

Immorality in WPA Here **Told Dies**

Writers' Project Data Given by Woman

much discussed WPA Federal Writers Project is riddled with both Communism and immorality was given to the Dies Committee here. This was learned by The Ex-aminer last night in the wake of

IMMORALITY LAID TO WPA UNIT HERE

Writers' Project Activities Told to Dies Probe by Woman

(Continued from Page One)
... did you hold any official posi-seral months in the High Sierras tion in the party?
A.—Yes. I belonged to a pro-hook, and during that period he fessional unit and because I received full pay of \$84 a month wouldn't operate either in the D. Without filling any project assign—A. R. (to which she once belonged) ment.
or in my church or the P. T. A.
Q.—Can you give the names of I was given disciplinary work—a great deal of it. I served while turn in any work?
Browder was running for Press-dert on the county finance committee.

Federal Writers' Project – 4



Course outline

Date	Topic
February 1	Introduction
February 8	The WPA guide to Massachusetts and related publications Contemporary tours in central and western Massachusetts
February 15	Preserving Black culture
February 22	Politics and the Federal Writers' Project
March 1	The Legacy of the Federal Writers' Project

Course materials are available on $\underline{\text{https://queenlake.com/wise/wise-spring-2022/federal-writers-project/}} \\ \text{See also: } \underline{\text{Bibliography}}$



ederal Writers: Project - 1

Follow-up to last week's class

▶ Black press in the guides

- No mention of Chicago Defender in Illinois guide
- New York Age in New York City guide
- ° California lists Black and other minority-focused newspapers. See p. 116
- No mention of *Boston Guardian*, 1901-1950s
- Nebraska guide mentions two Negro newspapers, but without names, p. 222. Note of German-language paper, p.
 232. Heminford had two papers, Gleaner and Box Butte Rustler. Dairy Goat Journal in Fairbury. Omaha had eight Black newspapers at the time.
- ∘ Ohio a section on the press, but no Black newspapers mentioned

What slaves ate and What Americans Eat

• We'll look at those topics next week.



DE l'emplate



Note that FDR's response about the scope of the committee's actions is similar to the Republican response to the January 6 committee.

Film by radicalfilms

http://www.radfilms.com

Political-Historical Films & Videos by Robert Carl Cohen Edited

HURLEY GIVEN FIRST COPY OF W. P. A. BOOK

Mrs Ellen S. Woodward, assistant Federal W. P. A. administrator, presented the first copy of "Massachusetts, a Guide to Its Places and People," to Gov Hurley yesterday afternoon. The book was recently completed by the Massachusetts writers' project.

writers' project.

In accepting the book, Gov Hurley said, "As Governor, and speaking for the people of the state, I want you to know that we appreciate the efforts and talents given to this project. I want to say in all modesty that as a member of the Civil Works Administration Board for this state I approved the first music project, which eventually grew into this type of project.

"Furthermore, I shall be delighted to recommend that the book be included in every library in the state and in every school."

- ▶ In August 1937, Governor Charles Hurley enthusiastically greeted the publication of the Massachusetts guide.
- ▶ Hurley rescinded the endorsement the next day.
- ▶ He and other politicians and business leaders, along with Boston newspapers attacked the guide as too left-wing because of its reports on Sacco-Vanzetti case and the Lawrence strikes and over the inclusion of Labor Day among official holidays.
- ▶ There are five references to Sacco and Vanzetti in the original Massachusetts guide.

Reception of the Massachusetts guide

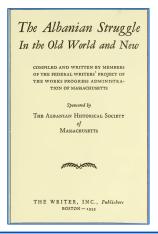


Boston Globe 18 August 1937, p. 19

In July 1938, Houghton Mifflin announced a "second printing" of the guidebook, edited carefully to rework the description of the two as anarchists while maintaining page counts, binding, and appearance.

Regional editor Frank Manuel wrote to Alsberg, "The new edition of the Massachusetts Guide has been on the stands for the past month. Nobody has apparently noticed the revisions and changes."

