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FOREWORD

From the work of the Committee on Un-American Activities during the past year one set of facts emerges with irresistible clarity: The danger of communism is increasing, not receding; the United States remains the major target of Soviet aggression; indifference to the Kremlin's avowed program of global conquest can lead only to the inevitable destruction of our free institutions, and ourselves as a free nation.

It is not a pleasant task to state these conclusions. The Committee on Un-American Activities would prefer to report to the Congress and to the American people that the tide has turned against international communism and that the day of its dissolution is in sight. The committee cannot do so. There are many, nevertheless, who feel that communism has become enfeebled and exultantly hail each new sound from the Soviet sphere as the death knell of the vast Communist totalitarian empire. It is a grave delusion which they embrace.

Events in Hungary are still fresh enough for us to remember the jubilation which reigned at the rising of the courageous men and women of that nation against the despots who had enslaved them. We can remember too our profound shock as Soviet tanks and troops marched back to crush the rebels and demonstrate that the power of the Kremlin had not diminished.

Numerically, the membership of the Communist Party of the United States has declined considerably during the past few years as many dilettantes left the fringes from which they had long gazed with starry-eyed credulity. But those remaining in the Communist apparatus comprise a hard core of revolutionaries who have consecrated themselves to accomplish the annihilation of our form of government.

Anyone who thinks that communism in the United States no longer constitutes a serious menace should consider that at this moment on American soil are the equivalent of 20 combat divisions of enemy troops engaging in propaganda, espionage, subversion, and loyal only to the Soviet Union.

A prominent American jurist once observed that if the American people saw this horde wearing the uniform of a foreign power and moving freely in their midst, they would immediately voice great alarm. The alarm should not be less if the uniform clothes the mind instead of the body.

The past year has been an exceptionally fruitful one for the work of the Committee on Un-American Activities. A total of 398 witnesses testified before the committee. The investigations and public hearings that we have conducted across the country have disclosed:

1. A mammoth nationwide campaign of political subversion designed to paralyze the security programs of the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government;

2. The curious posture of a major United States "educational" foundation, the Fund for the Republic, Inc., some of whose practices have provided great aid and comfort to the Communist apparatus, particularly in the vital area of mass communications and entertainment;

3. The extensive use of American passports by the Communist conspiracy as a basic means of moving subversive agents in and out of the United States and other countries of the free world;

4. The identity of four other agencies of the Federal Government in which Communist Party underground cells operated during the 1940's;

5. The treasonable activities of American citizens in a Save Our Sons Committee established to disseminate Communist propaganda among American prisoners of war in Korea and their families in the United States;

6. The efforts of the Communist Party to expand its operations in Connecticut, North Carolina, and the west coast through colonization of basic industries in those areas, proselytization of youth and students, and organization of large numbers of non-Communists for political action of benefit only to the Communist Party;

7. A concerted international propaganda operation to lure refugees and defectors back to the slave-camp homelands from which they had fled.

The past year saw the publication of several valuable reports on various phases of domestic and international communism. Trial by Treason, a study of the national Rosenberg and Sobel committees, laid bare the exploitation of the atom spies by the Communist Party here and abroad to defame the United States Government. The Great Pretense brought together a number of authorities on international communism who analyzed the so-called anti-Stalinist campaign initiated by the new rulers of the Soviet Union who themselves are giving new luster to the mantle they inherited from Stalin. In Soviet Total War, other experts detailed the techniques used by the Soviet Union in the international Communist apparatus to accomplish its historic mission of global conquest.

Through the testimony of witnesses who have been engaged in a constant battle against the Iron Curtain police states, the committee obtained a wealth of information about the policies and strategy of the Communist Party in key areas outside the United States. Together these witnesses exposed the chicanery of the current Soviet avowals of "peaceful coexistence." Their warning, a sober and comfortless one, should be taken to heart by the people of the United States.

