

## Chapter 10

### **To the Last Pure Communists Standing in San Francisco Joy Clark's Life for the Cause, Joe Figueredo's Long, Long Cold War And Poor John Ballam**

Joy Clark had a life almost troubled as her sister's, especially after she fell in love with a man who was farther on the ideological left than any of the Clarks or their friends, and because that man was the only member of the Clark's circle who came from America's proletariat.<sup>1</sup>

Joe Figueiredo was small, 5'2, and at his top-weight was 130 pounds, but was always a fighter. He had only a fifth-grade education, had a long but minor criminal record, had a temper, was scarred from attacks and accidents, and had lost two front teeth in labor battles. He never had a long-term job outside of the Communist Party or, later in life, Harry Bridges' longshore-warehouse union. Joe began and ended penniless, always bothered by his confused and troubled family history. There were questions about his parentage and his nationality, and he may have been abused as a child. Important for Joy Clark's life, from youth to death, Joe was a loyal and highly active Communist, always following the Party's mandates.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Joe Figueiredo, Destined to Serve the Cause**

Joe's family's beginnings were less than happy. After leaving Portugal, and spending years moving from job to job in New England, just before World War I his family settled in the largest immigrant Portuguese community outside of Brazil. New Bedford, Massachusetts. It once was a thriving whaling center, then housed one of the world's greatest concentration of textile mills, needing thousands of unskilled laborers for its some seventy-three large factories. The Portuguese people responded. Because Portugal and its colonies, such as the Azores and Cabo Verde islands, had fallen on tough times in the Nineteenth Century, its people had to seek work

in the Americas. New Bedford was a popular destination, one with jobs and a supportive ethnic and religious community. Many of the migrants were part of the international stream of workers who took foreign jobs then returned to their home villages to live on their savings then, if needed, rejoined the international work force. Others sought permanent new homes. Joe's parents were at first part of the short-stay immigration flow. Maria Gloria Santos, his mother, later told America's immigration investigators she came to America, married, had three children, and then moved back to the Azores, only to be abandoned by her husband, Leonardo Bothelo. He took her oldest child from her as she suffered the agony of seeing her new-born die. Leonardo then returned to America to work in Massachusetts. Gloria stated that two years later, leaving her remaining children in the Azores, she took steerage passage to the United States seeking work and child-support from Bothelo. She claimed she then she met Thomas Figueiredo and became pregnant with Joe. She mistakenly thought she had divorced Bothelo. When she discovered she had not, she baptized Joe as a Bothelo, but always referred to him as a Figueiredo. Her story led the authorities to question if Joe was born in the United States. That almost led to Joe's deportation decades later.

Although Gloria stayed in New Bedford for the remainder of her life, Joe's childhood was unsettled. Thomas, his father, died quite soon and Gloria married a man from the Portuguese working-class community, Fidelo Monteiro<sup>3</sup>. The couple stayed together but certainly not in a state of affluence or bliss. They drifted from lodging to lodging, missing all the Federal census takers.<sup>4</sup> All indications are that Joe did not have an ideal childhood and may have been abused. Typical of working-class families of the era, Joe barely finished New Bedford's grammar school, took work in the textile mills, and immediately fell into trouble. At thirteen he was arrested for larceny by the New Bedford police and put on probation for several years. He drifted among

low-paying jobs and towns. He joined the National Guard to earn extra money but had little sense of direction in life--or even a steady girlfriend. That changed in 1928. He found his Calling and soon a bride.

Unfortunately for Joe's chances of a settled life, New England's once high growth industries, textile, and shoe manufacturing, were declining well before the Great Depression. Mills began to close, and the surviving firms searched for ways to stay competitive.<sup>5</sup> Most of New England's mills were slashing wages. The managers in New Bedford held out, but in April 1928 they declared an across-the-board ten-percent wage cut. There was an immediate reaction by the leaders of the Textile Council that represented the skilled unionized workers. They called a strike, one to include, they hoped, the support of some twenty-thousand mostly immigrant unskilled workers. Among them were Joe Figueiredo and Eulalia Mendes. Although both were of the immigrant working class, there was a significant difference between them: Joe claimed he was born in the United States, she admittedly was born in Portugal to a devoted anarcho-syndicalist.. Her father went back- and-forth between the old country and the United States until 1921 when he settled in New Bedford. Eulalia never gained American citizenship, a mistake with grave consequences during the Cold War.

### **Connecting to the Party**

In 1928, New Bedford manufacturers had offered some concessions to the strikers but the workers refused to return to work—for over six months. The situation became tense when a group of Communist organizers arrived from New York City and attempted to wrest control of the strike from the old AFL-affiliated union.<sup>6</sup> A considerable number of those organizers had honed their skills during the Passaic New Jersey textile strike of 1926 and had extensive experience in energizing immigrants. Among those arriving in New Bedford was Gil Green, the

leader of the Young Communist League, Fred Biedenkapp, who would help Edward Barsky in the 1940s, and Paul Crouch who aggressively organized Southern mill workers but who later became a Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) informant. All those men held important posts in the Communist Party during the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>7</sup> In New Bedford, Green recruited the young and later infamous Fred Beal and the teen-age Joe and Eulalia to the Cause, helped both take leading parts in the increasingly violent strike, and launched them on Party careers. Joe organized a group of young men to face-off those who were willing to work during the strike. Eulalia quickly gained a reputation as a women's community organizer, being arrested for her efforts.

Immediately after the strike Joe and Eulalia formed a Portuguese self-help organization to prevent evictions and foreclosures. They went on to become members of the Party's team that attempted to radicalize strikes throughout New England during the 1930s and 1940s. After four years of courtship, Eulalia and Joe married but that did not end their crusades. Joe built-up an arrest record in many towns for disturbing the peace while rising in the Communist hierarchy. He was active at many strike including Cape Cod's cranberry workers in 1934. Eulalia joined him in those struggles while continuing her Party recruiting work. Partly because of that, she never had children.

Joe was not immediately given a full-time paid Party position so he had to take unskilled jobs, as did Eulalia. Both were on their way to becoming prominent figures in the movement, however. Joe began educating himself, building a diverse collection of Communist literature while honing his public speaking. He and Eulalia were rewarded. She became a permanent union organizer. Joe received greater honors: A Party-financed trip to Moscow for training in 1935 and a part-time salary when he returned to take charge of affairs in the New Bedford area

He soon was asked to assume important positions in Boston. Joe came to know and work with all New England's faithful, ranging from leaders such as Anne Burlak Timpson, to lowly Party workers such as Joy, Margot, and the influential Susan Clark.

