aggression pact. Nevertheless, conditions being what they are, it is difficult to overestimate the international importance of the Soviet-German pact. That is why we favored the visit of Von Ribbentrop, the German Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Moscow.

August 23, 1939, the day the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact was signed, is to be regarded as a date of great historical importance. The Non-Aggression Pact between the U.S.S.R. and Germany marks a turning point in the history of Europe, and not only of Europe. Only yesterday the German fascists were pursuing a foreign policy hostile to us. Yes, only yesterday we were enemies in the sphere of foreign relations. Today, however, the situation has changed and we are enemies no longer.

The art of politics in the sphere of foreign relations does not consist in increasing the number of enemies for one's country. On the contrary, the art of politics in this sphere is to reduce the number of such enemies and to make the enemies of yesterday good neighbors, maintaining peaceable relations with one another. (*Applause.*)

History has shown that enmity and wars between our country and Germany have been to the detriment of our countries, not to their benefit. Russia and Germany suffered most of all countries in the war of 1914-1918. Therefore the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Germany stand in need of peaceable relations. The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact



puts an end to enmity between Germany and the U.S.S.R. and this is in the interests of both countries. The fact that our outlooks and political systems differ must not and cannot be obstacles to the establishment of good political relations between both states, just as like differences are not impediments to good political relations which the U.S.S.R. maintains with other non-Soviet capitalist countries. Only enemies of Germany and the U.S.S.R. can strive to create and foment enmity between the peoples of these countries. We have always stood for amity between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Germany, for the growth and development of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the German people. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The chief importance of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact lies in the fact that the two largest states of Europe have agreed to put an end to the enmity between them, to eliminate the menace of war and live at peace one with the other, making narrower thereby the zone of possible military conflicts in Europe. Even if military conflicts in Europe should prove unavoidable, the scope of hostilities will now be restricted. Only the instigators of a general European war can be displeased by this state of affairs, those who under the mask of pacifism would like to ignite a general conflagration in Europe.

The Soviet-German Pact has been the object of numerous attacks in the English, French and American press. Conspicuous in these efforts are certain "Socialist" newspapers, diligent servitors of "their" national capitalism, servitors of gentlemen who pay them decently. (*Laughter.*) It is clear that the real truth cannot be expected from gentry of this calibre. Attempts are being made to spread the fiction that the signing of the Soviet-German Pact disrupted the negotiations with England and France on a mutual assistance pact. This lie has already been nailed in the interview given by Voroshilov.

In reality, as you know, the very reverse is true. The Soviet Union signed the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany, for one

thing, in view of the fact that the negotiations with France and England had run into insuperable differences and ended in failure through the fault of the ruling classes of England and France.

Further, they go so far as to blame us because the pact, if you please, contains no clause providing for its denunciation in case one of the signatories is drawn into war under conditions which might give someone an external pretext to qualify this particular country as an aggressor. But they forget for some reason that such a clause and such a reservation is not to be found either in the Polish-German non-aggression pact signed in 1934 and annulled by Germany in 1939 against the wishes of Poland, or in the Anglo-German declaration on non-aggression signed only a few months ago. The question arises: Why cannot the U.S.S.R. allow itself the same privilege as Poland and England allowed themselves long ago?

Finally there are wiseacres who construe from the pact more than is written in it. (*Laughter.*) For this purpose, all kinds of conjectures and hints are mooted in order to cast doubt on the pact in one or another country. But all this merely speaks for the hopeless impotence of the enemies of the pact who are exposing themselves more and more as enemies of both the Soviet Union and Germany, striving to provoke war between these countries.

In all this, we find fresh corroboration of Stalin's warning that we must be particularly cautious with warmongers who are accustomed to have others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them. We must be on guard against those who see an advantage to themselves in bad relations between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, in enmity between them, and who do not want peace and good neighborly relations between Germany and the Soviet Union.

We can understand why this policy is being pursued by out-and-out imperialists. But we cannot ignore such facts as the especial zeal with which some leaders of the Socialist Parties of Great Britain and France have recently distinguished them-

selves in this matter. And these gentlemen have really gone the whole hog, and no mistake. (Laughter.) These people positively demand that the U.S.S.R. get itself involved in war against Germany on the side of Great Britain. Have not these rabid warmongers taken leave of their senses? (Laughter.) Is it really difficult for these gentlemen to understand the purpose of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, on the strength of which the U.S.S.R. is not obliged to involve itself in war either on the side of Great Britain against Germany or on the side of Germany against Great Britain? Is it really difficult to understand that the U.S.S.R. is pursuing and will continue to pursue its own independent policy, based on the interests of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and only their interests? (Prolonged applause.)

If these gentlemen have such an uncontrollable desire to fight, let them do their own fighting without the Soviet Union. We would see what fighting stuff they are made of.

In our eyes, in the eyes of the entire Soviet people, these are just as much enemies of peace as all other instigators of war in Europe. Only those who desire a grand new slaughter, a new holocaust of nations, only they want to set the Soviet Union and Germany at loggerheads, they are the only people who want to destroy the incipient restoration of good-neighborly relations between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Germany.

The Soviet Union signed a pact with Germany, fully assured that peace between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Germany is in the interests of all peoples, in the interests of universal peace. Every sincere supporter of peace will realize the truth of this. This pact corresponds to the fundamental interests of the working people of the Soviet Union and cannot weaken our vigilance in defense of these interests. This pact is backed by firm confidence in our real forces, in their complete preparedness to meet any aggression against the U.S.S.R. (Loud applause.)

This pact, like the unsuccessful Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations, proves that no important questions of international

relations, and questions of Eastern Europe even less, can be settled without the active participation of the Soviet Union, that any attempts to shut out the Soviet Union and decide such questions behind its back are doomed to failure. (Applause.)

The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact spells a new turn in the development of Europe, a turn towards improvement of relations between the two largest states of Europe. This pact not only eliminates the menace of war with Germany, narrows down the zone of possible hostilities in Europe, and serves thereby the cause of universal peace: it must open to us new possibilities of increasing our strength, of further consolidation of our positions, of further growth of the influence of the Soviet Union on international developments.

There is no need to dwell here on the separate clauses of the pact. The Council of People's Commissars has reason to hope that the pact will meet with your approval as a document of cardinal importance to the U.S.S.R. (Applause.)

The Council of People's Commissars submits the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact to the Supreme Soviet and proposes that it be ratified. (Loud and prolonged applause. All rise.)

On the conclusion of Molotov's statement, the joint sitting of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., on a motion of Deputy Shcherbakov, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Having heard the statement of Comrade V. M. Molotov, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on the ratification of the Non-Aggression Pact between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. resolves:

1. To approve the foreign policy of the Government.
2. To ratify the Non-Aggression Pact between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, concluded in Moscow, August 23, 1939."

copy sent to Washington

109-26 DITMARS BOULEVARD  
EAST ELMHURST, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.  
HAVEMEYER 6-8873

SEP 28 1939

Sept. 24, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I am planning to spend two days in Washington some time this week, possibly, though not probably, going as early as Monday evening. If therefore there is any chance that you will be visiting the Fair, and the Pavilion, on Tuesday or Wednesday, I should appreciate a wire or phone call Monday, so that I may make the trip later. If, on the other hand, the possibility--which I know is only a possibility--is for later in the week, then a note to the above address will reach me on Tuesday or Wednesday even if I am not in ~~NEW~~ New York. Joel will open it and wire me wherever I am so that I can get back in time,

Yours,

*Anna Louise Strong*

P S The above is my address for the next few months.

free

September 27, 1939

Dear Dr. Strong:

You are a patient person and I will certainly try to get you and your husband to come to my little apartment when I am in New York toward the latter part of October.

I know that you know Mr. Stalin and I do not know him, and you know the Polish situation far better than I do. I cannot help, however, being distressed at seeing another army on the march, nor can I quite bring myself to trust a man who, as part of a government, wipes out a people's religion, no matter how the church may have deserved correction, and it seems to me also that wholesale killings are hardly a help to civilization.

I have told you right along that the theory of Communism contained many things with which I could agree, but for myself I think the U.S.A. has a much preferable type of government. That is why I think it is so important that we should do all that lies in our power to make democracy work and if the Russian people really get to a point where they can control their own government, I see no real reason why we should not live in amity.

Just now, however, even with your assurance, I feel like waiting to see what happens in Poland, what Russia's future action will be in other countries, and her attitude toward Germany. Even if she could conclude a trade treaty with Great Britain and France, did she have to sign up with Germany just at the present time? It seems to me that it gave Hitler just the strength he needed to plunge Europe into this horrible war. Hitler might have



done it any way, but one cannot help wondering if these two men might not believe in some of the same things.

As to Chamberlain and his group, perhaps they are more to blame than anybody else. I do not know that we can go scot-free, because we shirked any responsibility toward the rest of the world and we want our debts paid. Hind sight is always better than fore sight. I am inclined to think, however, that I would rather have to deal with Mr. Chamberlain than with Mr. Hitler.

We can talk over this better in the light of what happens between now and the end of October. In any way, I shall look forward to seeing you.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
107-26 Utmars Blvd.  
East Elmhurst  
Long Island  
NY

act  
9-21

109-26 Ditmars Boulevard  
East Elmhurst, Long Island  
(phone Ha--6--8873)  
Sept. 21, 1939

SEP 21 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I am delighted to know that there is a chance of your coming to see the Pavilion and to meet Joel. Since your last letter took three days to reach me, I am sending you my present address.

I disagree with you about Chamberlain. I think he--and his bunch--are more to blame than anybody on earth for this whole war mess. From the days of Versailles right down to this past month's sell-out of Poland, whom he first prevented from accepting Soviet military aid when it was offered, and then prevented from fortifying her western frontier against Germany, and then advised to retreat, abandoning the industrial regions to Hitler, and last of all abandoned without giving her one airplane. It is tragic to read that Warsaw mayor's appeal to Britain, his belief that they will come to aid.

I know your opinion of the Russian march into Poland; I read it in "My Day". But if you have watched the reception given the Red Army by the East Poland population, you must realize that it differed both from Hitler's brutal invasion and from Chamberlain's cynical abandonment of the Poles, to whom he offers only words...I know those peasants of Eastern Poland; I saw them under the Quaker Relief in 1921..I saw their little hovels in the malarial swamps at the foot of the large, hill-side healthy landlord's estates..White Russian and Ukrainian peasants denied land, denied decent food, denied the right of education. Even twenty years ago they spoke of the hoped-for day when "the Russians" would come back. Yet the Red Army would not have come as long as any organized government functioned there; it came only when the population was menaced both by Nazi invasion and by demoralized, retreating Polish soldiers..Yesterday a New York city employee told me how glad he is that his old father is no longer "under either the Nazis or the Poles".

However, I'll save my argument for the time when I see you. If even then...I'll save also my special private fear,--that Chamberlain will yet get America into this war, and then declare war against the Soviets. He has sought so insanely for somebody who would fight the Bolsheviks for him; Hitler failed him, and he's looking for another tool....Japan may be ready, but Japan is weakened.American credits, American idealism would be for him ideal...This may seem to you quite impossible, but watch till a year from now. Especially if the reactionaries get into power here....Then there would be nothing for me to do but to get sent to jail, for I would agitate incessantly against such a war between

the two countries that I still think have more in common  
than any two countries, and are the joint hope of the world,

Yours,

Luna Louise Strong

September 27, 1939

My dear Mrs. Strong:

Mrs. Roosevelt is sorry that there is no chance at all of her going to the Fair this week. Her time is still all filled and she does not know when she may be able to go.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mrs. Anna Louise Strong  
109-26 Ditmars Boulevard  
East Elmhurst, Long Island  
New York

DD



109-26 DITMARS BOULEVARD  
EAST ELMHURST, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.  
HAVEMEYER 6-8873

September 24, 1939

SEP 25 1939

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

I am planning to go to Washington for a couple of days this week, possibly, though not probably, going as early as Monday evening. If there is any chance that you are visiting the Fair--and the Pavilion--Tuesday or Wednesday, I should appreciate a wire or phone call Monday. If the possibility of your visit, which I know is only a possibility, is for later in the week, then a note reaching this house Tuesday or Wednesday will be wired to me, even if I have left, in time for me to finish my own business and be back on time,

Yours, with regards,

Anna Louise Strong

P S The above is my address for the next few months.

*100*  
*Y.A.P. Black lead*  
*11-11-39*

109-26 DITMARS BOULEVARD  
EAST ELMHURST, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.  
HAVEMEYER 6-8873

Oct 1, 1939

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

13-1583

It is you and not I that deserves the medal for patience. With all the engagements you have it was good of you even to entertain the hope of visiting the Pavilion and meeting Joel. I still hope it may come off.

I even dare hope that by the end of October the world war may be fizzling out, with Poland on the way to reconstitution as a democratic state (which it never was), and with all Eastern Europe in a keep-out-of-war bloc, joined by pacts of mutual assistance against any and all aggressors. That is what the USSR is clearly working for, single-handed, against a whole world's mis-representation; it is not sure that she can succeed.

If the USSR had not signed that Non-Agression Pact and later marched into East Poland, I think we should have already had war across all Eastern Europe, with Hitler in the Baltic States and Balkans already, attacking the USSR, while Japan attacked from Manchuria... I think the Russians saw that Hitler was on the very verge of marching, and that Chamberlain was intentionally ~~saxixx~~ pushing him eastwards, and had purposely kept Poland weak, without fortifications on her western border, in order that the Nazis might march right through Poland to the USSR.

So they set out themselves to stop that eastward march of Hitler, which they could only do by making a peace pact with him, thus marching to meet him, not as a foe but as a friend, ~~whaxixx~~ and keep him from going too far. I note the Whaley-Eaton service says the USSR has done a better job of stopping Hitler than they could have done if they had been allied with Britain. I note also that the London Times, today quoted in the N Y Times, says Britain does not demand the inclusion of the territories taken by the Soviets in the "reconstituted Poland", since those territories are Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian.. They also say that they consider Hitler an enemy, but are "waiting to see whether Stalin is an enemy or not..

I saw an interesting despatch today from Bratislava in the Times, quoting a cabinet minister of Slovakia who regretted that the new Soviet boundary stopped fifteen miles short of Slovakia instead of touching their country, and who added that "not 15 percent of the Slovaks would vote to join up with the Czechs again, but 60 to 70 percent would vote for incorporation into the USSR if they could get the chance"... Considering that Czechoslovakia was the model democracy of Eastern Europe, this speaks volumes for how the common people actually on the ground, were impressed by the Soviet march.

It is plain that thus far there is no alliance between the USSR and Germany, that Russia is trying, with Turkey, to form a neutral bloc of all East Europe, much as we try to form a strong neutral bloc to keep war out of the Americas... In fact, I think one of the tragedies of today's history is that our State Department --with its anti-Soviet permanent officials---do not see how similar the Soviet purposes in foreign affairs are ~~to~~ our own... We intend to sell to everybody; so does Russia. We intend to keep out of the fighting; so does she. We are trying to organize a strong group of neutrals under our initiative and protection; so is the USSR...