While the ultimate objectives of communism have not changed, its methodology has become more cunning and raises new barriers to effective counter action. One example of this was an amicus curiae brief filed with the United States Supreme Court last July by a "group of prominent non-Communists." In reality, as the letter contained in appendix II discloses, more than 26 of the signers have been identified in sworn testimony as members of the Communist Party and many of the others have records of extensive Communist-front affiliation. Currently the Communist Party of the United States is developing a new strategy designed to make detection and prosecution more difficult by ostensibly severing the connections between the Communist Party of the United States and the international Communist appa-

ratus, disavowing force and violence, and altering the names of the Communist Party and its more important adjuncts.

We can be certain, however, that despite any pronouncement the Communist Party may make publicly, its real program remains unchanged. With one-half the world already prostrate beneath the truncheons of Soviet communism, we must increase our vigilance, not lessen it. "On the clock of survival," Ernst Tillich declared in his appearance before this committee a few months ago, "the time is now 5 minutes before midnight." It is but a brief interval that still remains for us to elect survival—or extinction.

FRANCIS E. WALTER, *Chairman.*



ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1956

COMMUNIST POLITICAL SUBVERSION

Committee investigations and hearings in Washington, Chicago, Youngstown, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle have brought into focus the current Communist program of political subversion designed by the Kremlin to destroy the security programs of the legislative and executive branches of the United States Government. Over 180 front organizations have been created by the Communist Party to crush the security provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act, and a substantial number of others have been arrayed against other anti-Communist measures.

Three principal organizations were dealt with in the committee's hearings: The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, a Conference on Legislation in the National Interest, and the Committee to End Sedition Laws. All 3 have 2 things in common—a complete domination by the Communist Party and their goal of using the political freedom of the United States for the sole purpose of destroying that freedom.

The most successful of the three is the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the oldest creation of the Communist Party still active in the United States. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, while dealt with here as a single organization, is in fact a complex of organizations at times numbering more than 300.

Started in 1933 as an adjunct of the International Labor Defense (characterized by several Attorneys General of the United States as the "legal arm of the Communist Party"), the ACPFB became a separate organization in 1934.

Since its inception, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has operated among nationality groups within the United States. While its name implies protection of the foreign born, the hearings conclusively proved that it has used certain foreign groups in the United States solely for the protection of the Communist Party. Documents introduced during these hearings established that during the Hitler-Stalin Pact the ACPFB attempted to lead the foreign groups, many of them the victims of Nazi persecution, into opposition to American military and economic assistance to England and France.

It charged that the aid being given to stem the tide of fascism was designed to destroy the trade-union movement in the United States. At the same time, it began its attack upon the enactment of legislation such as the Alien Registration Act. To implement this program, branch committees for the protection of foreign born were created in Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, and other major cities.

With the attack upon Russia by Germany, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and its branches, as well as all Communist organizations, including the Communist Party itself, pledged support of America's defense program. However, when an indictment was brought against Stanley Nowak, of Detroit, seeking his denaturalization, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born attacked the President of the United States, charging that the indictment was another effort to destroy the trade-union movements. At the time of his indictment, Nowak was a vice president of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. In spite of the indictment, he was later elected chairman of the organization and held that position for several years.

To learn the importance of the nationality groups of the Communist Party, the committee subpoenaed John Lautner, a member of the Communist Party from 1929 until January 1950, membership secretary of the Hungarian Bureau of the Communist Party, and a member of the Communist Party Nationality Groups Commission. Lautner testified that during his membership on the Nationality Groups Commission of the Communist Party:

It was always emphasized how important it was for the party to do work, a Communist activity, in the nationality groups. The main reason projected at all times was the fact that in the basic industries of the country, such as mining, steel and metal, auto, rubber, textile, the largest segments of the nationality groups were occupied. In order to successfully build the party influence in the basic industries, it was necessary to expand the work of the Communist Party in these nationality groups. The Nationality Groups Commission of the Communist Party was that subcommittee which gave direction, guidance, and supervision for party policies and party activities * * * in the nationality groups. * * *

With the end of World War II, an increasing number of Americans began to perceive the real character of international communism. The espionage activities of Communist agents in America, together with the enslavement of free peoples abroad, brought a demand for legislation and prosecution of the Communist Party and its agents.

Investigations by agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and hearings conducted by the Committee on Un-American Activities and other congressional committees, disclosed the identity of various Communist agents.