Joe and Eulalia labored for the Cause in a host of ways. They worked with the American Youth Congress that caused Stephen Fritchman so many problems and Joe joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He tirelessly worked to raise funds for the Abraham Lincoln Brigade during the Spanish Civil War<sup>8</sup>, enrolled new members into the International Workers Order (the Communist fraternal-welfare organization) and he accepted the hopeless chore of running for state and local offices in Massachusetts to help the Party appear legitimate. He sharpened his labor organizing skills by working with Donald Bollen of the radical United Electrical Workers union,(UEW) who was his friend and fellow Communist.

Although he had to take jobs in manufacturing to supplement his Party wages, Communism was Joe's life. He went to meetings four or five times a week and devotedly followed the Party-line. Only once did he even question a policy. At first, he was bewildered by the apparent turn from true doctrine when the Party announced the implementation of the Popular Front in the mid-1930s. He quickly realized his error. He then accepted the Hitler-Stalin pact and faithfully canvassed for "peace" until the invasion of Russia when he became an outspokenly strong advocate for preparedness and America's intervention in Europe. Although he was against organized religion, telling friends that only Russia knew how to deal with it (eliminate it), he courted the Portuguese Catholics in New England and saluted their churches to attract them to the Party.

### **The Party and Joe's Mental Health**

When it appeared the United States would enter World War II Joe believed he could best contribute to the Cause by taking a job in New Bedford that carried a draft deferment. He thought remaining in his Party-assigned territory would allow him to continue to fight the capitalists. However, in 1943 he decided that he could do more by serving in the military. He went to the draft board and demanded that he be reclassified as 1-A. He soon received a notice of when and where to go for his preliminary army induction.. He informed his friends, and they began organizing a lavish going away get-together for him. All the important Party members in New England were invited to a grand farewell when Joe was to return for a few days' visit after his first induction session.<sup>9</sup>

The August 1943 celebration had to be cancelled. Joe had a mental breakdown during his first day in the army, one so bad he was diagnosed as having a severe manic-depressive psychosis. He was alternatively depressed and weeping then alternatively cheerful. He complained of pressure in his head, and talked of suicide. The army gave him an honorable discharge and the Party took him under its wings. He was sent to a trustworthy doctor and then to a Party-friendly mental sanatorium in New York. He received some thirteen electric shock treatments. While at the hospital he revealed that he had three similar manic-depressive episodes in the early 1930s. The Party then arranged months of recuperation at a Massachusetts comrade's farm. The Party also financed a trip to New York City so that Joe could demonstrate his recovery to the leaders at the national headquarters while being brought up-to-date on policies.

### **Becoming an Influential**

By early 1944, Joe was back at work in New Bedford and Boston and was reunited with Eulalia . He received a promotion to the directorship of the Massachusetts Party's press services. He was soon giving radio speeches in favor of Franklin Roosevelt's run for a fourth term for the

presidency, and for continued support of the war effort. He also helped organize the state Party's conventions, ones attended by the Clarks.

Following the Party's war-time policies, he had suspended his aggressive union organizing and strike activities but was extremely busy during the last two years of the war, partly because he had to work as a shipping clerk to support himself while attempting to fulfill his increasing Party responsibilities---ones that multiplied when the war ended. One reason for Joe's increased work-load was the sudden shift in Communist policy announced in the Duclos letter of summer, 1945. The French Communist Jacques Duclos declared an end to the war's version of the Popular Front and demanded a return to the traditional Marxist-Leninist policies of confrontation with capitalists and imperialists. When Joe Figueiredo heard of the article, he rushed to New York City to learn what the letter meant for the American Party—and his work. He accepted the ouster of Earl Browder, the Party's leader who had followed a non-revolutionary policy and Joe applauded the return to militancy as he had always, he explained, been worried about the correctness of all the versions of cooperation.

Joe returned to Boston to restart confrontational labor work, He was involved in many strikes in New England during the first critical postwar years, including those at the important General Electric and Raytheon plants near Boston that manufactured many secret products for the military. He also became involved in a program of low-level intelligence gathering when Daniel Boone Schirmer and Otis Archer Hood, the Massachusetts Party's leaders, asked members to quit their jobs in non-essential businesses, find ones in defense related industries, and report on the items they were producing.<sup>10</sup>

Joe became an important spokesman for the new aggressive policies, even arranging a long series of Party financed New England radio broadcasts. He and his guest speakers followed the

new Stalinist line. Truman's containment policies, the Marshall Plan, the Taft-Hartley Act, the plan to unify America's armed forces, the new House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)—all were condemned. Joe did more. He was helping with organizing mill workers in the South. He was confrontational and was arrested in Virginia, North Carolina, and the Gulf States. Joe was so busy that he postponed a planned trip to California to visit Margot Clark, his friend and fellow Party worker.<sup>11</sup>

One of Joe's more time-consuming chores in the first postwar years was to spearhead the Party's work for the political campaigns of Henry Wallace and Martha Sharp, both of whom were running on a Soviet-friendly, anti-Truman platform. Joe focused much of his energy against Joseph Martin, Martha's opponent. Figueiredo gave radio addresses, handed out flyers in critical towns such as Fall River, and led picket lines when Martin tried to address local meetings. He met with Martha Sharp and her advisors, such as Stephen Fritchman, instructing them on how to deal with ethnic and working-class voters. Joe, well-known as a Communist, may have been the one to stimulate so many accusations of Communist influence in Martha's campaign. Henry Wallace and Martha Sharp were defeated by landslide votes. That did not stop Joe. He returned to union organizing and continued to climb in the ranks of the state and national Parties, and, in two years, to begin his own bizarre confrontations with the Cold War.

### **A Critical Year**

The election of 1948 was a severe disappointment for Joe Figueiredo and for the American Communist Party. The Wallace and Sharp campaigns seemed to have been futile efforts because of the liberals like Arthur Schlesinger's opposition. Harry Truman won his second term, in part because at the outset of the contest the Progressive Party had been rejected by America's liberal-internationalists of the Americans for Democratic Action, the American Federation of Labor, and



even the left-leaning Congress of Industrial Organizations. They all saw Wallace as a tool of a Communist-controlled organization. So did the Catholic Church. They were not far off-the-mark,

Joe did not give-in, however. He again returned to organizing and recruiting. One of his responsibilities was the assignment and supervision of “colonizers.” They were usually well-educated young Party-member volunteers who, hiding their education and Party affiliations, went into factories to recruit, organize, and educate workers--with an emphasis during the late 1940s on blacks, Mexicans, and women.<sup>12</sup> Among Joe’s colonizers was Joy Ainslie Clark.