The controversy led to the appointment of a "policy editor" (internal censor) Louise Lazell who subsequently provided detailed information to the Dies committee.



- Why did we care about the Albanian government's opinion? It appears that we didn't want to complicate British interests in the region.
- "I cannot hide my misgivings that with each revision much of the zest of the original manuscript is being squeezed out." – Frank Manuel, writer

Alsberg removed the most interesting sections for fear of offending the Italian-fascist government of Albania.

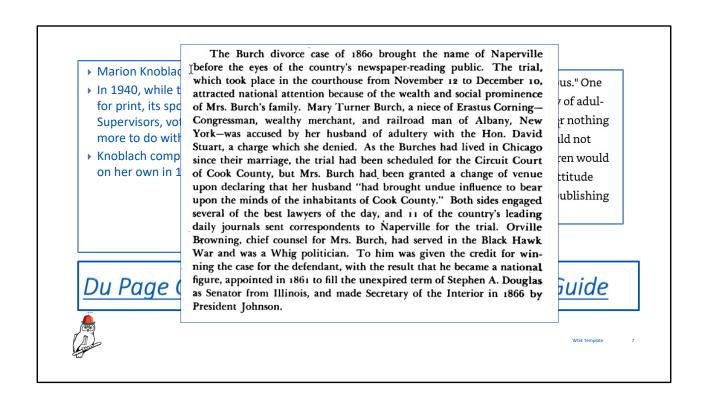


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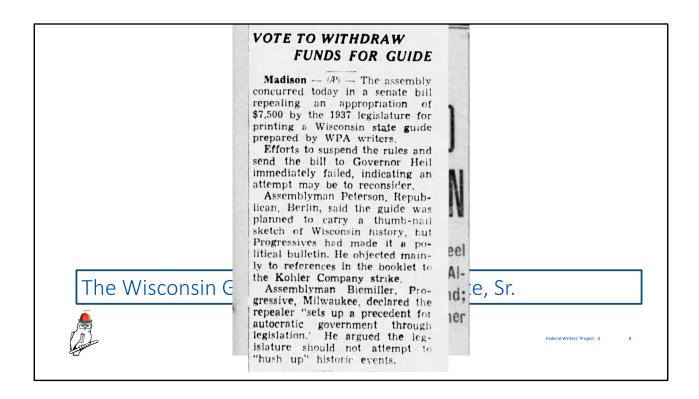
See Mangione, p. 284

See Fischer, Bernd. "Albania and the United States during the Interwar Period: An Overview." Tirana Observatory, July 14, 2021.

https://tiranaobservatory.com/2021/07/14/albania-and-the-united-states-during-the-interwar-period-an-overview/.



Mangione, p 243-44



Mangione, p. 341 Oshkosh Northwestern, August 16, 1939 Wisconsin State Journal, May 10, 1939 The work turned out by the project with which I, as a publisher, am most familiar, the Federal Writers Project, has been scholarly and effective, in many cases brilliant, and, from my knowledge of the other projects, I should say that the same standards apply throughout. It would be a disservice to the American people to take from them, at this time, the writers, musicians, artists, and actors who have, over the past few years, contributed so greatly to the enrichment of our culture. Increase the efficiency of the project, by all means -replace the incompetents-but don't drop something that in the long run is going to mean a great deal to all of us.

Bennett A. Cerf President, Random House

In support of WPA cultural programs – *New Masses*, January



WISE Template



1936 election poster: <u>Earl Browder</u> and James W. Ford (first Black on a presidential ticket)

Other sources have different numbers.

Klehr – 1937-48K, 1938-~60K

University of Washington – 54K [Source]

Particularly during the Depression years, many members did/could not pay dues.

Aid came from Soviet Union via Comintern.

Prior to 1932, most members were foreign-born. By 1937-38, most were American-born. Blacks were recruited, but not always welcomed.