Deportation and denaturalization proceedings were instituted against many of these Communist agents. Legislation was enacted to strengthen the laws dealing with Communist activities. As a consequence, the Communist Party of the United States has adopted as its first objective the destruction of the legislative and executive programs designed to thwart the Communist apparatus. To accomplish this, the Communist Party created a "united-front" offensive, which John Lautner described as follows:

A united front is a coalition around specific issues of various * * * groups that do not think basically alike, but on specific issues they will agree to coalesce and work together in order to achieve certain objectives laid down on the basis

of specific objectives. This is what is known as a united-front approach, or a united-front activity. It does not necessarily mean that if the Communist Party succeeds in drawing into united-front activities certain groups that these groups will agree with the fundamental aims or objectives or principles of the Communist Party. It only means that on a certain line of action these groups get together, whether they know the sponsorship of this line of action or not.

The principal organizations used by the Communist Party in its united-front effort were the Civil Rights Congress, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, and the Communist dominated and controlled trade unions.

As a member of the Nationality Groups Commission of the Communist Party, John Lautner knew personally as members of the Communist Party the administrative leaders of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the leaders of many of its branches.

Lautner testified:

As far as the protection of the foreign born as an organization is concerned, it was completely dominated and controlled by the Communist Party as one of its so-called transmission belts or bridge organizations. When the [American Committee for] Protection of the Foreign Born projects any line of action, united-front activities involving other groups around specific issues, that means the party initiates the particular action, and the [American Committee for] Protection of the Foreign Born was designated as an organization to carry out that activity for the Communist Party. It may be that some of these groups that coalesce with the [American Committee for] Protection of Foreign Born on specific issues do not know the source and the driving initiative that brought this coalition about or is attempting to bring this coalition about. It may be a valid action. Nevertheless, it is being led and directed by the Communist Party.

To defeat proposed legislation, or to demand repeal of existing legislation, as well as to campaign against legal action taken against the Communist Party, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born created additional organizations within itself. These organizations demanded defeat of anti-Communist legislation at the time of its consideration by the Congress and its repeal following enactment. Principally, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has been active against the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act, and is currently devoting its major efforts to attacking the security provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

In Chicago, Steve Schemanske, who operated within the Communist Party for over 15 years until he was used as an undercover agent in the Smith Act trial in Detroit in 1953, testified about the Communist control exercised over the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. He said the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born operated in partnership with the Michigan Civil Rights Congress. He identified Saul Grossman, executive secretary of the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, as a member of the nationality committee of the Communist Party of Michigan,

and quoted Grossman as advising the Communist Party that a portion of the funds raised by the Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born would be turned over to the Communist Party for the defense of Smith Act defendants.

Schemanske also produced a report, delivered at the 1953 national conference of the Communist Party, which points up the united-front activity of the Communist Party. The directives set forth in this report to the 1953 conference of the Communist Party have been followed by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and its branch organizations, as documented by evidence received during these hearings.

The report states:

While they concentrate primarily on the discriminatory immigration features of the act, and as yet accept the rigorous provisions directed against "subversives," against Communists, the struggle tends more and more to become a struggle aimed at the repeal of the Walter-McCarran Act and for the adoption of new legislation. This must be borne in mind.

It is hard to understand why the progressive-led organizations—the unions, national groups, and other organizations, including our party—have not thrown themselves with full force into this struggle, giving support to the various movements that have arisen, helping them to more vigorously unfold the fight for the repeal of this Fascistlike legislation. This is an important phase of the fight against McCarthyism and McCarranism, and cannot be relegated to a second-rate position.

It is our understanding that new legislation is being prepared to be introduced in Congress to replace the Walter-McCarran Act. We should be on the alert for this, and actively engage in the discussion to support such legislation if it meets the requirements of the day, to introduce amendments, and to activate in this process the various broad movements that now exist.

The Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Communist Control Act of 1954 seek to control or regulate the activities of Communist-action and Communist-front organizations and empower the Attorney General of the United States to proceed against such groups.