109-26 DITMARS BOULEVARD  
EAST ELMHURST, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.  
HAVEMEYER 6-8873

I think there is not the slightest doubt that Stalin and Molotov urged on Von Ribbentrop the desirability of reconstituting Poland, in order to get peace. ... And that they even put some pressure behind the suggestion. It seems from several despatches that Hitler is now offering just that..Of course Hitler is a wild beast, and more or less crazy, and he may change his mind on it. I think I agree with you that I would rather fall into Chamberlain's hands than Hitler's, especially if I were, as I am, an Anglo-Saxon. But I think we may even see some changes now in Germany, that the Russians can do things to Germany as a friendly neutral, which they could not do as an enemy...

I wish I could take up your other comments about the USSR and Stalin.. When last we met, we discussed only the United States, which seemed at the time more important...But I think you have gradually picked up an impression of the Soviet Union that is not quite true...Religion still goes on in that country: freedom of religion is guaranteed in the Constitution, and high-handed Soviet officials have been given prison sentences for unlawful actions against churches. The 11,000,000 Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians now joined to the USSR will now get back their own Greek Catholic churches, which Roman Catholic Poland to some extent suppressed by force...I've already seen despatches about peasants weeping for joy because the new government protects their right, not only to their own language and schools, but to the kind of church they choose.

I agree with you that killing lots of people is ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~highly deplorable. Roumania killed 2000, it seems, in connection with the assassination of her Prime Minister. East Europe is still a brutal place. But when I read the report of the way the German advance through Poland was helped by thousands of German agents, who had infiltrated into every organization in the country and when I reflected that the Nazis had prepared the same fate for the USSR,, I realize that they had to be drastic about spies...And I do not know of any killings that took place without some sort of legal process in the USSR, though I think that process was ~~in some cases~~ <sup>often</sup> too swift and secret.

In any case, the Russian people do control their own government, to a far greater extent than you realize. There are constant recalls of public officials; and even the inner Party elections are now done by secret ballot, by which Stalin could be overthrown. There is, of course, a very strong political machine, but the people keep adding to, subtracting from and modifying government action in a lot of effective ways....That is one reason why I wanted you to see the Soviet Pavilion.

.....I was in Washington very briefly last week, and had a long talk with Senator Schwollenbach, from my home state...Did I tell you that I have now established my voting rights in Seattle, and shall vote in absentia..I feel quite thrilled. Senator Schwollenbach explained the new Neutrality amendments; they seem to me a very conscientious job, intended really to keep us out of war.. But I'm still hoping that, by the time they are passed, there won't be any war,...

Yours, with much appreciation of your patience  
in listening to me,

*Bessie Louise Strong*

100  
October 9, 1939

Dear Dr. Strong:

Your letter interested me very much and, as I always do, I am passing it on to the President.

If you are right, then we are far safer in this world than many of us think we are, and I can only feel that time alone can tell.

I wish I knew a little more on my own about Russia. Perhaps some day I will be able to go and actually see for myself. In the meantime I really do hope to see the Russian Pavilion, though I may have to do it in a very quiet manner, and I do hope to see you and your husband when next I am in New York for any length of time.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
109-26 Ditmars Blvd.  
East Elmhurst  
Long Island NY

SO



October 17, 1939.

Dear Mrs. Strong:

I am very much interested in the clippings which you sent me. It is a most bewildering world, and I am glad of course to have your point of view and any information you can give me.

On the other hand, there is a Polish officer who was taken prisoner in the part of Poland taken over by Russia, who escaped. He reports that every little land owner and every priest was shot by the Russian army. I realize that these things happen in war and soldiers can not be controlled, but they do not make the picture as charming as you would seem to make it.

The information from Finland would lead one to believe that there had been some fairly definite demands on Finland, and I feel sure that the President would not have written to President Kallinen unless his information had been authentic.

However, as I said before, time will show what is true and until then, we must all withhold our judgment.

I have just realized that the Fair closes the end of October, and I doubt if I get to the pavilion before that because I am so busy and not because I think it inadvisable.

109-26 DITMARS BOULEVARD  
EAST ELMHURST, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.  
HAVEMEYER 6-8873

Oct. 12, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

You are one swell person. It is good to find somebody who can puncture the hysteria of the Dies Committee with a little decency and common sense.... But really, that committee is becoming a serious danger. I wish Mr. Murphy would find out who is this "Krivitsky" who is making such scandalous accusations; I think some real investigation would puncture him. He claims to have been high up in the Soviet Secret Service, but many of his statements are utterly illiterate to anyone who has ever been a correspondent over there... He doesn't even know that Stalin is a member of the government, and he has Molotov down as a former head of the Comintern. He has the marks of an impostor.

Thank you for your letter. It is amazingly hospitable to my views in the midst of all the present anti-Soviet interpretations. So I think I'll give you some more. I note that Winston Churchill agrees with me that the Soviet march into Poland stopped Hitler's conquests of East Europe. So I'll call that clear.

On Baltic States, this Finnish hysteria seems to me a copy of the London hysteria which makes the queen carry a gas mask against an attack which never comes.. Buried away inside yesterday's Herald-Tribune was the United Press statement that "foreign naval experts in Moscow" said there "was no indication of recently increased concentrations (of Soviet forces) either on sea or land near Finland". The excitement, therefore, seems to me largely manufactured from above, and may be the beginning of a British attempt--noted by the London Evening Standard--to "switch the war" from Germany to the USSR

Also buried inside yesterday's Times was a very significant despatch from Gedye, about the Baltic diplomats from the little states. They all said that not a word of threat was used by the USSR in the negotiations, that the USSR could have annexed and sovietized them without Germany or Britain preventing it, but did not do so, and that there is sincere satisfaction in their states over the treaties. They even say that the situation is better for them than if the USSR had joined with Britain and France against Hitler, for in that case Germany would have brought the war right into the Baltic States., whereas now the USSR will have time to fortify them adequately. ..Rather different from most ~~max~~ headlines!

The announced German repatriation of Baltic Germans seems to me a touch of genius, suggested by Moscow. These Germans are the upper class in the Baltic States. In 1917 the native Latvian regiments joined the revolution, but the Baltic Soviet Republics were overthrown by the German "Landwehr" which called in regular German troops and the British fleet. Since their "repatriation" is voluntary, except for the small fraction which are actually German citizens, the ones who will choose to leave are those who fear eventual socialization of their properties. These will get properties inside Germany and will turn over their Baltic properties to the German government; I think the latter may use it to pay for raw materials from the USSR without over-loading the German factories.

Then the USSR can return them to the Latvian and Estonian governments in payment of rent for naval bases, or can give them to Latvian peasant cooperatives in return for milk. In any case, it will mean that the Latvian people will begin to own their own lands and industries, much more than they did before. And probably, since the transfer comes via governments, in a more socialized form than they were before.

You know that idea of socialism without violence by "buying out the capitalists". I am not sure that it would always work, but I think it can be worked in the Baltic States, where the big capitalists are Germans, and where the USSR may buy them out to avoid turmoil... I mentioned this idea to my husband and he laughed and said: "You are a good merchant, but perhaps it may happen like that, though it is not so simple as you sound!"

What I really like about the elimination of the Baltic-Germans is that it makes the retribution fit the crime... While British diplomacy talks of "ending Hitlerism" by killing a few million Germans, French and British, Soviet diplomacy lands the penalty right where it belongs.. German invasion of Poland cost Germany her outposts of Baltic empire. The penalties were not paid in lives of German people or in values their industry had created; those values can still be traded in for things the German people need. But the class whose imperialist appetites drove the Germany army beyond the Polish corridor into the heart of Poland, and thus brought in the Russians..that class pays by the loss of imperial privileges built up through hundreds of years..

Have you noted that they are holding elections in the Soviet-occupied part of Poland, in which everybody over 18 votes, regardless of sex, race, nationality, religion, education, residence, or previous activities" in a secret ballot, one representative for every 5000 voters, for a National Assembly to decide what kind of future state they want,

Do you mind my calling your attention to these things. They are frankly one-sided, to give you the side that is buried rather deep in the papers.....If you should be able to visit the Pavilion, it can be done most quietly. If you haven't time, or find it inadvisable, I shall understand. For I consider it very inadvisable to attract any unnecessary attacks on either you or the President these days,

Yours,

Russia Louise Strong



No Increased troops  
Near Finland

Herald Tribune,  
Oct 11

FROM THE FINLAND BORDER.  
(The United Press quoted foreign naval experts in Moscow as saying that the naval base at Kronstadt normally sheltered the best warships of the Soviet Baltic fleet and that there was no indication of recently increased concentrations, either on sea or land, near Finland.)

Gedye's interview with Baltic  
diplomats in Moscow, N.Y. Times Oct 11.

In Baltic circles here there is a tendency to deprecate what is considered an exaggeration of the new situation. While appreciating foreign sympathy, it is said the Baltic statesmen feel they know the Russians better than the people of more distant countries and consider that the attacks on Russia over these new pacts, the suspicions entertained of her program and the gloomy views taken of the future of the Baltic States go rather too far.

For one thing, it is said to be assured that none of these States has been in any way threatened by the Soviet Union in the course of the Moscow negotiations, which, whatever may have been the actual situation, were conducted throughout with full formal courtesy. The Baltic States consider that they have shown a capacity for diplomacy in recognizing that the Soviet Union is in a position to make certain demands on them, conforming with Russia's needs as a great power, for the use of ice-free ports on the Baltic as naval bases for her protection.

These States were among the first to recognize the Soviet Union in 1920 and to conclude peace with it. When they did so the outside world thought they were adopting a suicidal course, just as it is widely considered that they are doing so now. But the Baltic States consider that events have not justified the gloomy prognostications. The Soviet Union has properly observed the letter of its treaties and no reason is found to distrust its future conduct.

It is pointed out that the Soviet Union up to the present time has been able to demand almost any conditions up to full annexation and Sovietization and that neither Germany nor the democracies could have prevented their enforcement. Since the Soviet Union has not asked more than it has received, or is about to receive, it is contended that there is no reason to suspect that it has any intention of taking more.

"It Might Have Been Worse"

It is declared that the expressions of satisfaction over the treaties, as recorded in the Baltic press, have been generally genuine and realistic, since "it might have been a great deal worse," and that measures are being taken in Estonia and Latvia for native armies not only to guard the railroad tracks and prevent any demonstrations by hostile elements but also to afford cordial official welcomes at stations en route.

The departure of the Germans is

Elections in Western Ukraine  
(Daily Worker, Oct. 11)

MOSCOW, Oct. 11.—A western Ukraine National Assembly will be elected Oct. 22, a week from this Sunday, on the basis of universal, equal and secret suffrage, to decide under what kind of state the western Ukrainians desire to live. Resolutions being adopted at mass meetings in western

Ukrainian towns and villages are proposing that Soviet power be established, that the western Ukraine be incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, that confiscation of landed estates and their division among the peasants be approved, and that banks and large factories be nationalized.

The initiative for convocation of the National Assembly was taken by the Lwow provisional council, and was supported by the provisional administrations of Stanislavov, Tarnopol and Luck (Luts).

An organizing committee has been formed including two invited representatives of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Election rules issued by the committee provide that there shall be one representative for 5,000 population. All persons, without distinction of sex, race, nationality, religious creed, education, residence, social origin, property status or past activity, who have reached the age of 18, shall be entitled to vote and run for election.

The right of nomination of candidates was granted to peasant committees, provisional councils, factory meetings and intellectuals' conferences.

Election areas and commissions are already being established.

in no way regretted in the Baltic States, it is said. To the general populace "German" suggests a "Baltic baron"—a member of an unloved class of feudal overlords who constantly sought the aid of Berlin in interfering for their own interest in the national affairs of the Baltic States and who are generally considered to have conducted themselves in an arrogant manner as members of a "superior race."

The population consoles itself for the advent of the Russians with the thought that there is a natural Russian tendency to regard the inhabitants of the Baltic States as cultural superiors and with the general Russian willingness to admire and respect the foreigner.

Although it is perhaps regretfully recognized that the Russian price, in the way of naval bases on the Baltic to defend the Baltic States against "indirect aggression" by Germany, demanded as part of the total price Russia wished for assisting Great Britain and France in their peace front during the abortive Summer negotiations, was considerably lower than what she has

now obtained for herself without going to war, the Baltic populations find compensation here also.

German Attack Averted

Had Russia joined the peace front, they say, there would have been an immediate German attack on their shores on the day the war broke out, long before the Soviet Union could have constructed intended defense works. As it is, they are out of the war and Russia presumably will have ample time to construct formidable defense works before any threat of war can come their way.

These views are commonly expressed in Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian circles. They do not in any way apply to Finnish circles, where a far greater hostility toward the Soviet Union and a disinclination to compromise on the question of naval bases is discernible.

There is no confirmation here of sensational reports published abroad that the Soviet is suddenly massing gigantic forces along the Finnish frontier and concentrating an "armada" at Kronstadt. For some weeks the Soviet has had considerable troop concentrations on the Finnish frontier, as previously along other Baltic frontiers, but nothing is known here as to these movements having taken on a particularly alarming aspect.

There is still no change in the Turkish dead.



October 21, 1939

100.

Dear Mrs. Strong:

I was interested in seeing  
your reply to Mr. Dies. I had not seen  
the accusations so I do not know what they  
were.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Anna Louise Strong  
109-26 Ditmars Blvd.  
East Elmhurst, L.I., N.Y.

DD

*Call  
10-21-37*

109-26 DITMARS BOULEVARD  
EAST ELMHURST, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.  
HAVEMEYER 6-8873

*Had not seen  
accusations  
10-14-37*

*Had not seen  
accusations  
ES*

October 16, 1937

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I do not know how widely the accusations made against me by Sing Sing convict Holkin before the Dies Committee, was circulated in Washington. In case it reached you, I enclose a copy of the wire I am sending.

I suppose each of us only realizes the full danger of that Dies Committee when we are one by one personally attacked. It is my belief that if it keeps on there will not be a single progressive unscathed by them.

Regards,

*Anna Louise Strong*

October 16, 1939

Martin Dies  
House Office Bldg.  
Washington, D.C.

CATEGORICALLY DENY SING SING CONVICT MALKIN'S ACCUSATION  
AGAINST MY AMERICANISM AND HOLD YOU PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR  
KNOWINGLY FRAMING AND PUBLICIZING BAREFACED LIES BY CONFESSED  
CRIMINALS AGAINST DECENT AMERICANS OF THREE HUNDRED YEARS  
STANDING STOP TODAY'S WORST DANGER TO OUR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IS  
YOUR SCANDALMONGERING COMMITTEE WHICH ORGANIZES STOOLPIGEONS  
AND CRIMINALS TO SMEAR ALL PROMINENT AMERICAN PROGRESSIVES IN  
ORDER TO PREPARE UNRESTRAINED DICTATORSHIP OF YOUR PLUTOCRATIC  
BOSSES

Anna Louise Strong

100  
October 25, 1939.

Dear Mrs. Strong:

As usual, I shall pass your letter on to my husband so he can have your point of view.