### **Joy Clark, an Innocent? at Home**

Joy, like her sister Margot, had decided to move into the working class and become a Party regular. As had her younger sister, Margot went to Shady Hill and then the private progressive Cambridge preparatory high school in her home-town of Weston. Just as she was about to graduate in late 1938 at age seventeen she and a close friend were struck by an auto as they were bicycling home one evening<sup>13</sup>. Joy was in a coma for eleven days, her friend longer. It took Joy a year to believe she had fully recovered. She then enrolled at Smith College where the young Jewish-Marxist Betty Friedan was a student. Joy would have been another Seven Sister graduate but left the college after her first year because of her health. She decided not to return to Smith but to continue her family’s work for the left.<sup>14</sup> In 1941, she resumed helping Margot at the Communist bookstore in Cambridge and returned to participating in cell meetings at her wealthy mother’s apartment in Cambridge and at the family’s nearby Trapelo enclave in Weston.<sup>15</sup>

Soon after the United States entered the war, Joy followed Party orders and began work as a machinist in New England’s defense plants, including at the techno-advanced General Electric Corporation and then at a submarine base. Like Margot, Joy became a union stalwart, always working with labor radicals and faithfully following the Party’s non-strike dictates during the

war. She continued doing Party work, including penning letters to-the-editor that decried all but Party-approved policies and politicians. She took special pride in her writings that likened anti-Communism in the United States to antisemitism in Germany, and to England's racist imperialism.<sup>16</sup> After the war, she quickly switched her beliefs to conform to the Party's directions and become a colonizer in Massachusetts and New Hampshire factories and a strike leader.

She remained a Party faithful becoming involved in one of the more bizarre episodes in the history of the America's Cold War.

### **Young and the Perhaps Too Idealistic Joy in Dangerous Times**

At the war's end, it was Joe Figueiredo who convinced Joy to make a career as a colonizer. He had the unmarried twenty-six-year-old focus on New England's textile industry, ordering her to take unskilled, not machinist, jobs. Joy would work in the factories and in the Party's apparatus for five years without complaint although she had little social life. Her work was enough reward for her. She became known to Party leaders in all New England's states and, like Joe, became part of the total, and closed world of the Party.

Soon after the war Joe and Joy's activities were becoming dangerous. The emerging Cold War led to a resurgence of anti-Communist legislation and legal actions in the United States. Beginning in 1947, a new wave of deportations of alien Communists had begun, as well the federal government's lawyers geared-up to revive the Smith Act of 1940 and target native-born Communists. In January 1949, the top dozen national Communist leaders went on trial in New York's Foley Square Courthouse for advocating the forcible overthrow of the government. Federal prosecutors look-forward to bringing many more before the courts. The next year, 1950, the new federal McCarran Internal Security Act led to hundreds more deportations while state

governments began their own investigations and prosecutions of native Communists, sometimes based on old and difficult to enforce anti-anarchist laws dating from the World War I era.<sup>17</sup>

Stronger measures were replacing the old state laws. Massachusetts was one of the first to pass new statutes tailored to the postwar Communist “menace.” At the same time, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) began conducting a new series of hearings across the country. As worrisome to the Party, the federal government passed laws allowing the immediate detention of Party members if the president declared a national emergency. Joe Figueiredo and many of his friends were on those DETCOM lists.<sup>18</sup>

### **Dangerous Knowledge, a Joe Who Knew Too Much, Might Talk Too Much**

As soon as the national Party leadership learned of the possibility of being indicted and tried, they decided that if they were convicted they would jump bail and go underground. To preserve the Party apparatus, plans were also made to have other national leaders prepare to disappear to avoid subpoenas although they were not likely to be hauled before any court. An underground apparatus was created. Arrangements were made for new identities, funds, travel documents, and safe houses. Predicting the government would soon go after the next levels of leadership, similar plans were made for state officials, including those at Joe Figueiredo’s rank. Joe may have been one of those called-on to help with the national and state plans. He certainly was one of those who crafted the details of the potential underground lives of his Boston colleagues such as Anne Burlak Timpson, Daniel Boone Schirmer, and Otis Archer Hood.

The fears of prosecutions and deportations were proven correct. In early 1950, Joe’s wife Eulalia Mendes was arrested and threatened with banishment to Portugal and its notorious Tarrafal concentration camp in the Cape Verde Islands. She was let-out on bail as the Party financed an appeal—but there was little hope. Her case dragged on for years as she was arrested

again, released again, and finally jailed in New York's Ellis Island detention center.<sup>19</sup> The Party's propagandists, meanwhile, had made her a national deportation-martyr, one as famous as Harry Bridges, San Francisco's leader of the longshoremen's union, the International Longshore, and Warehouse Union (ILWU).

### **Sex, Love, and Danger**

Soon, Massachusetts' leaders were facing the prospect of indictments. While Burlak, Boone, Lipshires, and Schirmer worried about serving long jail sentences, Joe made an unwise decision. When Eulalia was first jailed Joe began an affair with Joy Clark, who was almost twelve years his junior. They did not keep it a well-guarded secret. They unwisely told Party friends they planned a trip together to see her sister Jean in California. Suspicions about the relationship grew. Such affairs were something the Party had never tolerated. With Eulalia in life-threatening trouble and in the national spotlight, when Joe's continuing indiscretion became confirmed a year later the Massachusetts leaders were incensed. How could Joe do this to Eulalia, a martyr to the cause who was in terrible danger?

By 1951, the state Party's leadership had much more to deal with than Joy and Joe. They were facing their own court trials; ones they were sure would lead to harsh sentences and the destruction of the state apparatus, partly because Massachusetts has passed a new law-making Party membership alone a basis for conviction. In response, the leaders finalized their escape plans. By summer they were living "underground." In addition, Congressional investigators (HUAC) were calling second level leaders like Joe to testify, something that was typically a prelude to legal action. His testimony was scheduled for October. Although Joe was not yet the target of an arrest, in August the Party ordered him to go underground. Joe obeyed and turned to a friend asking him to take care of his only valuable possession, his collection of Communist

publications. He asked they be protected, “until our forces come through and liquidate the enemy in a revolutionary manner.”

### **Back to the Asylum**

Joe disappeared for two months, then suddenly reappeared. He shocked and frightened the Party by signaling he would testify at the HUAC hearings. The leaders were especially worried because Joe emerged from hiding just as he was having another of his serious manic-depressive breakdowns. He was crying, threatening suicide. At times he was babbling about secret Party matters such as the undergrounds’ networks. He seemed anxious to tell-all to anyone who would listen. Massachusetts’ leaders feared he would talk. They raised the money they needed and called for the help of ideologically trustworthy doctors and shipped Joe to the Pinewood Sanatorium in Westchester County, New York for treatment, possibly including more rounds of electric shock therapy. For the cash-strapped Party it was a great commitment. Even with a huge discount the sanatorium charged \$1,100 a week.<sup>20</sup> The doctors were instructed to keep Joe until he was fully cured, no matter how long. The Party was momentarily relieved when Joe was able to avoid testifying at the HUAC hearings because, his doctor wrote, he was not responding to treatment. Joe, however, still faced prosecution under the Smith Act and Massachusetts’ anti-Communist laws. The Federal Bureau of Investigation was also gearing-up to begin constant surveillance of him in case they needed to take him in on charges under the DETCOM mandate.