JULY, 1929

NEW MASSES

VOLUME 5

JULY, 1929

NUMBER 2

WALT CARMON, Managing Editor

MICHAEL GOLD, Editor

NATALIE GOMEZ, Business Manager

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Harbor Allen, Sherwood Anderson, Egmont Arens, Cornelia Barse, Em Jo. Basshe, Carlton Beab, Van Wyck Brooks, Howard Brubaker, Stuart Chase, Miguel Covarubia, Adoleh Dehn, Eleya Dell, Robert Dunn John Dos Passos, Waldo Frank, Joseph Freeman, Wanda Gag, Hungo Gellert, Arture Giovannitt, William Garper, Levis, Hartis, Geoph Herman, Common Macroot, Glaude McKay, Lewis Munnford, Scott Nearing, Banner Oynitz, Lola Ridge, Boardman Robinson, James Rorty, Martin Russak, William Signel, Upton Sinclair, Bernard Smith, Otto Soglow, Herman Spector, Rex Stour Genevieve Taggard, Mary Heaton Vorse, Keene Wallis, Eric Walrond, Edmund Wilson, Jr., Robert Wolf, Charles W. Wood, Art Young.

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If someone was looking for Communists, they didn't have to look too far.





Whittaker Chambers, former Communist and spy, testified against Alger Hiss in 1948, helping to bolster Richard Nixon's political career.

YOUNG FITCHBURG REDS

Testimony before the Dies congressional investigating committee tending to show that communists sought to gain control of youth organizations in this country recalls the experience of Fitchburg with a Youth Conference some time ago.

Perhaps a good deal of the testimony in Washington may be discounted as the product of too active imaginations or as the tactics of politicians and others who seek to make the "Reds" a scapegoat. The rabble-rousers long ago learned that the word "communism" has a power to stir deep feeling in many an American heart.

Delegates to the conference included representatives of young peoples' church organizations, and it was the reluctant admission of one of the religious advisers to the conference that the communists showed far more energy and greater skill in agitation and promotion of their ideas than the Christian delegates did.

Fitchburg (Massachusetts) Sentinel Fri, Aug 26, 1938



emplate



John Reed Clubs



A Century After "Ten Days" [Source]

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About John Reed:International journalist, supported and reported on Russian Revolution. Ten Days That Shook the World, his coverage of the October Revolution, was published in 1919. In April 1918, Reed traveled from Russia to Finland; he did not have a visa or passport while crossing to Finland and was arrested. After a short prison stay, he was released and returned to the States, where he was arrested and tried twice for sedition and related charges. Both trials ended in hung juries. Arrested a third time, he was released on bail in October 1919. He returned to the Soviet Union using a fake passport. Reed died of typhus in October 1920. Given a hero's funeral, he was buried at the Kremlin Wall, one of only three Americans to receive that honor.

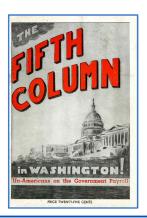
John Reed, '10, at Harvard: https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2016/3/31/john-reed-scrut/



I Tried to Be a Communist

"I asked for a definition of what was expected from the writers—books or political activity. Both, was the answer."

By Richard Wright



Aubrey

When Williams was in charge of WPA, as Deputy and Acting Administrator, some very significant things happened. Henry G. Alsberg, who admits a bowing acquaintance with Nicholai Lenin, little tin-god of modern Communism, became National Director of the Writters' Project; Katherine Kellock, wife of the Publicity Director of the Soviet Embassy, was given \$1,500,000 to spend on a National Guidebook, with some 4,500 workers under her direction; and Hallie Flanagan, Moscow-trained propagandist, who wrote "the best Revolutionary play ever produced in America," was placed in charge of the Federal Theatre Project which, with \$55,000,000 of the taxpayers' money, grew to be such a vehicle for Communist propaganda that Congress finally abolished it.