I do not think the story about the Polish officer came from British sources. I think it came direct through our own Embassy people.

I should like to see your husband and will try to do so the next time I am in New York, but my days seem to fill up almost before I realize it.

I am now on a lecture trip and will not be back until around the middle of November.

The thing which is doing Russia the most harm in this country, no matter how much we all of us dislike the Dies Committee, is the fact that Earl Browder and various other American communists, are discovered not to have been acting as free agents but as directed ones. This is as bad for good relationships between Russia and ourselves as the Bund tie up with Germany is bad for our relationship with them.

It is one thing to have American citizens believe in a theory of government and argue for it on a perfectly independent basis, but to have it fostered by another country is not looked upon with favor over here.

I can perfectly well understand how your husband feels, but I can also understand other points of view. For instance, I do not feel as suspicious of every move the British people make as you do. I know the British are



selfish. I know what they have done in the past, and I know that we may find ourselves opposing them when it comes to the making of the ultimate peace, but that does not make me feel completely comfortable when people frankly admit having done certain things in this country at the direction of the government in Moscow. I blame the Finns for having executed 25,000 trade unionists, if they did, but I do not blame them for being afraid of being walled in by Russia. That seems a natural fear no matter what pact was offered them, particularly if that pact with many little concessions would seem to favor Russian influence.

How hard it is to arrive at the truth about anything!

Very sincerely yours,

109-26 DITMARS BOULEVARD  
EAST ELMHURST, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.  
HAVEMEYER 6-8873

Oct 19, 1938

*In the President*

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

If I believed that Polish officer's account of the entrance of the Red Army into Poland---or even your kindly explanation of the alleged actions as due to indiscipline of war---I should give up the USSR and leave my husband this very day. I think the tale is an out-and-out lie, probably conveyed to the President by British influence in our own State Department, for the purpose of involving us in war.

Joel, my husband, was in 1919 one of the unarmed civilian workers who went a few hours behind the Red Army to organize schools, at a time when the army was much less disciplined than now. He says the Army passed on, leaving a few guards and the civilian organizers. The latter called a village meeting and for the first twenty-four hours made no speeches themselves, not wishing to over-awe a long-oppressed population by official authority but to stimulate that popular self-expression without which no democratic liberties are safe....Then, on the basis of popular self-expression, local government would be organized, with teachers and police.

During this period the unarmed civilian organizers were often shot at by landlords, officers and priests from ambush---he himself had many narrow escapes---but even these landlords were not killed without trial, unless it occurred in actual combat, cleaning out their machine-gun nests. The procedure was for the newly organized local police to arrest any such disturbers and bring them to trial. He remembers one landlord, whom he caught smuggling a lot of Brownings for purposes of insurrection; this man was jailed but not executed. ..Joel says the procedure is so well established and the Red Army's entrance to Poland was so clearly not a battle but a policing job, that the Polish officer's statement is an outright lie, with very sinister purposes.

Since it seems so clear that cooperation of our country with the Soviet Union is the one thing that has even a slight chance of ending the war, and even of reconstituting a Poland which shall be independent, and neither a German nor a British puppet-state, as Poland was before, ---and since this chance lessens with every hour that passes and may even now be gone---it seems to me the most ghastly possible crime against humanity to ~~stout~~ falsehoods which mar the possibility of friendly cooperation between our country and the USSR. Isn't it possible for the President to suggest that several American correspondents of repute, like Godye, go into Eastern Poland to attend the elections scheduled for the 22nd, and at the same time check stories about atrocities, and see who, if anyone, did them.. I know, of course, there were Ukrainian Nazi bands who killed Poles till the Red Army put them down...But isn't a swift and public checking of the facts the most important thing that could be done just now?...Moscow, as you know, does not now censor foreign correspondents' despatches...I myself am convinced that the people in these territories are freer than they ever were; why else are nearly a million Jews fleeing to enter Soviet-controlled territory.

Yours with deep hopes--even yet --for peace,

*Anna Louise Strong*

P.S. Joel says if you want to visit the Pavilion without the crowds, it can be kept open any evening after ten or on Mondays before noon. I hope you will see him, if not the Pavilion, before he goes back.

You may be interested in his remark this morning, --the unofficial remarks of a former Soviet diplomat at breakfast: "I think we shall not again resume discussions with Finland until they ask us. We offered them, without any threat, a pact which is more necessary to them than to us, yet they chose to stage a panic and hurt our standing as much as possible before the whole world. How bitterly they hate us! That Passikiyi was Premier of the government that slaughtered 25,000 of their own Finnish trade-unionists for sympathizing with us. Let them wait, then. It is they, not we, who need trade outlets; it is they, not we, who will be unprotected if the war flames into the Baltic...As for the Balkans, I think we shall not bother with them if Turkey opens them to British ~~influence~~; there are too many unreconcilable interests there. Why help King Carol and thereby antagonize King Victor Emanuel, unless thereby we keep war out of the Black Sea? If Turkey decides to open the Black Sea to the British, it is Turkey and not we, who will be betrayed by them...I think we shall now turn attention to China, since Britain and France are withdrawing support from her, and America has long all the time assisted Japan...I think it is the Chinese now who need us, if peace is not to be had in Europe".

\* i.e. American capitalists

pressure;

*file*  
November 10, 1939

*100*  
*Mrs. Roosevelt*

Dear Dr. Strong:

Mrs. Roosevelt asks me to say that she will be very happy to have you and your husband come to lunch at the apartment, 20 East 11th Street, on Saturday, November 18, at 1:00 p.m.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
109-26 Ditmars Boulevard  
East Elmhurst  
Long Island  
New York

0



TELEGRAM

*ad 11-10*

The White House  
Washington

*ask for Sunday Oct 18<sup>th</sup> 1939*

27wumc 12 915p

Washington, D.C., Nov. 8, 1939.

Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt.

Joel and I are at Hotel Lafayette. Would love to see you.

Anna Louise Strong.

File

Nov 17 1939

100

Hotel Latham  
Nov. 16, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Your telegram came hardly an hour after I mailed  
my acceptance. Sorry; better luck next time. I am  
sending this acknowledgement both to Washington and to  
11th St. as I am not sure where you are,

Yours,

*Anna Louise Strong*

November 17, 1939

7/1/28  
100

Dear Dr. Strong:

I have your letter of November 14 and am so sorry that I had to change my plans for lunch on Saturday, but something unexpected and unavoidable caused me to do it.

I am sorry too that your husband leaves on the 22d and that I will not be back before that and have had no chance to see him.

I hope you can have tea with me at 20 East 11th Street at five o'clock on the 28th.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Latham  
NYC

*I am sorry to hear  
 her husband knows  
 that before I got back  
 he had to go to  
 Hotel Latham (CA 5 8300)  
 28th Fifth Avenue  
 New York City  
 November 14, 1939  
 I'll be back with me  
 for 20th at 5*

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Your letters are always important to me, for they show me what views are developping among American progressives---among whom I rate you as about the top--both about the USSR and about American Communists. Both in your letter to me and in your press conference you seem to think that the American Communists themselves admit that their first allegiance is to Moscow, and that they take orders from a foreign government to carry out in this country...I know they are widely charged with this, but I don't think any of them admit it. The only "admissions" of this have been by ex-criminals, ex-Communists, expelled and discredited people before the Dies Committee.

I had myself the chance to check this somewhat, for I was among the many guests present some years back at the Convention where the American Communist Party adopted their present constitution. It was made very plain that only American citizens could be members, and that only the votes of the members had any binding force about the party's policy. They have, of course, a great admiration for the USSR as the first socialist country; in earlier days I think they tended to wish to follow that country somewhat more slavishly than they do now. But they have repeatedly denied that any "orders" regarding America are ever received from Moscow or would be obeyed if they were received. I think in this they are speaking truthfully. I think their lack of understanding of the Soviet-German Pact for the first days after its announcement, shows that the connection is not as close as commonly supposed.

I went last night to their big celebration of the 22nd anniversary of the Soviet Revolution--Madison Square was filled and doors closed long before 8-- and picked up a pamphlet which I thought might interest you as giving the exact words of that Boston speech about which the papers made so much fuss.....I have marked it.....

We have moved into New York since the Fair ended; Joel is preparing to return to Moscow, possibly--though not certainly--on the 22nd. He stayed over to look up the utilization of wheat straw and corn-stalks for making building boards; that is what we were doing in Washington when I wired you that we were there. He has worked on this subject in his spare time for some years, and dreams of settling down on one of the 200,000 acre farms of North Caucasus and setting up a factory to make building materials from farm wastes.

Meantime he has given me the theme for my American book. For when I asked him his opinion of the country, he said: "It is a spacious land where the human being has room to accomplish whatever he desires. No other land except the USSR offers such great limitless chances...It is a land for the brave"...So "LAND FOR THE BRAVE" seems my theme for the book,

Y<sup>rs</sup>,  
*Anne Louise Stang*

P S I enclose a copy of an article by me about the Soviet-German pact.



410

file

November 25, 1937

Dear Dr. Strong:

Mrs. Roosevelt received your note of November 20 and asked me to tell you that no one else is coming to tea on the 28th. She will be delighted to meet your husband at that time.

Mrs. Lued

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Latham  
28th and Fifth Avenue  
New York  
N.Y.

0

11/20

Nov 20, 1939

NOV 21 1939

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

I shall be very glad to have tea with you at five o'clock on the 29th in your New York apartment.

Joel is still here; he now expects to sail early in December. I shall not bring him unless I hear from you for I do not know your plans or what other people you are asking,

Yours,

Anna Louise Strong

Hotel Latham, 29th and Fifth Avenue

Tell the woman else coming ✓  
Love D Sweet the husband

December 13, 1939

100

My dear Dr. Strong:

Of course, I have no way of telling what is true and what is untrue which I hear or read, but one thing which you state I happen to know is absolutely untrue.

The President received continuously long hand letters from Ambassador Bowers which came through with the seals unbroken. When I read him your letter he said he thought you had better take it for granted that both he and Secretary Hull knew a great deal more about these situations than you evidently think they do.

It is possible that there are people in the State Department whose attitude would be unfriendly to certain groups, but there are always ways in which authentic information could be had and both he and the Secretary get it and it is foolish to think that either of them are being fooled by any country at the present time.

I am afraid that the situation in Finland, though it may make Constancia de la Mora feel that they should be joyous, does not seem to develop that way because no matter how much you should want to be ruled by certain people, if you do not want to be ruled by them, it does not make you joyous.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
Leonia Court  
Bowne and Cherry streets  
Flushing, L. I.

d.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 12, 1939.

MEMORANDUM FOR .

MRS. ROOSEVELT

You might tell Anna Louise Strong that the report given her that Ambassador Bowers could not get reports and letters through to me is the kind of rot that she ought not to believe -- and that Bowers' frequent long-hand letters to me came straight through to me with the seals unbroken. She might just as well get it into her head that the Secretary of State and the President know a great deal more about conditions than she has any idea of.

F. D. R.



*Good  
Forward this to him  
DE  
H.A.*

*Note new address*  
↓  
Leonie Court  
Bowne and Cherry Streets  
Flushing, Long Island  
December 5, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Congratulations on your sessions with Martin Dies and the three meals with the young people. Perhaps you are the only person who could go up against the Dies Committee and emerge with laurels. I am sure the whole country appreciated it and that you can be leader-in-chief of American youth whenever you desire.

Joel has commented more than once on the enjoyable discussion we had with you. Regarding your feeling that Browder and Green are "agents" of the Soviet Government because they have reported to international congresses in Moscow where important Russians also spoke, Joel said: "But Mrs. Roosevelt, herself, spoke in Poughkeepsie at an international youth congress. Does this mean that any young people of Latin America who made reports there are henceforth 'agents of Yankee imperialism' in their own countries?" I, myself, think the comparison is a fair one.

*Joel was I*  
These past few days everything has been engulfed by the news from Finland. Neither of us expected it; at first it upset me terribly. Now, however, I am beginning to doubt the truth of those reports about bombing of civilians. Constanca de la Mora tells me she is "very joyous for Finland and regretting we could not have had the same help for Spain." She said about the bombings: "But I have seen how those tales are manufactured -- by correspondents on cabled orders and even by diplomats on instructions from home." I, myself, noticed that Mr. Schoenfeld's first report -- that they bombed the Malmi airdrome and the fortresses in the bay and that "some buildings were burning near the legation" -- was suppressed in later editions of the Times, since when the State Department has given a sort of "summary".

I fear I don't entirely trust the permanent staff of our State Department. My literary agent -- also agent for Ambassador Bowers -- told me the Ambassador tried desperately to report the actual conditions in Spain to the President, but the permanent staff intercepted his reports, even when he wrote by hand -- not trusting the official stenographer -- and tried to smuggle it through by personal friends. A member of the Soviet Embassy staff recently told me: "Mr. Hull is an honest man, but the permanent staff keeps the facts from getting to him." I fear there are people in that department who would like to involve us in war with the USSR. I am glad to note by the press the indications that the President intends to be careful; I hope he will be doubly so. I enclose a clipping giving the other side of the story.

It seems clear to me that Britain is trying to involve us against the USSR through our sympathies with Finland. (I shall be interested to check whether the London press has the same account of the bombings

which we have been given; if so, I do not see why Bernard Shaw, H.G. Wells, and the Dean of Canterbury all justify Russia.) Twenty years ago, Lenin said that Britain "has Finland in its pocket"; in the past two decades Britain replaced Czarist Russia as the dominant factor in Finland's foreign trade; President Ryti, himself, was knighted by King George for his services to Britain; the British organized the Finnish Army in 1924 and surveyed it again this past summer. Joel tells me the Helsinki airdrome was built by the Nazis -- when they were cooperating with Chamberlain -- and was big enough to accommodate "half the Nazi airfleet" and designed to bomb Leningrad, Moscow, Viatka and Magnitogorsk. Finland has military airfields enough for ten times her entire airfleet, planned by the British Tories and the Nazis for joint use against the USSR.

In the midst of all these contradictory statements, I am glad I have no lecture dates about Russia for several weeks. By that time I hope the facts will be clearer or else I think the lectures will probably be cancelled.

So I think I must take my mind away from Europe and begin to work on my American material. We are all of us, I fear, neglecting America through our distraction with the war. Meantime people are starving in Cleveland; the old problems remain..... Have you any books to recommend for a bird's-eye view of the last eight years, just to be sure I leave out none of the important stages. I am told that the President's writings -- especially "On Our Way" -- are perhaps the best. Would you agree with that selection? Something which gives in simple language the basic philosophy of the New Deal. To what extent do you think that philosophy is still going to be operative under the conditions of war?

With regards.

*Anna Louise Strong*

Bombing of Viborg, Russian  
account, from New York  
Times, December 5, 1939

7/17/40 - 1:15 PM  
K. Arenin, writing in the Leningrad Pravda, describes how he saw the bombing of Viborg. Before flying off Soviet airmen were warned, he says, that if a single bomb hit the houses of civilians they would be severely punished. Over Viborg airfield, he says, "we saw no other planes aloft; in several minutes the airfield went up in smoke and the buildings were enveloped in flames."