In order to circumvent the provisions of these acts, the legal commission of the Communist Party devised two measures: (1) The organizations changed their constitutions to eliminate so-called members (which was the term applied by the acts to describe participants in the organizations), and referred to them as "sponsors"; (2) the constitutions were also changed so as to grant ostensible autonomy to former State or local chapters of the parent organization. The local groups thereafter became known as cooperative bodies. The second of these changes was by far the most important, because any action taken by the Attorney General of the United States would only affect a small section of the entire propaganda organization.

Considerable evidence was presented to the committee showing the financial success of "protection of foreign born" and similar interlocking organizations. This evidence indicates that since World War II millions of dollars have been raised to carry on this Communist

directed and controlled attack upon legislation intended to protect the security of the United States.

The evidence during these hearings disclosed the control exercised over these organizations by the Communist Party. In California, there was created the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Its executive secretary is Rose Chernin Kusnitz, who was convicted under the Smith Act. When she appeared before the committee on December 8, 1956, she was still executive secretary of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, and received her total income through this organization, even though more than 2 years had elapsed since her conviction for advocating the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence.

Ruth Heit, executive secretary of the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, moved to Chicago from New York toward the end of 1955, where she had been employed by the International Workers Order, the Civil Rights Congress, and as administrative secretary of the New York Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. As soon as she arrived in Chicago, she became administrative secretary of the midwest committee. When the then executive secretary, Nathan Caldwell (who also appeared before the committee and refused to answer questions relating to Communist activity), was publicly exposed as a Communist Party member, Ruth Heit succeeded him without any action, or at least without knowledge of the then chairman of the committee.

Thousands of documents establish the interlocking relationship of State and local protection of foreign born organizations and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the Communist Party.

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

Public hearings in Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, and San Francisco brought to light various aspects of a mammoth international Communist propaganda operation flooding the United States with tons of literature from behind the Iron Curtain. The hearings centered on the testimony of Irving Fishman, of the United States Bureau of Customs and director of a special project on the control of political propaganda. The publications come from Russia, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Red China.

One part of this operation is a concerted campaign to lure refugees and defectors back to the slave-camp homelands from which they fled.

Mr. Fishman declared that this campaign apparently originated in Czechoslovakia and East Germany, and then "spread so that [the material] is now sent here in almost all languages * * *"—

It attempts to induce former nationals of the satellite countries, as well as displaced persons and immigrants from other Slavic nations, to return to their homeland. This program has been on the increase. Current weekly and monthly publications contain editorials, articles, and letters from individuals in the Soviet Union and other bloc countries directed to people residing in the United States suggesting that they return to their native land * * *

We have considered such material as political propaganda, as that term is defined in section 1 (j) of the Foreign Agents

Registration Act, and that the sending thereof, unsolicited, into the United States for dissemination was in violation of that act. To point up the growth of this program we might mention that our records show that we detained approximately 18,000 individually addressed items in April and early May of this year in New York City alone, and that we now have under examination about 10,000 articles received in late May and early June.

Mr. Fishman reported further that—

In 1955, through the port of New York we had for examination, 1,917,000 packages of mail suspected of containing political propaganda. At the port of San Francisco we examined approximately 406,000, and in Chicago, about 238,000. That is a combination, all told, of about 2.5 million parcels containing printed materials suspected of containing political propaganda. * * *

We would say about 2 million packages, and possibly, judging by our figures here, somewhere around 5 million pieces of printed matter.

Most of the refugees who receive this literature are indignant because they have already repudiated the terror governments of the countries from which they have fled. Beyond this, many of them are acutely disturbed to find that the Communist apparatus has been able to learn of their new address and in some cases their new identity in the United States. They have registered protests with postal and customs officials in an attempt to cut off any further receipt of such material. It is important that refugees who contemplate returning to their homelands even on a visit realize that, once in the Iron Curtain countries, they no longer enjoy the protection of the American law and have no recourse against any fate which may await them there. The State Department recently warned, for example, that Poland does not recognize the American citizenship of any Polish nationals who have become naturalized United States citizens.