### **Joe Disappears, Again**

Despite all the good reasons to stay at Pinewood, Joe decided to break Party discipline. He left the sanatorium without permission in November 1951 after less than one month--- without informing the Party of his intentions, and before the doctors believed he was ready to be on his own. By then, Eulalia and the Party had become irate over the affair with Joy. Eulalia was

infuriated and demanded a divorce. The Party censured Joe and considered options to ensure he would not reveal any secrets. One idea was to ship him off to an isolated place. An FBI informant stated the national leaders were considering “doing away with him.”

Joe made a quick stop in Brooklyn to see Eulalia, hopefully to mend the relationship, or at least convince her to allow him his freedom without causing too much damage. Then, he disappeared, again! He was fleeing from both the federal authorities and the Party, and with a romantic goal in mind, to marry Joy. The Party did not know where he was, nor did the FBI’s men who had been tracking Joe on-and-off since the early 1940s. This time, as soon as Hoover’s crew lost him, they began watching Joy Clark to see if she would lead them to Joe. Mail and long-distance phone-call watches were placed on all the Clark family, except Margot. The Party put its own watch on Joy while awaiting news of Joe. By early 1952, Joy, as well as Joe, was labelled “a deserter” by the Party. Joy was expelled from the Party. Joe also was, but his expulsion was not final because he had not had a chance to defend himself at a formal hearing.

### **Go West Young Comrades, Then North---Again!**

In early 1952, Joe Figueiredo, forty-two years old, without marketable skills, and without much money or an automobile, was on the run. Within three months he was nearly destitute, as was Joy Clark who was again relying on her mother’s charity. The Party could not find Joe and the FBI’s searches for him failed until the agency’s intense surveillance of Joy paid-off in March 1952. A Boston agent watched her board a Trailways bus for New York City. He wired New York and an agent was on hand when she arrived at the depot. He watched her switch to a low-fare bus for Las Vegas, Nevada. Another agent was ready in Las Vegas when Joy arrived after her tiring three-day trip. The agent saw Joe and a friend greet Joy at the station and followed them to the Monte Carlo Motel. That motel was not one of the just emerging huge gambling-casino hotels

that soon made Las Vegas famous for more than quick divorces and a place to stay while touring the giant Hoover Dam and Lake Mead. The Monte Carlo on South Main Street was of old Las Vegas, and not elegant. Joe was there, the FBI learned, because a trusted friend from the great days of the 1930s' New England strikes was running the establishment and had given Joe a room and a modest salary for working as a janitor and general maintenance man.

The reason for Joe's choosing Las Vegas was Nevada's quick and easy divorce and marriage laws. Despite what it might mean for Eulalia's battle against deportation, Joe wanted to immediately end his marriage. He filed papers charging Eulalia with extreme mental cruelty (sexual incompatibility) and the divorce was granted in April. He married Joy in May. A year later, Eulalia was deported. To her good fortune, a Party-backed front group supporting her had been able to arrange a compromise with the United States government's legal team. Eulalia was sent to Poland where a job as an English language and anti-American propaganda broadcaster awaited her. Her life was saved.<sup>21</sup>

Meanwhile, Joy, now pregnant and working as a kitchen helper at the Monte Carlo, worried as Joe arranged for another safe-haven. At the same time, the FBI's men weighed the question of when they might have the legal right to arrest Joe. Then, Joe disappeared, yet again. In June, he had asked a truck driver to take him and Joy to Los Angeles, mentioning to his employer that he had a job as a sewing-machine repairman awaiting him. To Joe's disappointment, the truck driver said company policies forbid him to take passengers. That did not stop Joe. He and Joy suddenly left Las Vegas and, once more, the FBI and the Party had no idea where the couple was. The FBI would not locate them for almost a year. The Party, however, began to get hints of where they were in early 1953.

### **To the Perhaps Welcoming Arms of Harry Bridges**

The newly married Figueiredo went to San Francisco, a town that had and would remain a destination for many Communists from the East Coast, including Alvah Bessie, Bettina Aptheker, and Angela Davis---and Jean and Sali Lieberman. There were many reasons for San Francisco and the surrounding Bay Area being so attractive to the left. The city had always been known as a "labor union town" and since the great general strike of 1934 Harry Bridges and his International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) had been able to provide jobs and legal and political support to needy leftists. In the early 1950s, the ILWU had the highest concentration of Party members of any of the nation's large unions.<sup>22</sup> In addition, San Francisco had a more than liberal bohemian culture that accepted non-traditional ideas and people.

That did not mean San Francisco's Party was immune from the anti-Communist pressures of the era, or that Joe had found a care-free haven. The locals had been more than nervous since the national leaders arrest and the Foley trial. Members grew afraid of surveillance and were covering their phones with clothes and playing radios when talking in their rooms. When having to discuss anything serious they used a blackboard then quickly erased it. They were correct about being listened to and watched. Since the 1940s the FBI had been spending an average of two million dollars a year on phone taps and microphones placed in the Party's downtown office. The agency probably spent as much physical surveillance, at times installing one-way mirrors in buildings.<sup>23</sup>

The Party's fears of arrest were soon proven correct. In late 1951, fifteen California leaders (seven from San Francisco) were indicted under the Smith Act's provisions. Fourteen were convicted, including three top leaders from San Francisco. Seven more in Hawaii were charged and the islands' and California's trials continued into early 1953. Harry Bridges was coping with constant legal pressures. The anxieties on the West Coast were high enough that



some important San Francisco leaders went underground before they could be subjected to a trial. They remained at large when Joe and Joy arrived. One of them would be especially important to the Figueiredos. Archie Brown, the Spanish Civil War veteran, Stalinist enforcer in Spain, and tough ILWU leader was among California's "disappeared" of the 1950s.<sup>24</sup>

In late summer 1952, while Archie was in hiding and the uproar over what the left called "Smith Act persecutions" was at its height, the near indigent Figueiredos did not find, as they may have expected, a welcoming by Jean and Sali at their Mill Valley house just across the bay from San Francisco. Joe had to rent a down-scale apartment at 708 Oak Street in San Francisco's Lower Haight district. The neighborhood was not the best nor was it the worst in the city, but it was not too far from the Cole Valley area where so many important left leaders such as Harry Bridges, Jessica Mitford, Dave Jenkins, and David Sarvis had homes. Although the apartment was inexpensive and close to comrades, Joe decided the family needed something cheaper. However, Joe also decided a car was a necessity. The best Joe could do for one was a down payment on a seven-year-old Chrysler sedan.<sup>25</sup>