"The electric power station," he goes on, "was a wonderful target. Any other but a Soviet aviator would have bombed it, especially as it supplies current for electrifying the barbed-wire entanglements on the Isthmus of Karelia."

"The Soviet aviators think of tomorrow when better days will come to the suffering Finnish people and when the power station will be needed by the workers in one of the biggest cities in Finland."

**Only Cable Destroyed**

Instead, he says, the airmen simply bombed the cable from the

power station to the defenses, returning without a loss.

"Later the aviators smilingly listened to [Premier Vyacheslav] Molotov's words replying to President Roosevelt's note requesting a ban on the bombing of civilians," the writer goes on. "What a strange conception the President the United States has of Soviet men."

2

December 29, 1939

100

My dear Dr. Strong:

I think that the people who are investigating the Minneapolis strike have tried to do so in a fair way. I know that justice is not always done and there may be injustices in this case, but I am quite sure that the department under Mr. Murphy is on the whole trying to be liberal and fair.

I do not feel that I know enough about the whole Minneapolis situation to pass judgment as to what has happened there in these trials.

I did not exclude American Communists from their rights under the Bill of Rights. Of course, they have a right to be communists and to be heard, but Mr. Browder, even though the government apparently did not take up his case as soon as it should, in his own speech seemed to me to state that he owed his first allegiance to Russia rather than to the United States. In addition to that, he falsified his passports for some reason which may have seemed valid to him. I am told, for instance, that he says that people like Mr. J. P. Morgan do not always have their names on the passenger lists of ships, but they do not falsify passports and it is different to ask a steamship line to leave your name off or to try to fool your government.



I made no implication whatsoever about Mr. Gerson as I know nothing about him. I answered a question I was asked - it was whether I thought that some one who held allegiance to another country and who was a communist and who stated his primary interest was in another country, should hold public office. I replied that he should not be appointed to public office and I still believe that. In answer to a second question, about Mr. Gerson, I stated that I knew nothing about him and, therefore, could not answer, but that communists who are Americans and who are willing to operate under our laws, have to learn that there is a fundamental difference between democracy and communism. They may not say so in their constitution and by-laws, but they know that there is because we clearly recognize the right of personal property and communism does not. If they are American citizens, they must be willing to abide by our democratic form of government, agreeing that in an orderly fashion, as we amend all of our laws, we will some day have to amend our constitution if it becomes an accepted desire of the American people to do so. They are only foreign agents if they do not accept this method of work, and if they work according to directions from another country, Russia or any other, of course, and report to Russia on what they are doing here.

There would be no point in my meeting Mr. Browder because he could not in any way change my mind on what he has done, although I would have, of course, no reason for refusing to meet him if we happened to meet.



I have met many communists in the past, and I would still fight for their right to hold their own views and to talk about them as long as they did not preach revolution and stuck to the democratic formula of evolution.

The "Nation" seems to me to be saying something which had better come first from the President. He is quite capable of stating to Congress, or to the press, what he intends to do.

I see no reason for believing Mr. Matthews' statements when you know they are wrong, but I think also that Mr. Dies has the right to investigate whatever they wish to investigate as long as they do so in a proper manner.

I will try to say more clearly what I believe at all times. I seem to have done it very poorly of late.

Very sincerely yours,

d.

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
Leonia Court  
Bowne & Cherry Sts,  
Flushing, L. I.  
New York

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Strong:

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I will try to say more clearly what I believe at all times.  
I seem to have done it very poorly of late.

E.R.



Leonia G. B. /  
Browder & Cherry St  
Flushing

Flushing, L. I.  
December 18, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you very much for the information about Mr. Bowers. I am especially glad to be set right, not because of the one item--which I quoted to no one by yourself--but because of the light shed on the unreliable character of the literary agent who misinformed me.

I agree with you that one cannot feel "joyous" over Finland. I think I did wrong in repeating, even to you, that brief--and perhaps temporary--reaction of Constancia. Like you, I am deeply distressed by the sufferings of the Finnish people.....But I have at last succeeded in pulling my thoughts away from Europe and in working on the first draft of my New Deal material. The book's probable title is: "LAND FOR THE BRAVE". <sup>What seems to you to have happened to the</sup> New Deal for which a few months ago we were fighting? How much do you think there is going to be left of it? Is it merely that my own attention ~~has~~ wandered towards the war in Europe, and on coming back, is shocked by some of what I see? For instance, by the mass trials taking place in Minneapolis, for "conspiracy to intimidate", where 163 WPA strikers, one third of them women, find that picketing has become a federal offense. I saw those women weeping last July because they thought they had been struggling to help Roosevelt, in opposing the Woodrum Bill. Now they are being convicted in large numbers for their organized protest to the government.

What has worried me most this last week has been some of the things you yourself have said or written. I welcomed your criticism of the Dies Committee and your fine championship of the Bill of Rights. Was I wrong, however, in feeling that in those very paragraphs you are beginning to exclude the Communists from its benefits? When I last saw you, you said you would "bellow for their rights to be heard". Now your column seems to put "Communists, Communist fronts and Communist transmission belts" (the last includes Yale College, since it allowed Browder to speak there!) in a different category from "perfectly innocent people". I took this as rather unintentional until I saw what seems to be your implication of Mr. Gerson as a "foreign agent". I have met Mr. Gerson only once, but I know that Barrough President Isaacs defended him against the reactionaries as a good citizen and an honest, efficient official. He will no longer be able, I think, to defend him against you.

Do you really consider <sup>by other</sup> that Communists are "foreign agents"? Or were your words somewhat twisted in the matter of Mr. Gerson? Don't you think that before publicly declaring them "foreign agents" you owe them the right you yourself asked for everyone--to be confronted with the evidence? Should you not at least meet Mr. Browder or some leading Communist in making up your mind? Your column implies that you might hesitate to meet such a person.

This whole thing seems to me terribly important and terribly dangerous.

Every country that has marched into fascism has begun by denying rights to the Communists, then to left wing trade unionists, then to all others. That is why their rights seem to me so tremendously essential. If I have imputed to you more than you meant in those published utterances I apologize in advance, but I am startled when The Nation says that the President intends to have Congress outlaw the Communists. Certainly the present drive against them, the bringing up of ancient charges long known to the government, the fixing of high bails, etc., seems to be the beginning of a move in that direction. That is why I am distressed to see you also apparently moving toward the conviction that they should be outlawed. For I am convinced that once this happens, the CIO will follow, then the liberals, and then we shall plunge headlong into fascism and war.

Have you ever seen the constitution of the Communist Party? I am sending you a copy, marking places that seem to me important. I was present two years ago with hundreds of other guests at the National Convention which adopted it. I saw a long democratic discussion expressing obvious satisfaction by delegates from all states in the union as they made it crystal clear that they repudiated "force and violence", that they defended the American Constitution, that they took orders only from their own democratically elected National Convention, not from any foreign person or power. The constitution thus adopted, which becomes the enforceable law of the organization, cannot be dismissed as a trick.

I don't doubt the movement had at the start many discreditable elements. All such movements have. The LaFollette Committee found that the auto workers in Flint, when first organized, had General Motors spies in one-third of their leading posts. But this did not make them an agent of General Motors, since through democratic struggle they threw such elements out as fast as discovered. Similar struggles, it seems to me, have taken place in the Communist Party over a period of years, throwing out the advocates of force and violence, the criminals, the steel pigeons! (It is even alleged that one of the most rabid of the early documents was written by a Department of Justice agent inside the party as agent provocateur). In any case, why should one believe the collection of expelled criminals which Mr. Dies has brought together to testify about the organization that expelled them?

Across the country as I travelled, I saw that Communists in proportion to their numbers were working harder and with more devotion for all the New Deal Measures than the Democrats did. They may not always have worked wisely. Who does? They especially were working under the handicap that if they admitted their party connection it was held to discredit the New Deal measure they advocated, while if they concealed it they were held to be boring from within. But their energy and allegiance was clearly devoted to the welfare of the American people as they saw it. As to Mr. Browder, I have never met a person more deeply filled with the American traditions. I am convinced that however I may disagree with his exact interpretations, the moving spring of his actions is a deep love for the American people and a concern for their welfare.

I know that you are under attack from all sides and that letters and questions are put to you which however you answer may be misused, but I fear that your recent statements may make you one of the chief persons quoted in what seems to me a dangerous attempt to deprive the Communists of the shelter of the Bill of Rights.

Very sincerely yours, with warm regards,

*Bessie Louise Strong*

P S The radio just brings news that the 200,000 Spaniards in France are to be sent forcibly back to Franco, and that 30,000 of them---the best fighters for democracy seen in our generation---will face a firing squad...Isn't there anything at all that our government and our Red Cross, which could act so quickly for Finland, can do for these people who face the ultimate penalty for their loyalty to the Republic...

100  
January 2, 1940

Dear Dr. Strong:

I gave your letter of December 21 to the President and he tells me that other volumes of his papers are being prepared for publication. They will not come out, however, for another year.

Thank you very much for your expression of good wishes for the Christmas season.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
Cherry and Bowne Streets  
Flushing  
L.I.

0



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 29, 1939.

MEMORANDUM FOR

MRS. ROOSEVELT

Tell her other volumes are  
in preparation but probably will  
not come out for a year.

*V*  
F. D. R.

ack  
1-2

LEONIA COURT  
Cherry and Bownes Streets  
Flushing, Long Island  
December 21, 1939

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I was delighted to learn last night from a friend arriving from Minneapolis, that the trials of the 163 people arrested in connection with the WPA strike last July are not proceeding quite so ruthlessly as I judged from the article in the New York Times. I gather that the judge has shown some discrimination, that in the first trial he directed the dismissal of charges against one man--a known Communist--who had even been a leader in the move to stop work but who had also conspicuously abstained from encouraging even the smallest amount of violence or interference with "strikebreakers". I am glad to know that the discrimination which should characterize the courts has not yet been overcome.

I have been reading the public papers and addresses of the President in that big five-volume edition issued by Random House. I find them as thrilling as a great drama. They are also highly useful in giving me the background of laws and official action out of which came the activities I saw in my cross country trip. I am sorry that they stop with early 1937. Has there been any comparable volume since? Now if I can only stop the constant inquiries from my lecture manager regarding the exact wording and the form for lectures some time next February, I may really succeed in becoming sufficiently absorbed in the American problem to finish my book. I'm inclined to think that the solution of our own internal questions may be as important for world history as the more spectacular events of Europe's war. Moreover, speaking personally, I think that there is a good chance that by February things may be so hot that all lectures on Russia will be cancelled and that I shall not want to lecture anyway.

Best wishes to you and the President for as happy a Christmas as you find possible in the present state of the world.

With best regards,

*Anna Louise Strong*

January 20, 1940

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My dear Mrs. Strong:

Everything else seems to me immaterial just now except the fact that Russia, with 180,000,000 people, attacked a small country like Finland and which makes me feel that the leaders have in some way lost their first ideals.

I have never questioned but what there were perfectly honest people here who believed in communism, who had no connection with Russia, and who were willing to live under the laws of this country. However, I think that Mr. Browder hasn't lived up to the laws of this country and, therefore, I am no longer interested in him.

I do not see why you should have been disturbed by the President's reference to Hamilton in his Jackson Day speech. What the President said about him was that he was the man to do a particular job needed at that time and he certainly was. He built up the finances of this country at a time when that was important. He did not say that Hamilton did the same kind of work which Jefferson did. His idea was simply that every man who does the job which is important has a value to the country.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Anna Louise Strong  
c/o Dr. Emily Pierson  
Cromwell, Conn.

DD

Strong

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except the fact that Khrushchev  
with 180,000 people allows  
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here in some way lost  
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with Khrushchev + who were  
willing to live under



the loss of this country.  
I think however that  
Mr. Bernard Davis  
lived up to the laws  
of this country & changed  
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in him.

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EP

EP

1-20-40  
care Dr Emily Pierson  
Cromwell, Conn.  
January 15, 1940

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I am sorry that my letter gave you the feeling that you had recently expressed yourself badly. I am having much the same trouble with trying to put words together in my book on America. Perhaps the speed of events is doing it to us both.

They move so fast that before I answer your letter, the problems which seemed to need answer have changed. I waited in order to ask Mr. Browder about that speech of his to which you refer. He sends me word that he cannot imagine what speech it is, for he is sure that he could never have implied that his first allegiance is to Russia rather than the United States, as that has never been his position..This confirms what I myself have seen for twenty years. It is one thing to admire certain achievements or ideas in another country, and wish them for ourselves; that is patriotic. It is another thing to give allegiance elsewhere. Nor do I even think allegiance to a country inconsistent with violating a law, though then one must be prepared for the penalty. Plenty of people violate speed laws, prohibition laws, and before our Civil war people who helped runaway slaves were law-breakers, yet patriots.

There is no sense in which Communists of America "report" to the Russian government. If to report one's achievements to an international congress, even to one in which <sup>the</sup> persons holding positions in other governments, is a crime, Mr Cyrus Adler does it, when he reports to a Zionist Congress; the young people of Latin America did it, when they reported to the Poughkeepsie international Youth Congress; the scores of American delegates to the Peace Congress in Brussels, presided over by Lord Cecil and Pierre Cot, particularly did it, etc. etc. In all these cases, and in many more, people consult and come to general conclusions on an international scale, and then apply what they have learned at home...To take secret orders from a foreign government is quite another matter; I think there is no indication that American Communists do. I have been present in enough local, state and national Communist meetings and conventions to be quite convinced that their policies are decided by the will of their American citizen members, expressing and deciding policies as final authority, as freely and democratically as in any political party we have.

You mention the Communist attitude towards "personal property" as something alien to "democracy"...All Communists recognize "personal property"; the Soviet Constitution explicitly defines and protects it in the form of money, government bonds, goods of consumption, houses,



autos, as well of tools of production for one's own use. What they do not admit is that one man should own the tools on which another man's livelihood depends. That is, they believe natural resources, railroads, utilities, industrial establishments should be publicly or cooperatively owned...What connection has this with "democracy"? Surely democracy becomes more fully possible when we all own and vote about our natural resources and big enterprises than when you own the factory where I work...I am not now discussing the extent of democracy in Russia; each nation builds from its own past. All American Communists strongly support all our democratic achievements, and wish to extend "People's Rule" over our economic life as well. Even this they do not advocate doing by force and violence, but by political organization and voting. They expect the force and violence to come, not from them, but from the big corporations, whenever the people move to curtail their privileges.

All of this, however, seems now not of immediate importance. I think Browder will not be tried on the passport question, nor on Communist theory. A month ago, when the press and the FBI began to feature this Dozenberg---whom only one of my Communist friends ever heard of and who seems to have had some local prominence in Chicago--as the "big shot" of the Communists, and also as doing espionage and counterfeiting on a big scale, I said to my Communist friends: "There's your Van Der Lubbe. This will be a more spectacular frame-up than even the Reichstag fire case. Charges of espionage, sabotage, treason against the government in war-time, using your 100,000 members to wreck our industries..That will be the line, combined with the outlawing of your party by Congress". They told me I was "seeing nightmares" but a few days ago I saw in the papers the nightmares begin to come true. I have not your confidence in the liberals--not even in the honesty--of the FBI. Like all such agencies in all countries it is out to build cases and to "get" its men. I remember the Palmer days. I think Mr Murphy is lucky in getting out before his reputation is smirched forever; that was the first thing I thought of when he was proposed for the Supreme Court, that he would escape going down in history with Palmer.