Constitutional Educational League



WISE Template

The Fifth Column in Washington. By Joseph P. Kamp. June, 1940 http://www.lamoth.info/?p=digitallibrary/digitalcontent&id=4965

WPA WRITERS
COMMUNISTIC,
DIES ASSERTS

Chairman Says Project Is
Being Used to Forment
Class Hatred

Washington, Nov. 26 (P).—Chairman Dies of the house committee inwestigating un-American activities to saight disclosed charges of three government employes that the WPA
Meen's Wires' project is being used by radicals to disseminate Communisties of the house committee inwestigating un-American activities to saight disclosed charges of three government employes that the WPA
Meen's Wires' project is being used by radicals to disseminate Communisty
Thave secured some of the Galleys
Windeas to disseminate Communisty
The wincesse said that some of the withheld the names of the propagands and forment class hatred.

Dies withheld the names of the "Communist" phraselology was to withheld the names of the "Communist" phraselology was withnesses, one of whom apparently witnesses, one of whom apparently the witnesses, one of whom apparently the propagands and forment class hatred.

The witnesses can be the State of the WPA

The witnesses can be the State of the Sta

"Communist" phraseology



The Times Shreveport, Louisiana Sunday, November 27, 1938

Chap. 87 Resolve providing for the printing and sale of the complete report of the special commission established to investigate the activities within this commonwealth of communistic, paciet, nazi and other subversive organizations, so called.

OTHER SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS, SO CALLED.

Resolved, That the clerk of the house of representatives is hereby authorized and directed to cause to be printed five thousand copies of the report of the special commission, established by chapter thirty-two of the resolves of nine-teen hundred and thirty-seven and revived and continued by chapter six of the resolves of the current year, for the purpose of investigating the activities within this commonwealth of Communistic, Faseist, Nazi and other subversive organizations, so called, printed as current house document numbered twenty-one hundred. The state secretary shall place said copies on sale at such price per copy, not less than the cost of printing, binding and paper, as shall be fixed by him. For the purposes of this resolve, there may be expended such sums, not exceeding, in the aggregate, two thousand dollars, as may hereafter be appropriated.

Approved July 15, 1938.



Massachusetts had its own "Little HUAC"



VISE Template

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Among the E. R. A. and W. P. A. workers Communists organized the Workers' Alliance, the Artists and Writers Guild, White Collar Union, Councils of the Unemployed and other unions. Their aim and practice are summed up in the instructions issued by the Central Committee to Districts:

Works Progress Administration . . . to attack the whole program of the Roosevelt government reduction of the W. P. A., exposing the reactionary attacks on spending and assisting through agitation to build the W. P. A. union and to achieve higher wages.

All of these must be connected up with all local issues. The test of the vitality of local Party organizations will be their ability to link themselves with the immediate issues and to get out on their own initiative leaflets and other forms of agitation with regard to the above question, as well as the sales tax, the milk question, workmen's compensation, unemployment relief, etc.

Report of the special commission, p. 310



VISE Template 1

Report of the Special commission to investigate the activities within this commonwealth of communistic, fascist, Nazi and other subversive organizations, so called





Massachusetts Special Commission to Investigate the Activities of Communistic, Fascist, Nazi and Other Subversive Organizations



State Senator Sybil Holmes (R-Brookline) chaired the committee. Not targeting WPA or FWP projects in the state



The Boston Globe BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS Thursday, October 28, 1937

Legislators Who Will Investigate Communism To Meet

Members of a special legislative committee named to investigate reported un -American influences in Florida were called yesterday to a meeting tomorrow night by Chairman Thomas II, Cooley, of Mount Dora, to fix dates and places for a series of bearings.

The committee is authorized to investigate reports of activities of comminum, bolshevism, pacificism and other theories subversive to the demo-theories subversive to the demo-theories subversive to the demonstration of the committee of the committee of the committee of the committee, and Cooley said his group intended to make a thorough investigation of reports and data it already had received of committee activities in Tampa, Jacksonville and other cities of the state. Besides Cooley, other members of the committee a re Representatives Kelly of Massas and Cfary of Marchy, Sender Thinas Tampa Grant Thorong Tampa of Banton of Bators and Kanner of Stuart.