Being close to Cole Valley did not mean Joe had been greeted with open-arms by the ILWU, or that he felt secure. He was allowed to work as a warehouseman, but only as an "extra," someone the ILWU's hiring hall assigned to a job when all the regular union members were busy. Joy, pregnant and anxious, could not find a job. Joe worked on-and-off, his income remained small, and the family needed help. Yet, the local Party did not aid Joe. It had a bad financial situation, had declining membership, and most important, feared Joe might be a danger. Soon after he arrived there were rumors from back-East that he was an FBI informer. Then, he was accused of having a role in the arrests of some of the Party's leaders who had gone underground. In August 1953, Robert Klonsky, one of Philadelphia's Smith Act defendants, was

apprehended by the FBI in Boston. At the same time, Sid Steinberg and Robert Thompson of the famous Foley Square trials were arrested in a cabin outside a rural California town near Yosemite National Park.<sup>26</sup>

Joe heard of the accusations against him and became more anxious about his Party standing and, perhaps, his safety. As well, he and Joy wanted to be accepted back into Party-linked social circles. So, Joe cautiously began asking his remaining friends in Massachusetts to find some way to have him cleared of all charges and reinstated. Accomplishing that would take several years. Joe, of course, continued to worry over action by the government and, perhaps, by the comrades. The FBI did contact him, but did not take him into custody. They hoped he would become an informant. He refused, but worried the agents might decide to detain him.

### **Who is a Friend, Who is an Enemy?**

While trying to manage his always tenuous emotional state, dealing with financial pressures, and worrying about his and Joy's safety, Joe's responsibilities deepened. Joy had given birth to their first child but had little support during the trying first months of motherhood. Although living just across the Golden Gate Bridge, Joy's sister Jean had so many of her own family problems she could provide only minimal emotional and financial aid to the young mother. Margot, Joy's other sister, was in Los Angeles and was dealing with her own deep problems. Mother Susan was a continent away.<sup>27</sup> Isolated, alone, and almost penniless, Joy's fears intensified after Joe had an "accident." He could not tell if it was caused by Party orders or by the more conservative warehousemen he worked with who were put-off by his unremitting proselytizing to other extras, such as the new immigrant Mexican warehouse workers. In either case, having both of his hands crushed by a suspiciously dislodged crate led Joe to believe he had true enemies. He

became more cautious. So did Joy. She told one friend that she always carried a knife in her purse.

Joe did not retreat. He returned to work when his hands were better and contacted local Party members in hopes of reconciliation. He was usually snubbed. He then concentrated on building a solid reputation as a leader within the ILWU and within San Francisco's front organization community. He put his old organizing skills to use and became a tutor for the leaders of rather radical Mexican and Negro groups within the union; he became a member of the ILWU warehousemen's legislative committee; he served on its committees dealing with fair employment issues; and he joined in many of the Civil Rights Congress' protests, such as the one concerning Wesley Robert Wells' conviction for murdering a guard at California's Folsom Prison. Joe and Joy began attending many ILWU social events and Joe became somewhat of a noted master of ceremonies. Over the years, he stood by the radical spirit of the 1930's ILWU, including during the union's internal battles of the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>28</sup>

Trying for full Party reinstatement, Joe began interacting with Party notables. By 1954, he was in contact with the California leaders Al Lannon and Al Richmond and he and Joy were invited, for example, to the 1,000-guest social-political to-dos' at the Marin county estate of the famous left attorney Vincent Hallinan where they encountered Jean and Sali Liebermann. Yet, the local Party continued to officially hold Joe at arm's-length although he had begun another and more direct campaign to convince the Massachusetts Party to clear him. At the end of 1954, he wrote a public letter that his friends published. In it, Joe denied ever having informed the FBI about anything and he explained his 1952 disappearance as necessary to protect the Party. Joe's campaign may have worked in Massachusetts, but San Francisco still had its doubters. Joe and Joy remained friends of the Party, but outsiders. Joe also had to endure some employment

problems. He had persevered and won a permanent hiring status within the union, but his employer let him go. It took some legal battles to regain his job. That fight was a financial burden that hurt, especially because Joy was having another baby. She eventually created a family of five children. That many children were unusual for a woman from Joy's elite social and Unitarian background.

### **Up to the Lower-Lower Middle Class, Despite Some Good News**

Partly because of all the children and partly due to Joe's career choices, the Figueiredos would never come close to even a middle-class economic status. They always had money problems and moved from one to another rental in San Francisco's working-class neighborhoods. It was not until Joy's mother Susan (who had left Cambridge for Los Angeles to care for Margot) passed-away in 1965 and left her children modest legacies that Joe could afford to put a down payment on a home.<sup>29</sup> It was an old and small one and not in a desirable neighborhood. The Girard street house was close to the noisy San Bruno Avenue as well as the smelly Bayshore Freeway. The schools that served the area were not top-ranked, not even as highly regarded as those serving Cole Valley. One of Joy's children remembered facing what was later called reverse discrimination at her school that had a predominantly Black student population. She was taken into a bathroom and beaten. Joy rescued her by arranging to have her children sent to another school, one usually reserved for backwards children. Although not fully satisfied, Joy was relieved they were free from physical danger.

The Girard home was small, increasing the tensions in the financially hard-pressed family of seven. There was one redeeming feature of the home. It was close to Archie Brown's house. He eventually became Joe's closest and "inseparable" friend. As well, there had been some good news for the Figueiredos in the mid-1950s, but Joe may not have learned about it. He was taken

off the FBI's roll of important figures, including the DETCOM, Smith Act, and TOPLEV(top level Communists) lists. If that information reached San Francisco's Party leaders it did not make an immediate difference. Joe and Joy had to wait another few years before they were welcomed into full membership.

### **Back to the Calling and to Its Heights**

There is no hard evidence explaining why and when Joe and Joy were allowed back into the Party. They were rehabilitated by late 1957 and it is certain that by 1959 Joe was a major figure. By then, both he and Joy's lives were nearly consumed by Party and ILWU activities. Joe became central to the old -guard of the Party, a core that held on to its allegiance to the Soviet Union and traditional Marxist-Leninist doctrine through all the political and ideological upheavals of the 1950s and 1960s. That core remained steadfast after Khrushchev's 1956 revelations of Stalin's repressions, the anti-Soviet revolts in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and the turn of America and Europe's young ideologues to the short-lived philosophies of the New Left movements. Nor was there any "end of ideology" for Joe and Joy as they began collaborating and socializing with immortal California Party figures whose activism dated from the 1930s and San Francisco's General Strike. The Yonedas, the Richmonds, and the Limas became their friends and coworkers. They met for Party efforts and for social events that Joe, still working as a warehouseman, sometimes found difficult to afford. As Joe rose further in the ranks of the Party and the ILWU he worked with politicians friendly to labor, such as the Democrat Phil Burton who helped Sali Lieberman.<sup>30</sup> Joe became so important he represented San Francisco at national Party meetings and in the late 1970s was once again sent to the Soviet Union for ideological training---and he looked forward to more trips.