I am most disturbed, however, by the scrapping of one New Deal achievement after another, with the consent, and even on the initiative of the President. For the sake of building a war economy; every move since August marches towards that. I was shocked by the Jackson Day speech, placing Hamilton--who wanted a dictatorship, a president ruling for life and appointing state governors for life--on a par with Jefferson, founder of our democracy...More than Jefferson, more than Lincoln even, the president won the trust of the American people, who believed he might lead them into a government truly "of, by and for the people", using our great resources and capacities to provide plenty for all. I fear he is giving this up to become leader of the world crusade against the USSR, hoping, no doubt, to help shape the form of the world thereafter, or at least the form of the "North and South Americas".. But this is the road to long, long war and misery for America and the world,

Yours, still with confidence in the American people's capacity to achieve plenty for all for themselves and the world, *Anne Louise Strong*



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✓  
May 17, 1940

My dear <sup>Miss</sup> Miss Strong:

I am glad to hear from you again and sorry that you will be sailing without my having seen you once again.

I do not think you need worry about there being no campaign. Should we be attacked, of course it might be that we would have a joint war cabinet, but we are hoping that an attack is not that imminent.

I hope your book is the great success that you hope it will be.

I know that you feel that if the United States and the Soviet Union had joined together years ago this whole thing might have been prevented, but I imagine you realize also that there were fundamental differences between the two concepts of government, which would make it difficult for them to have a complete understanding. I doubt in the light of recent events whether anything would have deterred the man who plans so well and executes so rapidly. In any case once Stalin had made the Soviet-Nazi pact there was no opportunity for anyone to feel otherwise than suspicious of such actions which could only be dictated by expediency and sacrifice of principles.

I am writing you this now because I know I could not write it to you once you were in Russia. I hope you make your journey safely and I shall look forward to seeing you back in this country at some future time.

Very sincerely yours,  
Miss Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Wolcott  
4 West 31st Street  
NYC

L

ack  
5/11/40

Hotel Wolcott, 4 West 31, NYC  
May 13, 1940

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

MAY 14 1940

Every since we last met I have been working steadily on my American book...at present named variously: "My Own Country", "Land for the Brave", "These are My Own people", and even "Beyond Roosevelt"...It has been a long job, and I had to bury myself from everything else to do it. Now it is done. Viking is publishing it the first thing in the fall. I hope it will have a good result for the campaign---if there is any campaign. Some of my friends don't think there will be any, that we will slide right into a Joint War Cabinet. But I still have democratic hopes.

I am expecting to sail on Saturday on the Manhattan--- provided the normal two weeks schedule of Mrs Shipley for press correspondents' passports is working. I am going to tour as much of Europe as I can reach for this new FRIDAY magazine. Not the battle-fronts, unless one should catch up with me, but the Common People behind the war. Italy, Geneva (League of Nations--where is it then either Germany or the Balkans as events decide. Eventually I shall hope to reach Moscow--and Joel.

One shock after another has been provided by Europe since I last saw you. For some odd reason I felt sorrier for the Norwegians than for anyone else. Every other nation had some kind of choice---a poor one, it is true---between yielding or fighting. They had no choice at all...It seems now that, step by step, there will be others. It is horrible to think of all the human agony that will occur in the months before I see America again.

I think that America could have stopped it, if we could have handled our own "economic royalists". I think, if it were not for Wall Street---its profits and its propaganda--- the people of the United States and of the USSR could have choked it off by refusing supplies to both sides..But now it seems that our country will spread it to the uttermost isles of the seas...I think that this--- together with the prosecutions launched against labor-leaders and Communists on any and every pretense, will be on our national record a great historic blot.

But however I may differ from you on these matters, and whatever situations may separate us still further in ~~years~~ months to come, I want you to know that I think of you often, not merely with esteem but with a warm affection for the sincerity of your striving for a better America,

Yours,

Anna Louise Strong

The last letter  
to her was  
returned. She  
says she is  
leaving for  
her brother's  
home in Geneva.  
We know  
his address.  
No - just file

June 17, 1940

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My dear Miss Strong:

I have your letter of June 5. All you say is of course Nazi and Communist propaganda, as they want us to stay out of the war.

However, we are going ahead getting ready to prevent their going any further. We are determined here to protect our democratic form of government and our liberties.

Very sincerely yours,

Miss Anna Louise Strong

rlk



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

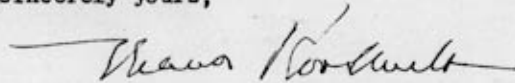
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However, we are going ahead getting ready to prevent their going any further. We are determined here to protect our democratic form of government and our liberties.

Very sincerely yours,



R. L. S. 17  
Rome, June 5, 1940

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I am about to leave Rome for my brother's home in Geneva, where he is secretary of the World's Committee of the YMCA. I felt that I ought to pass on to you what a Swedish woman said to me yesterday---the Scandinavians are a cool, informed and far-seeing lot. She said:

"I hope the war will be over soon. It will be, unless America comes in. If America comes in, then Europe is finished".

"They tell us in America that we should come in to save civilization", I replied.

"If you meant to save civilization", she answered, "the time was years ago. Before Munich, before Hitler, even before Versailles. Now all you can do by coming in is to destroy Europe completely by a five or ten years war. There will be nothing left here then."

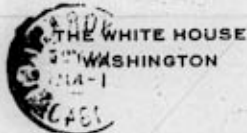
"And if we don't? And if Hitler wins?" I asked.

"Any kind of peace is better than five or ten years of war", she answered. "We Swedish people hate Hitler. But we saw how the German people were tortured for twenty years until they went mad. Now the best that can be hoped is that the Germans will be more magnanimous than the Allies were at Versailles... If not, then we shall have to endure five or ten years of German oppression---not more. It will change from within. It has happened often enough in history.. They can't keep Naziism going over all those different peoples... But if you come from without to change it, then you will be responsible for starving and diminating not only Germany, but all the countries of Europe too"...

I should add this, that as I have talked to people enroute, the expressed war aims of the allies---including the war aims of our own diplomats who are more belligerent than the allies---are so much more brutal than the expressed war aims of the Germans than it is hard to believe that they stem from a race that cares for democracy... To starve the women and children of Germany and Central Europe, to dismember Germany, to hold the separate parts down by allied armies of occupation----this is what they all sagistically demand. That is a step backward in history.... Germany is the one mass-production country in Europe; instead of being subdivided by violence, she should be producing goods for a continent.. I haven't heard any German speak of wishing to dismember the British Empire, though it is a far more artificial creation than Germany is. Hitler is bad enough; but what young American ambulance drivers, persons in American embassies, and American correspondents want to do to Germany is worse,..... Think of it for a moment before you are swept away by war,

With great regards,

Rosa Louise Strong



*File*  
*170*  
*5-17*

Miss Anna Louise Strong  
~~Hotel Wolcott~~  
4 West 31st Street  
New York, New York

NOT AT HOTEL WOLCOTT

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 17, 1940

My dear Miss Strong:

I am glad to hear from you again and sorry that you will be sailing without my having seen you once again.

I do not think you need worry about there being no campaign. Should we be attacked, of course it might be that we would have a joint war cabinet, but we are hoping that an attack is not that imminent.

I hope your book is the great success that you hope it will be.

I know that you feel that if the United States and the Soviet Union had joined together years ago this whole thing might have been prevented, but I imagine you realize also that there were fundamental differences between the two concepts of government which would make it difficult for them to have a complete understanding. I doubt in the light of recent events whether anything would have deterred the man who plans so well and executes so rapidly. In any case once Stalin had made the Soviet-Nazi pact there was no opportunity for anyone to feel otherwise than suspicious of such actions which could only be dictated by expediency and sacrificing of principles.

I am writing you this now because I know I could not write it to you once you were in Russia. I hope you make your journey safely and I shall look forward to seeing you back in this country at some future time.

Very sincerely yours,

*Eleanor Roosevelt*



PS I have been three weeks here all over the country in five towns and scores of farming districts. I took all the photos here.

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Kaunas, July 28, 1940  
JTB 6

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Up at the American Legation they speak of it as the death of Lithuania. But never have I seen a whole people so swiftly and spectacularly come alive. Neither in the USSR, nor in China nor Spain nor the New Deal 1936 elections. For three weeks singing has hardly ceased, day or night, in Kaunas streets.

I am fully aware of the panic that has hit the upper classes and former officials with whom chiefly our Legation deals. I am also aware for they make no secret of it--that our Legations have tried for twenty years to combine the Baltic States against the Soviet Union and are annoyed at having failed. So I know the impressions which--no doubt honestly--they send you. I know these impressions are true for a part of the people. But I think you should hear from the other part.

I think you would hear of textile workers, rubber workers, railwaymen, farmhands, small peasants who have come to life in a way they never knew before...Of the kerchiefed women in Siauliai who said to me: "Tell them in America that we suffered long and now are happy". Of the household servant, aged 69, raising her fist in a big demonstration, saying: "I am a Roman Catholic but Stalin is the father of all toilers! Already life feels better".

Last night beyond Palanga on the seacoast, where two hundred semi-literate fishermen have just organized on their own initiative classes to study "Russian and navigation", I got into an auto with Stasia Vaneikiene, aged authoress who since 1900 has fought for Lithuania's freedom in various forms and who now, as deputy to the Sejm, is fighting for "Union"...A railwayman and a fisherman stuck their heads into the auto and said:

"Stasia Vaneikiene, remember why we send you to Moscow. Don't let that Red Army get away. If you let the Supreme Soviet turn down our request for Union, never show your face around here again"...Naive, of course, for the Moscow intended and organized this "Union". But the point is that it also took root from below.

"The masses are rushing blindly into the Union" said a teacher to me. "They hardly know why. It is the instinct for life that moves in them". I think they are not so blind as she pictures them, though they are ~~very~~ often inarticulate..But it is really the instinct for self-preservation. First of all, and above all, the desire to keep out of Europe's war. And the hope that the Red Army can help them/ keep out,

This---escape from war---is still the deepest hope among the peasants. "Let be what social system they like so that they keep us out of war", I have heard again and again...The city workers, and even to some extent the farmhands, have ceased thinking of war altogether. Europe's war hardly even appears in the newspapers or in conversation...People are absorbed instead in the nationalization of the banks and factories, and the land..

Of course it is revolution..If you are against all revolutions you must oppose it...But for anyone who wants socialism achieved without bloodshed or disorder, this is the all-time model... "We are going straight into

socialism without firing a shot", they boast, "without disorder, without even stopping a wheel in a factory". And that is true.....

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Certain things are, I think, incontrovertible. First, nobody of any class claims that the Red Army has shown anything but correctness and courtesy to the population. Opinions differ as to whether the populace cheered their arrival. Some say they did, some say not, and both were present. From what I gather from all sources, it seems that the people in Kaunas were at first stunned and watched not knowing what it meant, since the Smetona government had so censored ~~that~~ the press that they hardly knew the Army was coming. Then presently some began to clap, then some to cheer, then some to sing Red Army songs learned by radio. After which the Red Army also sang. The people then settled down to the view that these were Allies, come to protect their borders, and the press next day (since the government had changed meantime) confirmed this view.

Nor did anything change it. On the contrary, the courtesy the Red Army showed to the population was a good missionary job. Peasants tell you that the tanks stopped to shoo chickens off the road, that the tanks went two kilometers out of their way to avoid turning around on a peasant's meadow, that the Army doctors give free medicine, free truck rides to the children, and free movies to the populace. I saw one tremendous concert by Red Army amateurs in the Sports Palace, after which, more than a thousand people poured down from the bleachers and joined in dancing with the Army. They made themselves the bright, good boys of the countryside. And they conspicuously refrained from the slightest mixing in any Lithuanian affairs, whether trade unions, elections or Soviet organization. They were just there as examples of no kind and well red and cultured the Soviet young men are... and how many, many, many tanks they have.... How good as defenders,

however, about a thousand Communists, Lithuanians, were at once released from jail by the new government, and began to organize. It was a series of hectic weekends. First week they organized factory committees, second week trade unions, third week the elections to the Sejm, fourth week the Sejm sessions, and this weekend they are taking over the factories. The Communists were only the initiators; the thing rolled up like a snow-ball. Presently there were tens of thousands of people busy organizing, and 95.5 percent of the whole adult electorate turning out to the elections. You didn't see a single Russian anywhere about doing it. But of course, if the Red Army hadn't been somewhere in the offing, the police would have smashed those workers meetings before they began.

One thing you should know about the elections. While not democratic in our sense of the word, they are probably the most democratic thing that ever happened in Lithuania. These people are used to elections in which the Party in power puts up the ticket and then tries to see how many people it can get out. Only the Kaunas intellectuals even dream of any other kind of elections. The Smetona government used direct police threats to bring out the people. This new government used bands, banners, votes for women, hope for the under-dog, ambulances to bring out the crippled, and continues meetings and cheers. There were no direct threats, and whatever threats may have been felt as implicit, the people I saw at the elections seemed glad to be there.

I saw city workers going before dawn to be "first to vote the new life in". I saw peasants trudging miles through the rain..I heard thirty year old men say: "We never voted before. We wouldn't vote for Smetona, but we vote for the Peoples' Sejm"..I heard old women say: "Since they give the vote to old, propertyless women (only tax-paying women had it before) the new life has already begun"...Farmhands near the German border said: "We're voting to show them over there"...Plenty of peasants said merely: "Anyway, it can't be worse than Smetona, and the Red Army boys are not bad"...But they turned out to vote, when they hadn't turned out for Smetona...Partly it was that the candidates ~~were~~ were--for the first time---peasants, workers, democratically minded intellectuals instead of the old "official" type...

That, I think, was what they meant when they called it "democratic". Again and again I heard: "These are our own people now who go to the Sejm". These candidates and ministers of government were shaking hands with the populace, instead of being received with ceremony and bows...That was the "democracy" that put the thing over as a great popular rally, with 95.5 percent turning out.

\* \* \* \* \*

Just now it is the nationalization of factories...It is done with most constitutional correctness. The Sejm votes it, the government orders all owners, managers and workers in industry to continue working as usual pending check-up by the government. Workers Committees in each plant watch to see that the capitalists don't sabotage or sneak away raw material... A new Ministry of Industry is organized, sets up shop in two rooms of another ministry and next morning becomes the General Staff for the take-over.

They then send their representatives out to the factories one after another----they had twenty autos mobilized for it in Kaunas today--- and, on consultation with the Factory Committee of workers, appoint a Commissar who henceforth represents the government as owner...He doesn't expel the director, or even the former owner, if the latter is actually administering the plant, but he makes a complete inventory and then takes up with the workers the question of which members of the administrative staff are satisfactory as managers. Quite a number of former directors and even a certain number of former owners, will be kept on the jobs, and may even rise to bigger jobs than they had before. But it is the most terrific "bar of judgment", this sifting of the sheep from the goats by the opinion of the workers they directed---that I ever saw.