More "Little HUACs"



Tampa Tribune – June 13, 1937

Federal Writers' Project - 3

California, Ohio,

The Ku Klux Klan in the Northeast

- ▶ The Klan began targeting Catholics and ethnic minorities, notably, French-Canadians who worked in and around Barre, Vermont.
- ▶ The French-Canadians were often strike-breakers, used to disrupt the labor groups' activities.
- "In the end, the Federal Writers' Project also produced very empathetic views of French Canadians, especially under Mari Tomasi's pen."
- ▶ During the 1920s, Protestant Anglo-Canadian immigrants such as Cameron supported the KKK's efforts in New England efforts that targeted French-Canadian Catholic immigrants in the region.

WISE Template 23

Lacroix, Patrick. "An All-American Town? Ethnicity and Memory in the Barre Granite Strike of 1922." *Vermont History* 88, no. 2 (2020).

Richard, Mark Paul. "'Why Don't You Be a Klansman?' Anglo-Canadian Support for the Ku Klux Klan Movement in 1920s New England." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 40, no. 4 (November 15, 2010): 508–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/02722011.2010.519396.



Rep. Martin Dies on immigration - June 1935



/ISE Template



https://www.newspapers.com/image/524285799 Pittsburg Sun-Telegraph February 2, 1936



Emerson, Thomas I., and David M. Helfeld. "Loyalty among Government Employees." *The Yale Law Journal* 58, no. 1 (December 1948): 1. https://doi.org/10.2307/793350.

To illustrate the success of Communist penetration in the Federal Writers Project, we wish to cite one instance. The committee received in evidence a book entitled "People's Front," by Earl Browder, which had been autographed by 103 avowed Communist Party members who were working on a Federal Writers Project, 6 of whom held positions as supervisors on the project. The total number of employees on this Writers Project was about 300. It is therefore astonishing to find that one-third of the total number of writers employed by the Government in this project were admitted Communists. We think that the explanation of the thoroughness with which the Communists have penetrated the Federal Writers Project is that they ecognized this project as a splendid vehicle for the dissemination of class hatreds. The evidence is very conclusive that Communist activities were carried on openly in the Federal Writers Project. - Even Henry Alsberg admitted on the witness stand that he had had considerable trouble with Communist activities in the Writers Project. He did not deny that a substantial number of the total employees Gove were admitted Communists, and that they had been very active on the project, but Mr. Alsberg stated that he did everything within his power to stop these activities.



"He expressed fear that vital information about New York might have reached Moscow and Berlin through a book, 'Underground New York,' which had been prepared by the Federal Writers Project here. He said his committee had discovered that 114 Communists were employed by the Federal Writers Project and that some of them had turned over information obtained for this book to the Communist party."

Dies – The Daily Times (Davenport, Iowa)



WISE Template 28

https://www.newspapers.com/image/302880043/?terms=%22Federal%20Writers%20Project%22%20communist&match=1

In one Federal Writers' Project in New York, one third of the writers were members of the Communist Party. This was proven by their own signatures. Many witnesses have testified that it was necessary for W.P.A. workers to join the Workers Alliance – high-pressure lobby run by the Community Party – in order to get or retain their jobs

Rep. Martin Dies, D-Texas The Trojan Horse in America, p. 298



WISE Template

Dies, Martin. The Trojan Horse in America. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1940.

If communism

is destroyed I do not know what some of you will do. [Applause.] It has become the most convenient method by which you wrap yourselves in the American flag in order to cover up some of the greasy stains on the legislative toga.

Rep. Vito Marcantonio (D-NY)



Congressional Record, Vol 86, Part 1, p. 599

WISE Template

Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the ... Congress. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940.