### **The Fabled Archie Brown**

Joe had already become famous because of a collaboration with Archie Brown. Archie's immigrant Russian-Jewish family moved from the mid-West to the San Francisco Bay Area in the mid-1920s where they continued to lead a hardscrabble life.<sup>31</sup> Archie began selling newspapers to help-out when he was thirteen. He became involved in a strike, was recruited into the Young Communist League, and soon became a devoted Communist. He went on to be an aggressive organizer of agricultural workers in California's Central Valley and then worked on waterfront organization in San Francisco and Oakland. He joined the 1934 strike in San Francisco, getting into trouble for violence—even being accused of murdering a competing labor activist. He was acquitted and soon joined the Lincoln Brigade, fighting in the Spanish Civil War, reportedly acting as a Stalinist enforcer within the Republican ranks. On his return to the United States, he took increasingly important positions in the ILWU while rising in the Party. He always followed the Party line, even approving the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II. He did not hide his Communism and frequently ran for political office on the Party's ticket. At the onset of World War II, Archie joined the army and served with some distinction in Europe. After the war, he returned to San Francisco and helped develop the ILWU's policies as well as those of the Party.

During the 1950s Archie was among those ordered to go underground. As had Joe, he obeyed, being so devoted he brought charges against his San Francisco Comrade David Jenkins for not doing the same. After four years in hiding, he resurfaced and resumed his posts in the union and the Party. By the end of the 1950s Archie was an important man with many connections---as well as a man with years of experience in organizing and stimulating “spontaneous” protests and creating martyrs. Archie called on his political connections and organizing skills after the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) decided to hold

another round of hearings, with one scheduled for San Francisco in May, 1960. The Party learned many of its members were to be called to testify. Joe, Archie, and Bertram Edises, the Bay Area labor and Party attorney whose law firm would host Hillary Rodham as an intern in 1971, were on the list. Contacts were made with leftist student groups in the Bay Area who were already organizing for protests of the committee's calling many young radicals. Red-diaper students (the children of Party leaders) were central to organizing those protests. The long-time Party-man David Jenkins' daughter, Becky, energized a student contingent from San Francisco State College, and Douglas Wachter alerted the activist students at the University of California at Berkeley. The hearings also coincided with the Little Summit Conference, a large meeting of liberals and leftists to support the forthcoming Paris conference between Premier Khrushchev and President Eisenhower. The students' meetings were being held in the same government center as the HUAC hearings. Of course, Harry Bridges and the ILWU stood ready to augment the crowds that were to gather in and outside San Francisco's City Hall as the HUAC hearings began.

Shouting pickets marched outside City Hall while a group of students conducted a noisy version of a sit-in on the marble steps just outside the HUAC hearing room. Archie played his part in what some later called an updated version of the "agitprop" theater of the 1930s. He refused to give testimony and launched into loud diatribes; ones so disorderly he was escorted from the hearing room. Outside, he informed the protesters of his ill-treatment. Bert Edises soon copied Archie's behavior. On a second attempt at having him testify, Archie attempted to take-over the hearing room's microphones. He was ejected again, and he and his friends loudly altered the crowds of their supposed ill-treatment. The demonstrators on the steps, quite aware of all the newsreel cameras and reporters around them, grew so noisy the hearing and regular court

proceedings could not continue. Visitors to the City Hall were unable use the stairs or conduct their business. A typical publicity grabbing sequence began. The police ordered the crowd to be quiet or disperse, the “students” did not follow the orders. A policeman was hit by someone in the crowd. With reporters and cameras recording events, the police warned they would use water from the City Hall’s fire hoses if the crowd did not leave the stairs. Expectedly, the crowd held its place, the hoses were turned on, and the police rounded-up some seventy self-proclaimed non-violent demonstrators, and, with little notice from the national press, transported several of their own to the hospital for exhaustion and one for a heart attack. <sup>32</sup>

Brought before the courts, the judges imposed only small fines on the protestors, but they and Archie received international attention and achieved many of their goals. With the help of Phil Burton and other liberal Democratic politicians, HUAC was forced to retreat. The protestors appeared heroic, and anti-Communists were cast as fascist brutes that attacked innocent students. As well, anti-Communism gained even more of a reputation as being against free speech and all civil liberties. HUAC and its allies attempted to counter the negativity with Operation Abolition, a crude but widely distributed film. In reaction, the left called on its own publicists and film makers, including Sali Lieberman, Joe’s brother-in-law, to produce their own interpretations of the HUAC riot of 1960. <sup>33</sup>

### **Laboring for the Cause While Generations and Ideologies Change**

Although Joe and Joy kept low profiles during the hearings, they had not forsaken the Party. In fact, while they were raising a large family on still low wages from Joe’s warehouse work, their participation increased. However, they and the other Bay Area Party members were frustrated. Like the situation at the national level, Party membership was declining while major new radical initiatives, such as Free Speech at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, the anti-BURKE, red destinies, Not for Publication or Reproduction



war upheaval at San Francisco State University, and the various “Black” causes were led by others. The Party was not attracting the young, not even the new members of working class. In response, Joe helped the Hallinan brothers establish the Du Boise Clubs on college campuses. Those clubs were seen as a way to attract Negroes and young Whites sympathetic to the Civil Rights movements and to eventually move them into the Party. But the clubs were not as successful as hoped.<sup>34</sup>

The Party tried to attract new members in other ways. Although he remained a staunch Marxist-Leninist, Joe did not protest when the Party, bending to meet the New Left’s ideological challenges, shifted away from the old emphasis on class to less deterministic premises and to social causes such as Negro and later, “gay” rights.<sup>35</sup> Joe and Joy also accepted new leaders on the local scene during the 1960s such as Angela Davis who had been mentored by Herbert Marcuse of the Frankfurt philosophical school. Marcuse was one of the Fields’ and Hede Massing and Paul Massing’s associates. After his stint with the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), Marcuse became an influential college professor and public intellectual, eventually hired, then fired, by the University of California system.<sup>36</sup>

### **Solidarity for Joe, But Not for Everyone**

The unrelenting burdens of work, child rearing, and Party duties led to some tragic consequences for the Figueiredos. There were arguments and drinking. Joe had a heart attack and had to reduce his activities for a time. Joy soon declared she wanted a divorce, although Joe was in no position to provide much alimony or child support. The couple attended Party and social events together, but the marriage ended in August 1970 after some twenty years of sacrificing for the Cause. The divorce came at an unusual stage in life for Joe and Joy. He was over sixty and she was fifty..

Joy kept the little house while Joe moved from one small apartment to another in lower-class San

Francisco neighborhoods. He continued to work as a warehouseman and kept-up his old pace as a Party leader. He never stopped working, even after he reached the ILWU's mandatory retirement age. He was elected and frequently re-elected as the ILWU's business agent for the Bay Area's warehousemen. Joe faced some disappointments in his agent's role, however. By the late 1960s he seemed to be the last real Marxist "old Left" official in the local. In addition, the number of warehouse jobs had dropped to just a few thousand because of new technologies and because employers left the Bay Area to escape high labor costs and taxes. The other part of the Northern California ILWU, the longshoremen's local had to face similar challenges.