I saw today a bevy of fifty cheerful girls giving their sunday to making inventory of the Gumi rubber works. One dropped an aluminum form and another reproved her. "Take care; it is ours now", she said...I saw an "instructor" from the Ministry of Industry (who six weeks ago was hiding out in the woods for his life as a Communist) noting down that Gumi had raw material for three months, while Inkaras rubber works had only enough for a week, and that Gumi might be asked to help Inkaras out...I saw the German warehouseman of a Swedish Paper Factory summon the office staff "for the handing-over", as he put it, making duplicate copies that the Swedish consul might present his claims. All correct, all businesslike, all in good order.

Everywhere these workers said: "Beg the Americans not to bother us, not to egg on war against us..in five years we can make Lithuania blossom if they only leave us alone. The peasants have the old fear that Germany will start a war against them, but the workers have a new fear that America will bring Germany and England together and send them both against the Soviets,

*Rune Gunnar Strong*



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JANUARY 29, 1941

MEMO FOR MISS THOMPSON:

Mrs. Roosevelt will see  
Mrs. Anna Louise Strong on  
January 31st, at 12 noon.  
Mrs. Strong will stay for  
lunch.

M.T.L.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

MRS. SOMERVILLE:

Make a memo for Mr. Crim that  
Mrs. Anna Louise Strong is coming to  
see Mrs. Roosevelt at noon on Friday,  
the 31st and will stay for lunch.

M.C.T.

*I telephoned her*

JAN 24 1941

The  SCOUT

*Walden you can see it  
on 31st & 50th for lunch  
Leaving for home for the day  
January 22, 1941*

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

*Walden you can see it  
on 31st & 50th for lunch  
Leaving for home for the day*

I am just back from China, having been the first American to take the new air-plane route from Moscow to Chungking. In Chungking I spent three weeks and had access to many generals and officials who never see foreign correspondents but who wanted to ask me questions about the USSR. They invited me to their homes for lunch, dinner, even week-ends.

I also brought back the most complete account of the various armed clashes between the Eighth Route and New Fourth---the Communist-led armies--and the Kuomintang armies, that has yet reached the United States. It was given me "Not for publication" unless large scale civil war should break out, a possibility by no means excluded.

Neither the Generalissimo nor the Communist leaders want civil war; nor does America, Britain or the USSR want it. But Germany is putting up a very clever game ~~xxxxxx~~ through advisers in Tokyo and agents in Chungking. The Japanese, under German tutelage, are doing far better Fifth Column stuff than they did before.

Not the least among these weapons seem to me to be some smooth Chinese officials whose job is to assure Americans that everything is Okay. Ambassador Johnson lives on the

south bank, a difficult hour's trip from Chungking. He is far more complacent about the situation than is the British Ambassador, Sir Archibald, who lives where he can more easily see more kinds of Chinese. Mr. Johnson told me: "The Chinese always compromise these things". Sir Archibald said: "I don't care who knows that I am constantly telling my Chinese friends that an increase in their internal friction would be a catastrophe for the world."

Chinese of all parties and classes are frankly worried lest civil war break across the whole of China, releasing Japan for conquests in the South Seas. There have been armed clashes for more than a year now; each side blames them on the other, but it seems clear that at least two of the generals who fought with the Eighth Route were--while posing as Chiang Kai-shek's generals, actually in league with Japan. One of these was recently executed as a traitor; the other still circulates. I also think German work was behind the order issued to the New Fourth to move north of the Yellow River,---an order they could not possibly carry out and which led to their liquidation.

America's position will determine what happens in China. It is therefore of utmost importance that our State Department be fully informed. I am writing Mr. Hornbeck, whom I know personally, offering to put any facts I have at his disposal.

If either you or the President have time to see me, I shall be in ~~both~~ New York and Washington all of next week. I reach New York, Hotel Wolcott, 4 West 31st, Sunday evening the 26th, go to Baltimore for an evening meeting on Monday, and come to Washington Tuesday the 28th where I can be reached care Henrietta Herz 2520 41st N.W. How long I shall stay depends on several factors of which the chance of seeing you is one. I must leave on Saturday <sup>afternoon</sup> for Detroit and for two weeks in the Middle West, and I must divide the time between the 26th and 31st between Washington friends and some editors in New York. Any desires of yours would have right of way over everything.

Very truly yours,

*Anna Louise Strong*



file

February 17, 1941

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My dear Mrs. Strong:

I do not think any one in this country has the slightest desire to "kill" the communists in China, nor do I think it is any of our business. We are concerned with what happens in this country; China must decide what is to happen in that country.

My own particular feeling, which is the only one I can give you, in no way reflects the thought of the Administration nor the thought of the United States. It is my own idea and feeling about Russia and communism in this country, abroad, and in Russia.

You tell me that you met no statesmen or diplomats in Europe or in Asia who did not think the pact with Germany was a shrewd act of national self-preservation from a war in which Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Bullitt had tried unsuccessfully to put them in and which, if they once got caught, they would have to fight alone. I have no idea whether Mr. Bullitt tried to involve them in war, neither do I know anything about Mr. Chamberlain. I imagine you are entirely right and that it was a shrewd move on their part, but because a thing is shrewd, it does not make it right.

If Russia really believes in freedom of the people and peace, she certainly would not align herself with the power in Europe which for a long time had been curtailing the freedoms of its people, as well as oppressing cruelly the people of another race.

You may tell me that it is just what everybody else would do in self-preservation, but many of us thought that Russia would not do the things which everybody else would do. We found rather to our disappointment that she did and that Stalin is a dictator in exactly the same way as Hitler and Mussolini are dictators.

You may be entirely right as to the small countries which Russia has taken over. It seems to me, however, that if she had had any consideration for peace

and liberty, instead of using her army she would have entered into some kind of negotiation and let them come in under her protection on their own terms and allowed them autonomy of government.

The Finns quite evidently liked their own government or they would not have died for it. I rather imagine that Russia was glad not to have to fight any longer than she did, even if she could have taken more of Finland.

The Russians have a right to any form of government they choose to have. I am not critical of what they have but I do not want their influence or their form of government for my own country because I feel we have more chance for freedom.

I realize that my country is willing to negotiate with Russia and I hope we will treat them fairly even though I know our reasons for negotiating with them and that we hope they will not give any more aid to Germany.

You feel that two equally imperialistic nations are fighting. I do not feel that way. I believe if we have to cooperate it will be easier to cooperate with a free England than with a dictatorship-governed Europe.

I would be perfectly willing to see the United States deal with any nation in the world and I hope we would deal fairly and honestly with them, but that does not make me want them to control us in this country. It is not the Russian people that I have the slightest feeling about. It is the Russian government. I feel the same way against the German government, but I feel nothing against the German people.

I do not know who will decide the future of the world after this war is over. I feel quite sure it will not be a "Wall-Street dictated peace" if the United States has anything to say about it.

Mrs. Anna Louise Strong  
The Lee House  
Wash., D.C.

Very sincerely yours,

PRESIDENT  
WILLIAM H. HOLLY  
SECRETARY  
MEDA Z. STEELE  
TREASURER  
HELEN ROSENFELD  
DEAN  
CURTIS W. REESE

ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE  
700 OAKWOOD BOULEVARD  
CHICAGO

February 12, 1941

TELEPHONES  
OFFICE  
DREXEL 6600  
DREXEL 6601  
RESIDENTS'  
KENWOOD 10160  
DEAN'S RESIDENCE  
ATLANTIC 0131

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

It was a great pleasure to see you and yet it left me deeply unsatisfied; you seemed to have changed so much since last we met. I wondered whether I had been explaining my information badly or if it is part of the change that has been coming to America in the past eight months while I have been away. Several times in the past two weeks I have tried to formulate in a letter the things which I felt I had not quite managed to say. Perhaps the enclosed clipping -- an article by me in the New York Times will give you some of it.

Most Chungking officials think that it would please America if they should kill off the Communists. That is one of the reasons why Chiang Kai-Shek has been doing it. My talk with you convinced me that this is really your, and so perhaps America's, desire. You would use a softer word -- "suppress" -- but in China today that means "kill". A good many thousand of them have been killed in the past year by their fellow Chinese troops. I am not especially trying to arouse your sympathy for them, not even for those four thousand Chinese boys who were recently slain, apparently in the act of obeying the Generalissimo's orders, and who were charged with the "crime" of "plotting" to take too much of the China seacoast -- from Japan!

The real point is that if the policy of killing Communists goes on in China -- on which America will have a fairly decisive word to say -- there will really be a civil war which will not only release Japan to go south in full force against British, French, Dutch and American possessions. It will not merely be a fight between Chiang Kai-Shek and the Communist army, though the latter themselves have considerable strength. Chungking itself survives as a government only because of its great prestige as a symbol of Chinese unity. If that goes, Chungking will dissolve into chaos, with provincial war lords all over China breaking loose. Then you might also get a new Soviet orientation in Asia even less pleasant to America than the Soviet-German Pact.

I think did not at the time take issue with your statement that our State Department is being unusually friendly with the USSR, for China seemed more important and luncheon had been announced. But I think it is a dangerous self-deception to think that our relations with the Soviet Union are even normally "correct", not to speak of friendly. They are certainly better than they were six months ago. But America has never treated the USSR except as a naughty child which should either be cajoled or spanked. We always forget a fact of which most Soviet citizens are highly conscious: That they are one of the world's major nations which, next to America, will

PRESIDENT  
WILLIAM H. HOLLY  
SECRETARY  
MEDA Z. STEELE  
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HELEN ROSENFELS  
DEAN  
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ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE  
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DREXEL 6600  
DREXEL 6601  
RESIDENTS'  
KENWOOD 10160  
DEAN'S RESIDENCE  
ATLANTIC 0131

-2-

probably have decisive role in shaping the post-war world.

What surprised me most was your apparent view that their pact with Germany implied some special immorality of the Soviets. No diplomat in Europe or in Asia that I met, thinks of it that way. Most of them think it was a shrewd act of national self-preservation from a war in which Chamberlain -- and Mr. Bullitt -- had tried to involve them for years, and which, if they once got caught in, they would have to fight alone.

The Soviets would be fools not to appreciate the treatment they get from Germany in contrast to what they get from us. Germany recognizes their possession of the Baltic States at considerable cost to her own interests there; she is risking her whole war policy in Bulgaria to avoid offending the Soviets. But America allows any crook that can connive with a former Baltic Consul to highjack Baltic ships, and arrests their captains and crews for the crime of wanting to go home. Yet our State Department under Mr. Hughes recognized those three Baltic states as "inalienably Russian" when there was still some hope of returning them to a Russian Czar, and they have now returned without bloodshed in complete conformity with constitutional procedure and amid the enthusiasm of ninety per cent of their people. I was there and I know.

Even in the matter of Finland -- the worst case against the Soviets -- Sir Stafford Cripps told me that all the Soviet moves had been in "necessary strategy" for establishing a defensible frontier, and that they might even regret "not having taken more of Finland when they could, since Finland is a hot-bed today of German intrigue". I have even met upper class Finns who, though constitutionally Soviet, felt more bitter against Britain and America than they did against Moscow for the war. I mentioned them not as giving the general view in Finland but as showing that there are many views besides that of "unprovoked Soviet aggression" which you assume.

I mention these things not in the expectation of converting you, but in the hope at least of inducing you to realize that people who differ from you on these matters -- like the American Communists -- may not necessarily be rubber stamps of Moscow and traitors to all things good and true. It was your attitude toward them which I think disturbed me most, because of what it presages for internal suppressions here.

I myself feel, as the European chief of the United Press told me: "The world after the war will be decided by America and the USSR." Real understanding between these countries, even now, might really save the world. In the far East, it could stop Japan's aggression and China's civil war

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PRESIDENT  
WILLIAM H. HOLLY  
SECRETARY  
MEDA Z. STEELE  
TREASURER  
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DEAN  
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DEAN'S RESIDENCE  
ATLANTIC 0131

-3-

as well. Even in Europe it could bring about a peace that would not be a "Hitler peace". But it wouldn't be a Wall Street peace either, so it won't be done.

You may judge such hopes as impossible, as utopian. But can you really judge them as dishonest, as un-american?

With very deep regards and much sympathy for the problems that must today perplex you,

*Anna Louise Strong*

P.S. I did not manage to see Mr. Morgenthau when I was last in Washington, as he was leaving on a short trip. I shall be in Washington again next week from Tuesday to Thursday at the Lee House, and am hoping that I may see him at that time.

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March 15, 1941

Dear Dr. Strong:

Thank you for sending me the paragraph  
from Madame Sun Yat-sen's letter. I am happy  
to hear this.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
4 West 31  
NYC

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ack  
3-15-

4 West 51 NYC  
March 7, 1941

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

I think you will be interested in a paragraph from a letter from Madame Sun Yat-sen, dated February 18. She writes:

"The civil war in China is being temporarily checked by the strength of the popular forces in China, both in the form of public opinion and of armed people. Our foreign friends, both here and abroad, have done very much to encourage the United Front and their further efforts, I feel, still remain an important factor. We all appreciate what our friends in America have done so far".

It seems to me very hopeful as indicating that the pressure of public opinion, both in China and on China from her friends in this country, may possibly act to prevent the threatened civil war,

With regards,

Anna Louise Strong

I am happy to hear that

July 3, 1941

My dear Mrs. Strong:

I received your telegram and  
must say it seems a little odd to ask  
that we give all possible material aid  
to Russia at this point.

*where Stalin is*  
*not so much ally, however we will probably*  
*do it.*

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Anna Louise Strong

*508 Garfield Street*  
*Seattle, Wash.*

T:DD

v



TELEGRAM

The White House  
Washington

*113 41*  
*Wade has to have a plan  
and it's to be done  
I've found it  
Believe it or not*

5poh 25NL.

td , SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., June 23, 1941

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT:

I earnestly hope we will give all possible material aid to  
Russia resistance since now is our best chance to halt Hitlerism  
really and finally.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG.

*6*

July 24, 1941. J.W. 106

My dear Mrs. Strong:

I have your letter of July 21, and you seem to ignore the fact that it was when Russia signed the nonaggression pact and the economic treaty with Germany, that Germany and Russia together, went in and took over Poland, and the war started.

You ignore one other thing too, namely, that people are represented by their governments, whatever they may feel, and the Russian government under Stalin made a pact with the Nazi government under Hitler.

I am, however, deeply concerned about the young people in Russia who are making a gallant fight to defend their own country. I am also concerned about the young Germans who must be dying in great numbers.

I do not see that there is much one can do about it just at present. The world has gone mad, and we can only hope that some day it will regain some kind of sanity.

Very sincerely yours,

4 Mrs. Anna Louise Strong,  
2x 4 West 31st Street,  
New York, New York.

VDS

Act  
7/24/41

4 West 31 NYC  
July 21, 1941

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

Your note to Seattle crossed my trip east and has just reached me. Few things in my life have pained and shocked me more.

