Dear John Dewey,

I am sorry to have neglected answering your letter of February 21st, but I have been so obsessed with Spain and the struggle for the Spanish people that I have had little time for aught else. I was very glad to get your letter and to read what you have to say about the changes that have taken place in the minds of many of the intelligentsia in the United States regarding the Soviet régime and the activities of the C.P. in America. The trouble with most of these good people is that they have emancipated themselves from one superstition and are again in the throes of another. They are now blaming everything on Stalin, as if he had come to the fore out of nothing, as if he were not merely the dispenser of the legacy left him by Lenin, Trotsky and the unfortunate group that have been savagely murdered in the last two years. Nothing amuses me so much as the contention that all was well in Russia while Lenin, Zinoviev and Trotsky were at the helm of State. Actually the same process of elimination or, to use the C.P. term, "liquidation", begun by Lenin and his group, took place from the very beginning of the Communist ascendancy to power. Already in the early part of 1918, it was Trotsky who liquidated the Anarchist headquarters in Moscow by means of machine guns, and it was during that same year that the peasant Soviet, consisting of 500 delegates with Maria Spirdonova had been liquidated by sending many of them, including Maria, to the Cheka. Also it was under the régime of Lenin and Trotsky that thousands of people of the intelligentsia, workers and peasants were liquidated by fire and sword. In other words, it is the Communist ideology which has spread the poisonous ideas in the world, first, that the Communist Party has been called upon by history to guide "the social revolution", and secondly that the end justifies the means. These notions have created all the evils, including Stalin, that have followed Lenin's death.
As regards Trotsky, I do not know whether you have seen the New International of February, March and April, especially of this month. If you have, you will see that the saying about the leopard changing his spots, but not his nature, applies forcibly to Leon Trotsky. He has learned nothing and forgotten nothing. The usual Bolshevik calumny, falsehoods and misrepresentation have again been dug out from the family closet and hurled at the memory of the Kronstadt sailors. More than that, neither the dead nor the living are exempt from their venomous and scurrilous attacks. The new bête-noire for Trotsky are the Spanish Anarchists of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. Just think of it, at a time when they are fighting with their backs to the wall, when they have been betrayed by the Blum Popular Front Government, by the National Government and by Stalin's régime, Leon Trotsky, who has roused the whole world in his defence, is attacking the heroic people in Spain. This more than anything else merely proves that Trotsky is woven from the same cloth as his arch-enemy Stalin, and that he hardly deserves the compassion in his present plight which most people entertain for him. Yes, the C.P. in and out of Russia have done so much harm to the labour and revolutionary movement in the world that it may well take a hundred years to undo. As to the harm they have done in Spain, it is simply incalculable. One thing is already too apparent - Stalin's satraps in Spain, by their methods of undermining the revolutionary achievements of the Spanish people and of keeping up a system of Communist favouritism among officers and other military authorities, have worked right into the hands of Franco. I am not exaggerating when I say that the thousands of lives and the rivers of blood shed by Franco's German and Italian hordes must be laid at the feet of Soviet Russia. I realise that the truth will out some day, but the last twenty-odd years have proved that it takes longer to slay a lie.

I am hoping to go to Canada in the late fall, and of course am hoping against hope that a visa to America may again be obtained for me. Strangely enough I received a letter yesterday from our mutual friend, Carlo Tresca. He kindly offered to help with the campaign for a strong committee of outstanding men and women in the States who might have bearing on the decision in favour of a visa. Should such a committee be launched, I feel sure that you will not refuse to join the others. Thanking you again for your kind letter,

Sincerely,