Vol. 86, Part 1. p. 599



The Dies sub-committee on Nazi activities



Dies Committee appoints subcommittee to hearings on Nazi activities. Washington, D. C., Aug. 22. Members of the House Committee investigating Un-American activities met today and decided to appoint a subcommittee to begin hearings on Nazi activities. Chairman Dies said the hearings would be held in an own to reveal its location. In the photograph, left to right. Rep. Harold G. Mosier, Rep. Noah M. Mason, Chairman Martin Dies, Dr. J.B. Matthews, former communist organizer, who testified today; Stephen Birmingham, investigator; Rep. Joe Starnes, and Rep. J. Parnell Thomas, 82/27/38

WISE Template

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Mr. Speaker, unfortunately this committee has not had time or inclination so far effectively to investigate such nationalist, anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi, or Fascist organizations as the following: The Silver Shirts; the American Nationalist Federation; the American Nationalist Party; the Ku Klux Klan; the American Crusaders; the American Coalition; the Christian Front; the Christian Mobilizers; the American Immigration Conference Board; the Black Legion; • the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation; James True Associates; the Paul Reveres, Inc.; Christian Defenders; Associated Farmers; American White Guards; American Patriot Guard; the Vindicators; Pelley Publishers; the White Legion; the Khaki Shirts; the Order of '76; the Christian Militia; the Crusaders for Economic Liberty; and the Awakener.

Rep. John Coffee (D-Wash.)



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Congressional Record, January 23, 1940

For four years, Dies has been urged to investigate the Klan. His "investigation" occurred on January 27, 1942, and consisted of a "secret" hearing at which Klanleader Colescott appeared, as Fies later informed the press, voluntarily and without subpoena. It resulted the following week in a communication from Colescott to Klan officials and members throughout the country instructing them to support continuation of the Dies Committee!

The Klan was not alone in its support of Dies. Pelley, Fritz Kuhn and countless other perpetrators of un-Americanism have been vocal in their support of Dies and his Committee, as the documentation proves. The affinity of seditious organizations for Martin Dies is in itself sufficient to demand investigation; the roster of names of Dies' supporters and of the 26 named in the indictment shows astounding duplication.

The tactics employed by Dies are likewise the tactics of the seditionists.

Letter from National Federation for Constitutional Liberties to William Maloney, Assistant to the Attorney General, August 1942



WISE Template

http://jfk.hood.edu/Collection/Weisberg Harold Dies Committee Files/Sedition Indictments 3-Ring Binder/Sedition 14A.pdf



 $\frac{https://www.visitthecapitol.gov/exhibitions/artifact/wait-till-dies-committee-hears-about-drawing-herbert-block-december-1938}{}$

J. Parnell Thomas Loses Bid for Parole, Apparently Because \$10,000 Fine Is Unpaid

WASHINGTON, July 24 (P) — he was sentenced last Dec. 9. At J. Parnell Thomas, former New that time, Federal Judge Alexander Jersey Representative who headed "stand committed that Thomas the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives during a stormy two years, tives during a stormy two years, who represented Thomas, said he lost his bid for parole from a Fedural Fedural Committed until the fine is part of the payors, and the present of the payors, and the payors of the payors, and the payors of the payors, and the payors of the payors of the payors, the payors of the payors of

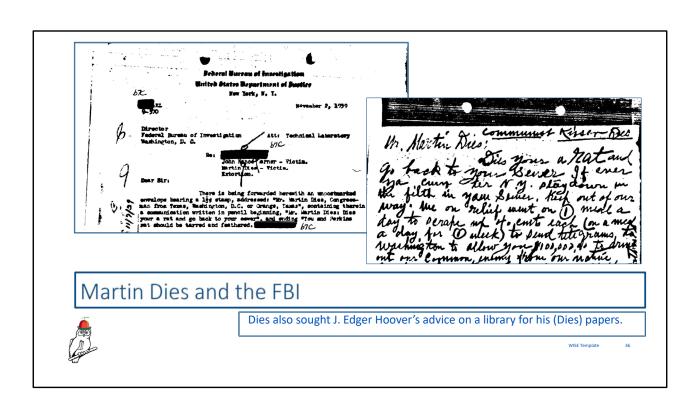
Che New Hork Cimes
Published: July 25, 1950
Copyright © The New York Times

J. Parnell Thomas, R-NJ



Chief investigator for Dies committee Later indicted for payroll

WISE Template



"Representative Martin Dies is one of the few Americans who has consistently received highly favorable comments in Mr. Hitler's controlled press."