That you, with your great heart for mankind, should be so callous towards those millions of Russian boys who are blocking with their bodies the most ferocious assault of world history, and who in four weeks have made greater sacrifices and done more to crack Nazi fascism than America, Britain and all Europe did in ~~four~~ <sup>two</sup> years.

Your letter is two weeks old; perhaps events since then have impressed you. But I watched in vain for "My Day" to show some appreciation of what those Russians are doing, for themselves, for us, for Britain, for mankind. When the more hardboiled commentators say that Russian resistance has made it impossible for Hitler to attempt this year an invasion of Britain, I had assumed that you -unofficially of course--would be helping launch some great drive for medical aid to give at least a token assurance to those millions that America cheers them on.

What deters you seems to be a strange illusion that "Stalin made Russia Hitler's ally". I know the press often implied this, but I never knew you were so deceived. Is America Japan's ally? Yet America gives Japan far greater aid against China than the USSR ever gave Hitler? Is America Hitler's ally because Standard Oil still reaches Germany? Is Britain Hitler's ally because the British Diamond Syndicate still sells industrial diamonds to Nazi war industry? Since when is a peace treaty or a trade treaty--even a regrettable trade treaty--an alliance?

Every one of those 190,000,000 Soviet citizens know that they never had an alliance with Hitler, that they always considered Nazi-fascism the ultimate dangerous foe, with whom--for good reasons--they stayed neutral as long as they could. Russia is the only country on earth that has always been 99.9 percent anti-fascist. They have no Lindbergs. They didn't hesitate to bomb Roumanian oil-fields because of invested capital, as the British did.

Even before this present battle, Russia in the past two years did more to hamper Hitler's advance than

all other nations combined. I do not ask you to believe, what I know is true, that the USSR would have gladly combined to stop Hitler before the whole war if Chamberlain had given her an honest chance. But at least you must know, what the British statesmen and military men stated at the time, that Russia cleared the Germans out of the Baltic states and stopped for a whole year their seizure of the Balkans by their march into East Poland.. What other combination of nations thwarted Hitler comparably?.. Meantime, Russia gave to China the bulk of all the help she got for four years.

Today, millions of fine young Russians--who had so much to live for---throw themselves eagerly, (as the Germans admit "fanatically") into a death struggle, giving Hitler the first serious resistance he has ever met. After these past four weeks, do you still "think it odd" that American anti-fascists should want to do everything possible to help them, in this first war that really has a chance to put an end to Hitler? If you do, then I have been mistaken when I thought that you wanted to smash Hitler and beat fascism more than you hated Communists.

Waiting, in hope and apprehension, your reply.

*Anna Louise Strong*



August 9, 1941

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My dear Mrs. Strong:

Thank you so much for your  
letter which I read with interest.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Anna Louise Strong  
Hotel Wolcott  
4 West 31st Street  
New York, New York

JEG

Thanks for letter.  
which I read  
with interest  
E.R.

ack  
8-9-41

Hotel Wolcott  
4 West 31, NYC  
August 6, 1941

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I was very grateful for your last letter because it gave so clearly the questions which have prevented the American people from feeling whole-hearted friendship for the Soviets. And since I personally believe that such friendship is the one thing that can save the world from catastrophe, it showed me what my job is and wherein I have been failing.

Since you found my answers unsatisfactory, I think that means the American people do. I always think you express the voice of the American people, more than anyone I know...Some people will tell you that you are more progressive than the American average; don't believe them. You may know and express more, but the bulk of the American people are progressive, even as you. This lies behind not only your husband's repeated election, but also your own success as a columnist.

So when I find that you still think Stalin helped start the whole present war by signing the Soviet-German pact in 1939, I know this must be a general American view.. I also know that the Russians do not believe this; they were all convinced that the German-Polish war was already breaking, that Chamberlain was egging Hitler on through Poland to Russia and that they signed just in time to get out of a war in which they would have been alone against the world...For twenty years they have had a not unwarranted persecution complex, expecting the whole world to attack them. Today I imagine they are agreeably surprised to find Britain and America on their side, instead of helping Hitler smash them...This fact will, I think, mean very much for later democratic developments inside the USSR.

However, this ancient history is being rapidly blotted out by marching events...The answer to questions I seemed to have failed to answer is coming in a form far wider than I could advise...I think it was a touch of genius that sent Hopkins to Moscow; I have felt very happy since he went. He will bring back all the answers more convincingly than anyone else could do. Not only because he has more chances than anyone to see

the higher-ups in the USSR. but because everyone knows he is honest, a good observer of people, and without any axe to grind except the good of America and of the democratic forces in the world...I myself, for one, would be inclined to accept his conclusions, even if they went against my own views; I should think he had greater objectivity than I and wider knowledge.

When he returns, if any form of aid for the USSR begins to be organized other than strictly official, (such as medical aid) or any publicity in behalf of such aid and of the administration's policy of help, and if there is any possible way in which I can be of service in it, I beg of you to let me know. Meantime I am rapidly writing articles, and perhaps a short book, and speaking occasionally by radio. My address for some time will be New York City.

Looking forward to seeing you some time,

*Anna Louise Strong*

*Y. L. ...*  
*W. S. ...*  
*W. S. ...*  
JUL 11 1941  
San Francisco  
July 8, 1941  
*... to come for him ...*

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

I am flying east tonight, first Washington then New York, to find out how best to use my experience and energy for the new situation that has come upon the world. I should greatly appreciate seeing you; your estimate of the situation would help me decide.

As I see it, we have now for the first time a golden chance to smash Hitler without the terrific cost I always feared it would take in American lives. History doesn't offer many such chances. The Russians are giving the Nazi armies the first serious resistance they have had.

I am no military expert; I don't know whether or where they can stop him. But I am an expert on one thing: Russian morale. I know they will not crack as France did, as the lesser European lands did. Even if Moscow falls-- and it is a long way off from falling--the Russians will fight on.

They have something of the quality of China. It will be a war of endurance, and Hitler will not endure. But Russia has, what China hasn't, good war industries 2000 miles inside their country: Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk and others. When I came home via Kazakstan last December, I saw new oil towns blazing way down in Asia.

Knowing all this, and hearing Churchill on the radio, I was ready to come east to put myself at the disposal of what I assumed would be a mighty American drive to assist the USSR. But I had to go to the hospital for an operation, and by the time I got out it seemed clear that America, so far, is less cordial to Russian resistance than England is.

I should not say "America"; I mean of course that part of America that controls newspapers, which in 1936 showed itself 90 percent against the President, which always shows itself against democratic progress, and which now will swing towards helping Hitler against Russia in the same way that they have for four years helped Japan against China, even against America's own good. They are strong forces.

Meantime a group of magazines wants me to go to Moscow for them as soon as possible, -flying via Hongkong and Chungking-- It would be a useful job, but I



am not sure whether it is more useful than things to be done here.

before deciding I want to see the situation in the East, and especially to get in touch with those forces who agree with the President's statement that Hitler is the main enemy to be smashed and that we should help those who fight him. Is it possible to see you? I shall reach New York Wednesday evening and be there seeing editors and making decisions for several days,

With best regards,

*Anna Louise Strong*

address Hotel Wolcott  
4 West 31st  
New York City

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November 24, 1941.

My dear Dr. Strong:

Mrs. Roosevelt has asked me to thank you sincerely for your courtesy in sending her the copy of your book, "The Soviets Expected It." She is very glad indeed to have it.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt.

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
The Wentworth  
59 West 46th Street  
New York, New York.

VDS

for Mrs. Roosevelt,  
Hoping to see you  
when you are in New

York  
Anna Louise Strong

Nov. 12, 1941

ark  
11/29/41

THE WENTWORTH 59 WEST 46 STREET, NEW YORK CITY  
A ROGER SMITH HOTEL

October 28th 1941

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I heard 25,000 people cheer your telegram to the Russian War Relief, with which the Madison square Garden meeting opened....Mr. Davies was splendid; I was delighted to find that in his analysis of Soviet past history--- treason trials, non-aggression pact, reliability of the Soviet government---we agreed one hundred percent.

Many people these days are agreeing who haven't before. I have been giving lectures recently among groups of foreign-born citizens: Czechs, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians and others. We think of them as Americanized and to a large extent they are. But they have deep emotional hangovers from Europe which have separated them. Today that same emotional hangover is uniting them, because of the Red Army's resistance and the Soviet-Polish, Soviet-Czech alliances.

For instance in Pittsburg they had a "dance of the nations", with Cossacks, Ukrainians, Poles, negroes all putting on programs, followed by my speech and a \$1690 collection. In a dinky little Brooklyn settlement, the "Russian Christian Home", founded by anti-Soviet, anti-Semitic Russians, they had Russian Christians, Russian Jews, Russian atheists and Poles all ~~meeting~~ meeting together for the first time; they raised \$1500 for War relief.

This evaporation of old emotional barriers creates an amazing chance for unity of progressive forces. It will have its effect in labor groups too. They are all just now pro-Administration. Polish Catholic women in Boston have been cursing their Cardinal for raising the religious issue against Russia.... This chance must be used.

I recently finished a book "The Soviets Expected It", which I will send you when it comes out next week...I have also spoken once or twice on the radio....If at any time you think of anything more that I can do to help promote the President's policy in re Russia--by using my special knowledge---any more than I am already doing please let me know,

Anna Louise Strong

Handwritten note: *Handwritten for the book*



The ROGER SMITH, STAMFORD, CONN.  
The ROGER SMITH, WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.  
The ROGER SMITH, HOLYOKE, MASS.  
The ROGER SMITH, WASHINGTON, D. C.  
The ROGER SMITH, NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.  
The BRITANNY, NEW YORK CITY.  
The WINTHROP, WYNDHAM  
The WENTWORTH, PARK CRESCENT  
ROGER SMITH RESTAURANTS, N. Y. C.



100  
December 2, 1941.

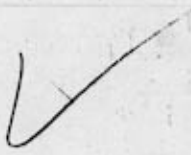
Dear Dr. Strong:

I told Mr. Thurber I had no objection to speaking on the program with you, but I understand the Ukrainians feel strongly on the subject.

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Anna Louise Strong  
The Wentworth  
59 West 46th Street  
New York, New York.

VDS



Along

I told Mrs. Thurber  
I had no objection to  
speaking on the  
programs with you  
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the Ukrainian feel  
strongly on the subject

ESP

*with  
12/21/41*

**THE WENTWORTH 59 WEST 46 STREET, NEW YORK CITY**  
*at ROGER SMITH Hotel*

*have info - see  
of the Council  
Especially in  
with the  
to the  
11/16/41  
L.N.*

November 1941

DEC 1 1941

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt,

I enclose a copy of a letter which I am sending to Mr. Thurber of the Detroit Council for Youth Service.

Meantime I wish to thank you for the wise way in which--according to reports which reached me in Detroit-- you handled the controversy which arose there about my speaking. This is not a time for splitting of forces but rather for unifying them in the face of a common threat to all mankind. So, now that my book on the Soviets and the war is finished, I have especially been looking forward to consulting you about the ways in which I may best serve the anti-Hitler cause.

You will be interested to know that my recent lecture tour to thirty audiences in nearly as many cities has found many formerly conflicting groups swinging into energetic unity behind the Administration and especially behind the President's foreign policy. What happened at the CIO convention is only symptomatic of what is happening locally, from New England to the Middle West. I note especially the combining of many national groups; my meeting in the St Louis Opera House was under a committee with representatives of the Serbian national defense organization, the Croatian City Committee, not to mention sundry Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Mexicans and the official representatives of various trade unions. The same has been true in many places.

It is especially worth noting that the leaders in the leftist organizations are working hard to swing a rather reluctant rank and file into support also of Britain; after Britain's many failures from Norway to Crete--not to mention Chamberlain's build-up of Hitler--this is not so easy to do. But I was amused to see that, in the IWO office in Chicago, all the officials are demonstratively knitting blue wool for the RAF to counteract the almost universal demand of the rank and file women to knit gray wool for the Red Army...The unity attained is the energetic sort that takes up collections averaging over a dollar a person for all the anti-Hitler war relief.

I hope to bring some of the impetus of this growing unity and enthusiasm to the International Festival next week,

Yours very truly,

*Anna Louise Strong*



THE ROGER SMITH, STAMFORD, CONN.  
THE ROGER SMITH, WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.  
THE ROGER SMITH, HOLYOKA, MASS.  
THE ROGER SMITH, WASHINGTON, D. C.  
THE ROGER SMITH, NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.  
IN NEW YORK CITY:  
THE BRITANNY, THE WINTHROP  
THE WENTWORTH, THE WYNDHAM  
THE PARK CRESCENT  
ROGER SMITH RESTAURANTS, N. Y. C.

copy

November 29, 1941

Dear Mr. Thurber,

While in Detroit last week-end I learned that attacks had been made on your Council for having invited me to speak. I was especially sorry to note that some not too scrupulous people, apparently close to your Council, were spreading the rumor that a letter from Mrs. Roosevelt had led you to cancel the invitation for me to speak. I know Mrs. Roosevelt well enough to be sure that this was a misrepresentation, but was unable to reach you about it before I left. I did, however, learn that apparently some Ukrainian nationalists and others had objected, not only to my speaking but even to the display of the Soviet flag among the "allied nations" and that the First Lady's letter tried to encourage unity and moderation, as I should expect her to do.

Since no word has come from you I assume that you have settled the matter yourself and that the arrangements you made still stand. I can assure you that in my remarks I shall do my utmost to bring about the unity around our President's foreign policy which is so essential for all humanity at the present time. Fortunately this is still America where groups of differing opinions can, without surrendering their individual convictions, unite under the emergency of a common cause. Still more fortunately, we have an Administration which is aware that no vital, democratic unity can be attained by ejecting or denying voice to any of the groups that sincerely struggle for democracy.

I shall expect to see you Friday afternoon the 12th. A speaking engagement in Baltimore on Thursday evening will bring me to Detroit at 4.25 Friday afternoon. If earlier arrival is desirable, I can easily take plane,

Very truly yours,

P S I shall be in New England Tuesday and Wednesday of this week, but the Hotel Wentworth will hold my mail.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mrs. Roosevelt.



100  
May 5, 1942

Dear Mrs. Strong:

Mrs. Roosevelt has asked me to thank you for your recent letters and for your thoughtfulness in sending her the device to aid teachers in calculating the coupons to be removed from sugar ration books. She regrets that due to her recent absence from Washington this material did not reach her in time for her to make it available to the local authorities before the sugar rationing registration began.

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to  
Mrs. Roosevelt

Mrs. Anna Louise Strong,  
664 Creek Drive,  
Menlo Park, California.

plf

664 Creek Drive  
Menlo Park Calif  
April 27, 1942

ack  
5/15/42

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

(I think your <sup>5/14/42-dw</sup> "My Day" column may be interested in the device to aid teachers in calculating the coupons to be removed from sugar ration books. ..)