Worse for Joe and the Cause was what happened inside the warehousemen's union. In a last gasp, in the 1970s a few union Party members formed an alliance with Mexicans, Blacks, and various leftist factions, hoping to move the local back to its old radicalism. The attempt failed. By the 1980s, the Party lost control. Factionalism developed, the union hiring hall began selling jobs, union funds were misused, and there were assassinations of officials by officials. The union's new leaders also turned their backs on social causes.<sup>37</sup>

The fate of the warehouse union was not Joe's only disappointment. By the early 1990s, the national Party was in a desperate condition, down to some 3,000 members. Joe and Archie's San Francisco branch was also fading. Their repeated attempts to recruit new members and raise funds were proving fruitless and embarrassing. Archie had to report the only outside attendees at a fund-raising party at his house were "some old Jewish ladies." Worse, there were doctrinal and bureaucratic disputes leading to the San Francisco areas' section disaffiliating from the national party and forming the California Committee of Correspondence. Then came an expensive legal battle over the ownership of the Party's San Francisco building at 522 Valencia Street where Joe and Joy had gone for so many meetings.<sup>38</sup> There was worse for the old-timer Comrades like

Joe. The Eastern bloc, then the Soviet Union, threw off Communism, beginning in 1989-90 in Poland where Eulalia had found her safe-haven. Joe must have died a frustrated and deeply disappointed man in 1991.

The remaining Bay Area old Communists withdrew from sight, replaced by a new generation of leftists who found homes in local unions, powerful non-profit groups such as the Tides Foundation, and in the left-wing of Northern California's Democratic Party. Academia was also a favorite destination where the new leftists abandoned the old Marxist economic rhetoric, replacing it with the vocabularies of Post Modernism and Political Correctness. Instead of Marx and Lenin, or even Mao, the references were to those who looked to culture, communication, and human agency rather than economic determinism and sweeping theories of history. The Bay Area's New Left academics sprinkled their papers with references to Antonio Gramsci, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, even Anthony Giddens---rarely Lenin or Marx.<sup>39</sup>

### **Joy, A Single Mother Up or Down? to the Working Class**

While the left's ideology was changing, Joy faced a challenging and uncertain future after her 1970 divorce.<sup>40</sup> She still had children to raise and needed a source of income. She had few skills and, although a Seven Sister girl, she was not attuned to white-collar work. She and her sister Jean were in touch and had family picnics together, but Jean and Sali did not have the resources to support her. The Party did not aid her. Joy thought she did have one possibility for a job that paid a decent salary. Although a fifty-year-old woman, and although she had not worked as a machinist since 1945, she approached union friends for help. While the number of machinist jobs was declining, the machinists' union came to the rescue. By 1972, Joy was at work in a San Francisco shop. She kept her Party connections and continued writing on issues of class and race<sup>41</sup> but began to direct her energies to union activities. She was nominated to represent the

machinists' local in San Francisco's Labor Council. Later, Joy moved across San Francisco Bay to more of a working-man's town, Vallejo California, where she cared for her sister Margot during her last years. Vallejo was the home of the navy's huge Mare Island Shipyard, close to a major explosives plant, and a few miles from very pungent oil refineries. Although just a few minutes over the Richmond Bay Bridge to Mill Valley, where her sister Jean lived, it was a far distance in terms of social, economic, and cultural contexts. Well before Joy passed-on in 2007, Mill Valley had become an arts center and a place where the Bay Area's economic elite was creating its own form of a refuge, while Vallejo was becoming known as a "place not to be."<sup>42</sup>

Joy's children, like her, seem to have kept within the working class and kept faith in reform, if not revolution---rather than placing their sights on returning to the elite life-style of Susan Clark, their grandmother. Of the two children with public biographies, one worked for liberal-left non-profit organizations and labored at the once quite radical San Francisco State University as part of a new proletariat, the part time underpaid/overworked university lecturer. The other seems to have chosen a similar life-path as a union representative.

### **A Worse Fate Than Joe's or Joy's John Ballam, Another Comrade Gone West**

John J. Ballam (Ballum) served the Party well after he helped create it and its Boston branch in 1919. The Party did not reciprocate at the end of his life while was in-and-out of San Francisco hospitals.

Ballam was the son of Dutch-Jewish immigrants who migrated to Boston in the early 1880s when John was two years old. John's father, then John, were politically active socialists and union cigar makers, although John aspired to be an engineer. John travelled through the various socialist parties to the International Workers of the World and represented many of

Boston's radical immigrant groups. He was arrested more than once for his revolutionary speeches, anti-war protests, and strike activity. He was part of the radical wing of the Socialist Party then one of the first members of the new Communist party, siding with the faction that wanted to make the organization an underground movement in order to protect its immigrant members from deportation. After the Comintern's 1920s demand for the creation of an organization that openly worked with unions and ethnics, John yielded, soon making Party work his career and his livelihood.<sup>43</sup>

Centered in Boston for many years, but also working in New York and the mid-West, John became one of the Party's most active full-time union organizers, leading TUEI and TUUL strikes throughout the country. He became well-known in New England when he and Anne Burlak headed the Party's textile union. During the 1930s he oversaw Party activity in the South and was an advisor to its national board in New York City. He was constantly called-on to run for state and national political offices to help the Party appear legitimate.

His devotion was tested by the low salary he received while trying to support a wife and putting his son through college. He never owned a home. Sarah Roosov, his young Massachusetts-born Yiddish wife, had to go to and stay at work. After a trip to Russia in 1930, she returned to America and took a long-term job with the Soviet trading agency (AMTORG) that became infamous for its ties to Soviet intelligence. In 1940, while the family was living in expensive New York City and Washington, D.C., she was making \$26,00 a year, John \$10,000, their twenty-three-year-old college graduate son Joe, just \$4,000. That frustrated him as did some of the Party's policies under Earl Browder. John pulled back from most Party tasks, then after his son Joe began work as a physicist-electrical engineer while a graduate student at the University of California, a first step in a brilliant scientific career, John and Sarah moved West in 1946.

They lived with Joe and his wife in a San Francisco suburb until there was a dispute. Without savings and jobs, with Sarah age sixty and going blind and John nearing seventy, they moved into a cheap apartment in San Francisco. The Party had no pension system, nor did AMTORG.

The couple received help from the city' Jewish charity, but not the Party, although John had worked with Joe Figueiredo in Boston and Party members knew John was in San Francisco. Sarah took a job with San Francisco's center for the blind while John went to the state unemployment bureau looking for work. He found a position as an inventory clerk at a downtown war surplus store but soon became confined to his bed, then began going in and out of hospitals for five years with cardiac and other problems. That did not deter him or Sarah from continuing to evangelize their neighbors about Marxism.