Steuart Henderson Britt and Selden C. Menefee, [Source]

Labeling activities and people as Un-American did little to sway public opinion. Tagging something as "communist" made a big difference.

Did the Dies Committee change public opinion?

The results for these experimental groups indicate that the effect of the Dies Committee's campaign against what it calls "Un-American- ism" may have been less than some observers have supposed. Neverther less, the study indicates that pinning the label of "Communism" on anyone or anything disliked is quite effective. According to the present results, the Dies Committee of 1938 was probably successful in damning at least two well-known liberal organizations and one outstanding labor leader

TABLE I: Percentage of Approval of the 135 Members of Groups I, II, and III, of the 24 Experimental Items

	Approval	Doubtful	Disapproval
1. President Roosevelt	76	4	20
2. Representative Martin Dies	24	35	41
3. The Republican Party	52	14	34
4. The Communist Party	7	12	34 81
5. Herbert Hoover	46	8	46
6. Secretary of the Interior Ickes	54	25	21
7. The American Civil Liberties Union	27	64	9
8. W.P.A. Administrator Harry Hopkins	56	24	20
9. The American Federation of Labor	65	17	18
o. The American Legion	62	11	27

Did the Dies Committee affect public opinion?



WISE Template 38

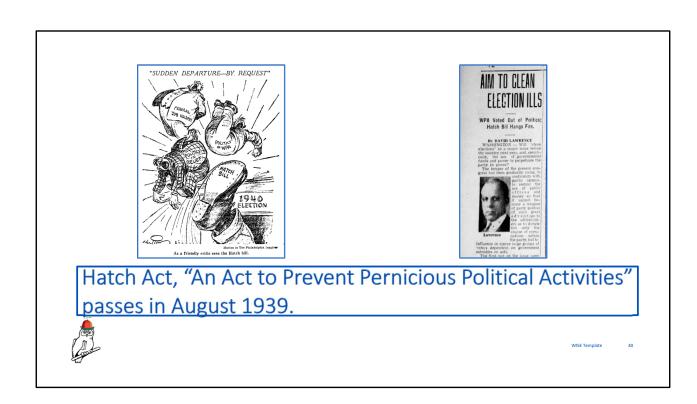
Britt, Steuart Henderson, and Selden C. Menefee. "Did the Publicity of the Dies Committee in 1938 Influence Public Opinion?" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (July 1939): 449. https://doi.org/10.1086/265317.

In brief, while Dies was not terribly popular, he was able to leverage the unfavourability of the Communist Party and communism in general to his advantage.

Politics and the New Deal

- ▶ Harry Hopkins, the director of the WPA and a Roosevelt crony, "had promised jobs and promotions within the WPA in exchange for votes in the U.S. Senate election in Kentucky.
- ▶ Passage of the Hatch Act, which prohibited federal employees from participating in campaigns
- ▶ See https://osc.gov/Services/Pages/HatchAct.aspx
- ▶ Employees may not campaign for or against candidates or otherwise engage in political activity in concert with a political party, a candidate for partisan political office, or a partisan political group.

ISE Template 39



https://ir.library.louisville.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1213&context=honors "To prevent pernicious political activities": the 1938 K ent pernicious political activities": the 1938 Kentucky entucky Democratic primary and the Hatch Act of 1939.

THE MUNCIE EVENING PRESS -

COERCION LANGUAGE

Hatch Bill, Outlawing "Pernicious Political Activities," Has Generally Overlooked Clause.

BY BRUCE CATTON,
Muncie Press Washington
Correspondent.
WASHINGTON, Aug. 3. — The
Hatch bill outlawing "pernicious political activities," as its printed title
expresses it, has a neat surprise
package in it which practically
everybody overlooked while it was
being passed.