The government has given the school teachers of the country a heavy, complicated assignment, demanding lots of calculation, such as: Seven in the family, 23 lbs of sugar, how many coupons to be removed from each of seven books!...Tired teachers are going to make lots of mistakes, and take lots of time, leading to long lines and a discrediting of our educational system by irate parents.

A local principal of a rural school (who also taught statistics once at Stanford University) saw his teachers struggle and sat up most of the night devising a table to help them..I enclose it in its essential form..(Actually he worked it out to Twelve in the Family, and had each sized family on a separate sheet of paper, for administrative convenience, but the essence is in the table enclosed.)

It is at least an interesting example of local initiative and essential democracy..It is today spreading to the county, and may reach the state...I think it should reach the country, but there is not time for Washington to do anything. Only the press can do it now; so I thought of you. (The school principal, for your information, is Charles Niederhauser, at whose house I chance to be staying, but he does not want publicity..He says that at least it should be suggested to other principals that tables can be made, and that it is now too late to do this nationally, but it can still be done locally.)

With regards,

Anna Louise Strong

SHORT TABLE FOR CALCULATION OF SUGAR COUPONS DEDUCTIBLE FROM RATION BOOKS

The left column shows the total sugar possessed by the family; the other columns show the amounts deductible from each ration book.

NO. LBS SUGAR NOW HELD	AMOUNTS DEDUCTIBLE FROM BOOKS WHEN THERE IS:					
	One in family	Two in family	Three in family	Four in family	Five in family	Six in family
One pound						
Two lbs	No coupons deductible from books					
3 lbs	1 ded.					
4 lbs	2	No coupons deductible from books.				
5 lbs	3	1, 0				
6 lbs	4	1, 1	Three books issued, no coupons deductible			
7 lbs	no book	1, 2	1, 0, 0			
8 lbs	issued	2, 2, 2	1, 1, 0	Four books issued, no coupons deductible		
9 lbs		2, 3	1, 1, 1	1, 0, 0, 0		
10 lbs		3, 3,	2, 1, 1	1, 1, 0, 0	Five books issued, none deduct.	
11 lbs	"	4, 3	2, 2, 1	1, 1, 1, 0	1, 0, 0, 0, 0	
12 lbs	"	4, 4	2, 2, 2	1, 1, 1, 1	1, 1, 0, 0, 0	None deductible
13 lbs	"	no books	3, 2, 2	2, 1, 1, 1	1, 1, 1, 0, 0	1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0
14 lbs	"	issued	3, 3, 2	2, 2, 1, 1,	1, 1, 1, 1, 0	1, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0,
15 lbs			3, 3, 3	2, 2, 2, 1	1, 1, 1, 1, 1	1, 1, 1, 0, 0, 0,
16 lbs			4, 3, 3	2, 2, 2, 2	2, 1, 1, 1, 1,	1, 1, 1, 1, 0, 0
17 lbs			4, 4, 3	3, 2, 2, 2,	2, 2, 1, 1, 1,	1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 0
18 lbs			4, 4, 4	3, 3, 2, 2	2, 2, 2, 1, 1,	1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1,
19 lbs			no books	3, 3, 3, 2	2, 2, 2, 2, 1	2, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1
20 lbs			issued	3, 3, 3, 3,	2, 2, 2, 2, 2	2, 2, 1, 1, 1, 1,
21 lbs				4, 3, 3, 3,	3, 2, 2, 2, 2,	2, 2, 2, 1, 1, 1
22 lbs				4, 4, 3, 3,	3, 3, 2, 2, 2	2, 2, 2, 2, 1, 1,
23 lbs				4, 4, 3, 3	3, 3, 3, 2, 2,	2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 1
24 lbs				4, 4, 4, 3	3, 3, 3, 3, 2	2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2
25 lbs				no books	3, 3, 3, 3, 3	3, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2
26 lbs				issued	4, 3, 3, 3, 3	3, 3, 2, 2, 2, 2
27 lbs					4, 4, 3, 3, 3	3, 3, 3, 2, 2, 2
28 lbs					4, 4, 4, 3, 3	3, 3, 3, 3, 2, 2
29 lbs					4, 4, 4, 4, 3	3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 2
30 lbs					4, 4, 4, 4, 4	3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3
31 lbs					no books	4, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3
32 lbs					issued	4, 4, 3, 3, 3, 3
33 lbs						4, 4, 4, 3, 3, 3
34 lbs						4, 4, 4, 4, 3, 3
35 lbs						4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 3
36 lbs						4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4
37 and over	no books issued unless seven or more in family.					
						no books issued

APR 30 1942  
April 30, 1942

Dear Mrs Roosevelt,

Here is the "sugar ration table" of which I wrote you a few days ago. It is now issued by San Mateo County, and is spreading rapidly through Northern California, much to the pride of San Mateo, which has put itself on the map.

Stanford University has recommended it to Sacramento for swift action and is sending a copy to Studebaker in Washington--I think he is Bureau of Education---to the end that the school system may not be discredited by future rationing problems. If this could have been done sooner it would have saved millions in actual mistakes and in wear and tear on teachers... I fear there will be quite a mess in many places in our educational system next week. But some places will work out similar schemes and this will save trouble next time,

With regards,

Laura Louise Strong  
664. Creek Drive, Monte Park  
Las Lomitas

P S For your information, it started in Las Lomitas school, a country school, but a rather unusual one.



Office of County Superintendent of Schools  
May 4, 1942

ONE IN FAMILY UNIT

lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps
1	<i>Detach no stamps</i>
2	
3	1
4	2
5	3
6	4
7	<i>No book issued</i>
8	
9	
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
etc.	

(1)

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TWO IN FAMILY UNIT

Lbs on hand	Detach Stamps
1	<i>Detach no stamps</i>
2	
3	
4	
5	0 1
6	1 1
7	1 2
8	2 2
9	2 2
10	3 3
11	3 4
12	4 4
13	<i>No back issued</i>
14	
15	
16	
17	
Etc.	

(2)

THREE IN FAMILY UNIT

Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps
1	<i>Detach no stamps</i>
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	0 0 1
8	0 1 1
9	1 1 1
10	1 1 2
11	1 2 2
12	2 2 2
13	2 2 3
14	2 3 3
15	3 3 3
16	3 3 4
17	3 4 4
18	4 4 4
19	<i>No book issued</i>
20	
21	
22	
23	
Etc.	

FOUR IN FAMILY UNIT

Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps
1	<i>Detach no stamps</i>	26	<i>No book issued</i>
2		27	
3		28	
4		29	
5		30	
6		31	
7		Etc.	
8			
9	0 0 0 1		
10	0 0 1 1		
11	0 1 1 1		
12	1 1 1 1		
13	1 1 1 2		
14	1 1 2 2		
15	1 2 2 2		
16	2 2 2 2		
17	2 2 2 3		
18	2 2 3 3		
19	2 3 3 3		
20	3 3 3 3		
21	3 3 3 4		
22	3 3 4 4		
23	3 4 4 4		
24	4 4 4 4		
25	<i>No book issued</i>		



FIVE IN FAMILY UNIT

Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	
1	<i>Detach no stamps</i>	26	33 334	
2		27	33 344	
3		28	33 444	
4		29	34 444	
5		30	44 444	
6		<i>No book issued</i>	31	
7			32	
8			33	
9			34	
10			35	
11	00 001	36		
12	00 011	37		
13	00 111	Etc.		
14	01 111			
15	11 111			
16	11 112			
17	11 122			
18	11 222			
19	12 222			
20	22 222			
21	22 223			
22	22 233			
23	22 333			
24	23 333			
25	33 333			

SIX IN FAMILY UNIT

Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	
1		26	222 233	
2		27	222 333	
3	<i>Detach no stamps</i>	28	223 333	
4		29	233 333	
5		30	333 333	
6		31	333 334	
7		32	333 344	
8		33	333 444	
9		34	334 444	
10		35	344 444	
11		36	444 444	
12			37	
13		000 001	38	<i>No book issued</i>
14	000 011	39		
15	000 111	40		
16	001 111	41		
17	011 111	Etc.		
18	111 111			
19	111 112			
20	111 122			
21	111 222			
22	112 222			
23	122 222			
24	222 222			
25	222 223			

SEVEN IN FAMILY UNIT

Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	
1		26	1 122 222	
2		27	1 222 222	
3		28	2 222 222	
4	<i>Detach no stamps</i>	29	2 222 223	
5		30	2 222 233	
6		31	2 222 333	
7		32	2 223 333	
8		33	2 233 333	
9		34	2 333 333	
10		35	3 333 333	
11		36	3 333 334	
12		37	3 333 344	
13		38	3 333 444	
14		39	3 334 444	
15		0 000 001	40	3 344 444
16		0 000 011	41	3 444 444
17		0 000 111	42	4 444 444
18	0 001 111	43	<i>No book issued</i>	
19	0 011 111	44		
20	0 111 111	45		
21	1 111 111	46		
22	1 111 112	47		
23	1 111 122	Etc.		
24	1 111 222			
25	1 112 222			

EIGHT IN FAMILY UNIT

Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps
1	<i>Detach no stamps</i>	26	11 111 122	51	<i>No book issued</i>
2		27	11 111 222	52	
3		28	11 112 222	53	
4		29	11 122 222	54	
5		30	11 222 222	55	
6		31	12 222 222	56	
7		32	22 222 222	57	
8		33	22 222 223	Etc.	
9		34	22 222 233		
10		35	22 222 333		
11		36	22 223 333		
12		37	22 233 333		
13		38	22 333 333		
14		39	23 333 333		
15		40	33 333 333		
16		41	33 333 334		
17	00 000 001	42	33 333 344		
18	00 000 011	43	33 333 444		
19	00 000 111	44	33 334 444		
20	00 001 111	45	33 344 444		
21	00 011 111	46	33 444 444		
22	00 111 111	47	34 444 444		
23	01 111 111	48	44 444 444		
24	11 111 111	49	<i>No book issued</i>		
25	11 111 112	50			



NINE IN FAMILY UNIT

Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps
1		26	011 111 111	51	333 444 444
2		27	111 111 111	52	334 444 444
3		28	111 111 112	53	344 444 444
4		29	111 111 122	54	444 444 444
5	Detach no stamps	30	111 111 222	55	No book issued
6		31	111 112 222	56	
7		32	111 122 222	57	
8		33	111 222 222	58	
9		34	112 222 222	59	
10		35	122 222 222	60	
11		36	222 222 222	61	
12		37	222 222 223	62	
13		38	222 222 233	63	
14		39	222 222 333	64	
15		40	222 223 333	65	
16		41	222 233 333	Etc.	
17		42	222 333 333		
18		43	223 333 333		
19	000 000 001	44	233 333 333		
20	000 000 011	45	333 333 333		
21	000 000 111	46	333 333 334		
22	000 001 111	47	333 333 344		
23	000 011 111	48	333 333 444		
24	000 111 111	49	333 334 444		
25	001 111 111	50	333 344 444		

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Ten In Family Unit

Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	
1		26	0 000 111 111	51	3 333 333 334	
2		27	0 001 111 111	52	3 333 333 344	
3		28	0 011 111 111	53	3 333 333 444	
4		29	0 111 111 111	54	3 333 334 444	
5		30	1 111 111 111	55	3 333 344 444	
6		31	1 111 111 112	56	3 333 444 444	
7		32	1 111 111 122	57	3 334 444 444	
8	<i>Detach no stamps</i>	33	1 111 111 222	58	3 344 444 444	
9		34	1 111 112 222	59	3 444 444 444	
10		35	1 111 122 222	60	4 444 444 444	
11		36	1 111 222 222	61		
12		37	1 112 222 222	62		
13		38	1 122 222 222	63	<i>No book issued</i>	
14		39	1 222 222 222	64		
15		40	2 222 222 222	65		
16		41	2 222 222 223	66		
17		42	2 222 222 233	67		
18	43	2 222 222 333	68			
19	44	2 222 223 333	69			
20	45	2 222 233 333	Etc.			
21	0 000 000 001	46	2 222 333 333			
22	0 000 000 011	47	2 223 333 333			
23	0 000 000 111	48	2 233 333 333			
24	0 000 001 111	49	2 333 333 333			
25	0 000 011 111	50	3 333 333 333			

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Eloven In Family Unit

Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps	Lbs. on hand	Detach Stamps
1		26	00 000 001 111	51	22 223 333 333
2		27	00 000 011 111	52	22 233 333 333
3		28	00 000 111 111	53	22 333 333 333
4		29	00 001 111 111	54	23 333 333 333
5		30	00 011 111 111	55	33 333 333 333
6	<i>Detach no stamps</i>	31	00 111 111 111	56	33 333 333 334
7		32	01 111 111 111	57	33 333 335 344
8		33	11 111 111 111	58	33 333 335 444
9		34	11 111 111 112	59	33 333 354 444
10		35	11 111 111 122	60	33 333 344 444
11		36	11 111 111 222	61	33 333 444 444
12		37	11 111 112 222	62	33 334 444 444
13		38	11 111 122 222	63	33 344 444 444
14		39	11 111 222 222	64	35 444 444 444
15		40	11 112 222 222	65	34 444 444 444
16	41	11 122 222 222	66	44 444 444 444	
17	42	11 222 222 222	67	<i>No book issued</i>	
18	43	12 222 222 222	68		
19	44	22 222 222 222	69		
20	45	22 222 222 223	70		
21	46	22 222 222 233	71		
22	47	22 222 222 333	72		
23	00 000 000 001	48	22 222 223 333		73
24	00 000 000 011	49	22 222 233 333		74
25	00 000 000 111	50	22 222 333 333		75

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Twelve In Family Unit

Lbs. on hand		Lbs. on hand				Lbs. on hand					
hand	Detach Stamps	hand	Detach Stamps			hand	Detach Stamps				
1		26	000	000	000	011	51	222	222	222	333
2		27	000	000	000	111	52	222	222	223	333
3		28	000	000	001	111	53	222	222	233	333
4		29	000	000	011	111	54	222	222	333	333
5		30	000	000	111	111	55	222	223	333	333
6		31	000	001	111	111	56	222	233	333	333
7		32	000	011	111	111	57	222	333	333	333
8	<i>Detach no stamps</i>	33	000	111	111	111	58	223	333	333	333
9		34	001	111	111	111	59	233	333	333	333
10		35	011	111	111	111	60	333	333	333	333
11		36	111	111	111	111	61	333	333	333	334
12		37	111	111	111	112	62	333	333	333	344
13		38	111	111	111	122	63	333	333	333	444
14		39	111	111	111	222	64	333	333	334	444
15		40	111	111	112	222	65	333	333	344	444
16		41	111	111	122	222	66	333	333	444	444
17		42	111	111	222	222	67	333	334	444	444
18		43	111	112	222	222	68	333	344	444	444
19		44	111	122	222	222	69	333	444	444	444
20		45	111	222	222	222	70	334	444	444	444
21		46	112	222	222	222	71	344	444	444	444
22		47	122	222	222	222	72	444	444	444	444
23		48	222	222	222	222	73	<i>No book issued</i>			
24	49	222	222	222	223	74					
25	000 000 000 001	50	222	222	222	233	75	<i>Etc.</i>			

(12)