Because of John's long Party history, and a possibility he would be needed as a witness, the FBI kept a watch on him while he was in San Francisco. At one time there was wire-tap, at others a mail-watch. Then, FBI agents approached him asking for an interview about his past. He seemed willing as he was upset with the Party's "Stalinists", but Sarah angrily refused to let him speak. She was against helping the FBI and worried about the government using an interview to entrap them. Frightened, John and Sarah felt they needed legal advice but had no money. They contacted the Party. Its response was to have one of its members who worked with the law firm representing San Francisco's Party tell John to inform the FBI that he would agree to an interview only if a lawyer was present.

There was no interview. There was no other help from the Party. John died a year later. He was returned home to Massachusetts for his burial.

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- <sup>1</sup> The major sources for the section on Joy and Joe are:; FBI FOIA, joy clark; FBI FOIA,, joe figueiredo; communications with the Figueiredo children.
- <sup>2</sup> FBI FOIA, figueiredo; New York University, Oral History, OHAL (OH002) ‘Joe 11-3-1983.
- <sup>3</sup> A search of the U. S. Census found nothing for either family.
- <sup>4</sup> His mother gave an ambiguous account of his birth, she once indicated that he was illegitimate, but in the same deposition she stated she had already married her second husband.
- <sup>5</sup> Galenson, Alice, *The Migration of the Cotton Textile Industry from New England to the South, 1880-1930* (NY: Garland, 1985); Rosenbloom, Joshua L. "The Challenges of Economic Maturity: New England, 1880-1940," (University of Kansas and National Bureau of Economic Research): November 23, 1998).
- <sup>6</sup> *NYT*, *WP*, *Boston Globe*, 1928, *passim*; Green, Gill, *Cold War Fugitive: A Personal Story of the McCarthy Years by Gil Green* (NY: International Publishers, 1984).
- <sup>7</sup> *NYT*, 11-20-1928.
- <sup>8</sup> During the war the term, battalion was used. On returning to America. its veterans decided to use the term ‘brigade.’
- <sup>9</sup> FBI FOIA, figueiredo.
- <sup>10</sup> COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS FIRST SESSION "Exposé of .Communist activities in the State of Massachusetts, based on the testimony of Herbert A. Philbrick. Hearings; <http://web.international.ucla.edu/institute/event/5396>.
- <sup>11</sup> FBI FOIA, joe.
- <sup>12</sup> Zahavi, Gerald, "Passionate Commitments: Race, Sex and Communism at Schenectady General Electric, 1932-1954," *Journal of American History*, 83 2 (Sept., 1996): 514-548.
- <sup>13</sup> *Daily Boston Globe* 11 16 38.
- <sup>14</sup> Smith College alumni office correspondence.
- <sup>15</sup> FBI FOIA,,joy clark.
- <sup>16</sup> *Daily Boston Globe*, 3 10 944, 10-22 1944.
- <sup>17</sup> Sakmyster, Thomas, *Red Conspirator: J. Peters and the American Communist Underground* (Urbana: U. of Ill. Press, 2011); Kanstrom, Daniel, *Deportation Nation: Outsiders in American History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007)..
- <sup>18</sup> Cotter, Cornelius P., and J. Malcolm Smith, “An American Paradox: The Emergency Detention Act of 1950,” *The Journal of Politics* 19, 1 (Feb. 1957), p20-33; Starobin, Joseph R., *American Communism in Crisis, 1943-1957* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press , 1972) .
- <sup>19</sup> American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born files, University of Michigan; *NYT*, 1-23-1957, 5-26;-195; *NYT* 5-26-1953. *Boston Globe* 4-11-1952..
- <sup>20</sup> FBI FOIA, figueiredo, Commitment contract 10-23-1951.
- <sup>21</sup> “Eulália Mendes, the Faithful Friend of the 15th Codfish Supper, January 21, 2002, Riviera Restaurant, East Providence, Rhode Island, U. S. A.”
- <sup>22</sup> FBI FOIA, san francisco party, “ the city Party had close to 1,200 embers with 140 of them in the ILWU.
- <sup>23</sup> FBI FOIA, san franciso party, lima files.
- <sup>24</sup> Ginger, Ann Fagan, & David Christiano (eds.), *The Cold War Against Labor*, vol 2 (Berkeley, CA: Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute, 1987); FBI FOIA, joe.. . A future friend of Joe’s, Adam Lapine, also went underground.
- <sup>25</sup> City directories, FBI FOIA, figueiredo
- <sup>26</sup> *NYT* 8-14-53
- <sup>27</sup> Interview and emails with Carol Lena Figueiredo..
- <sup>28</sup> FBI FOIA, figueiredo.
- <sup>29</sup> Social Security death index
- <sup>30</sup> Jacobs, John, *A Rage for Justice: the Passion and Politics of Phillip Burton* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
- <sup>31</sup> Raineri, Vivian M., *The Red Angel: the Life and Times of Elaine Black Yoneda* (NY: International Publishers, 1991); Schwartz, Stephen, *From West to East: California and the Making of the American Mind* (NY: Free Press, 1998).Ginger, “Cold War” *Op. cit*.
- <sup>32</sup> NARA RG233 HUAC files; .11th report on Un-American Activities in California, 1961; *NYT* 5 14-1960.

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<sup>33</sup> NYT 10-1-1962;FBI FOIA, joe figueiredo.

<sup>34</sup> David Jenkins Interview, Labor Archive; FBI reports on DuBois Clubs, on-line.

<sup>35</sup> On gay rights and racism, "White Verdict Unjust," *Boston Globe*, 6 5 1979.

<sup>36</sup> Davis, Angela, *Angela Davis: an Autobiography* (NY : Random House, 1974); helpful on Marcuse, Kellner, Douglas, *Herbert Marcuse and Crisis of Marxism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

<sup>37</sup> Lannon, Albert Vetere, "Angela's Children: How the Left Legacy Turned Against Itself in ILWU Local 6", *Historica Actual Online* 3 6 (2005): 7-13.

<sup>38</sup> FBI FOIA, figueiredo.; <http://law.justia.com/cases/california/caapp4th/35/980.html>

<http://law.justia.com/cases/california/court-of-appeal/4th/35/980.html>.

<sup>39</sup> Diggins, John Patrick , *The Rise and Fall of the American Left* (NY: W. W. Norton 1993).

<sup>40</sup> FBI FOIA, figueiredo

<sup>41</sup> Joy on the homosexual Harvey Milks' Murder, *Boston Globe* 6 5 1979.

<sup>42</sup> FBI FOIA, figueiredo; Carol Figueiredo interview; city directories.; family history.

<sup>43</sup> Ballam was mentioned in many general histories of the Party for example (Klehr, "*Secret World*," *Op Cit.*) but there has been little on his background or post 1940 life. To fill in the gaps: FBI FOIA, ballam; city directories.; family history, census.,