Its opening sentence states that it

Broader implications of election reform





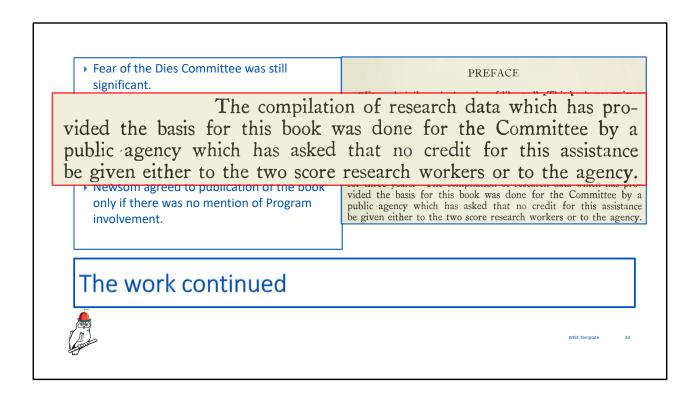
Federal Writers' Program



Alsberg out, Newsom in

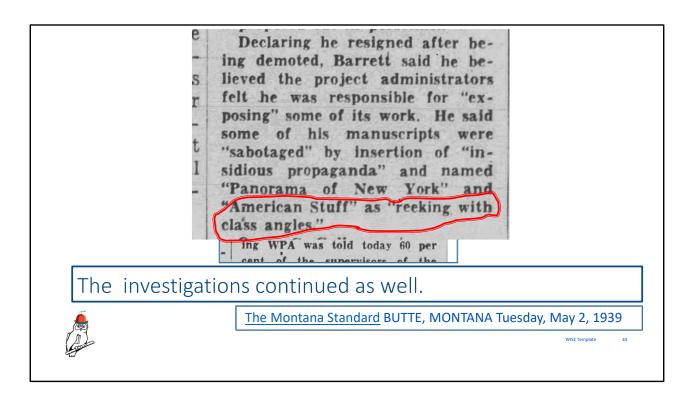
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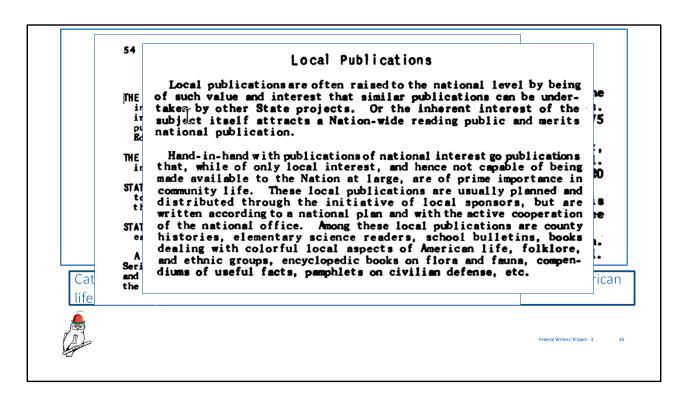


Mangione 341-343

Guides that were underway received monies to complete the projects Other unfinished or new projects had to find their own funding. Many did through local chambers of commerce, historical societies, and academic institutions. But it was complicated.



Rep. Clifton Woodrum (R-Virginia), chair of the House Appropriations Committee, continued the investigation into communist influences in FWP



https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015033686711

21st Century Federal Writers' Project

"Artists transform collective experiences into indelible work that holds the power to heal us. Congressman Lieu's work at the federal level complements our efforts in the state legislature to strengthen the arts economy with the California Creative Workforce Act (SB 628) and Save the Performing Arts Act (SB 805). With this coordinated state and federal leverage, we can empower a generation of writers to capture and amplify the diverse stories of the COVID-19 pandemic."

TED-LIEU

-California State Senator Ben Allen

Next week: The legacy of the Federal Writers' Project



Template