Supplementing Mr. Fishman's testimony in Washington, United States postal officials Leo G. Knoll and Saul J. Mindel reported that the Post Office Department has seized more than 7,500 "return to the homeland" publications addressed to people throughout the United States. The propaganda campaign has two primary purposes. First, to create dissension and dissatisfaction among the refugees about conditions in the United States and develop in them a sympathy for the Communist program. Second, to lure these refugees back to their native lands where they can be indoctrinated for espionage and subversive purposes. The uniform nature of the propaganda publications proves that the campaign is being conducted in a highly integrated fashion by the international Communist apparatus. It was learned that the Committee for the Return to the Homeland is responsible for much of the propaganda of this type which reaches these shores from abroad. In an attempt to escape detection, material sent here from various foreign sources often arrives as ordinary correspondence under first-class mail. Many who receive such propaganda object to its receipt and send it with their protests to the Post Office Department. Publications intercepted by the Post Office Department bear such titles as "For Return to the Homeland,"

"Your Relatives Are Looking for You," "Your Country's Calling You," and "The Voice of Homeland," and are printed in various foreign languages. The committee made a part of its record the translation of a number of articles which promised free transportation, food, clothing, good living quarters, and fine jobs to those who will return to their native countries. Mr. Knoll testified further that the propaganda even promised—

that amnesty will be granted repatriated citizens of the Soviet-bloc countries who, in the past, allegedly committed crimes against their countries by serving in the intelligence, police force, or similar organizations during the Nazi regime, provided that they are genuinely sorry for such actions and desire to redeem themselves through honest work for their homeland.

Describing the recipients of this propaganda, Mr. Fishman stated:

A good portion of this is addressed to registered agents, or agents registered with the Department of Justice, who may legally import this information for dissemination. Much of it, however, is addressed unsolicited as is most of this homeland material to people whose names were picked out of telephone directories, and organization directories, and so on.

In the second phase of these hearings, in Philadelphia on July 17, 1956, Mr. Fishman took up the question of the general legislation applicable to this type of material:

Actually we recognized a number of years ago when the flow of this political propaganda, Communist propaganda, commenced to assume some real shape, that there was no Federal legislation, no statutes which directly prohibited the importation of this type of material. So after a study of the entire problem with the Post Office and Justice Departments, we found that it was possible to ban most of this material or a good part of this material by using the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Committee counsel addressed the following question to Mr. Fishman:

Mr. Fishman, under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, is there any limitation on the quantity of Communist propaganda from abroad which may be shipped into the United States provided it is destined to a registered agent of a foreign power?

Mr. Fishman replied:

There is no limit. They can bring in tons of it. There is only one requirement, and that is that when this registered agent in turn disseminates the information, that he label it so that recipients be made aware of its source.

In discussing the amount of Communist political propaganda coming into the State of Pennsylvania, Mr. Fishman declared:

We maintain our statistics on the basis of port arrival. In other words, we know what we get at New York, Chicago,

and San Francisco, and we can tell you what we have, for example, for the month of May in these areas. So far as Pennsylvania is concerned, with the cooperation of the Post Office Department some time ago we selected a 4-week arrival consisting of 830 sacks of mail at the port of New York and broke it down statewide. We were interested at that time in determining how many control units to establish throughout the country. We found that the State of Pennsylvania ranked fourth in the receipt of this type of material, New York ranked first. The State of Pennsylvania had the fourth largest amount of political propaganda addressed to recipients in the State. * * *

Using the figures at New York, there were 16,000 packages of mail of this type of propaganda material destined for Pennsylvania through New York.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time? One month?

Mr. FISHMAN. During the 4-week period. I think we could double that or a little higher, possibly somewhere around 32,000 parcels of mail.

Mr. ARENS. How many individual items would be in a parcel?

Mr. FISHMAN. From maintaining statistics we consider the average package contains between 4 to 6. We get higher runs. Some of them contain a dozen individual publications.

Mr. ARENS. That would mean, would it not, Mr. Fishman, over 100,000 items of foreign Communist political propaganda are hitting Pennsylvania every month?

Mr. FISHMAN. Every month.

Mr. VELDE. May I ask, since New York was first and Pennsylvania was fourth, are California and Illinois second and third?

Mr. FISHMAN. Illinois is second and, surprisingly, New Jersey is third. This was during this test run. Of course, the situation has changed somewhat. Additional countries have been added to the Communist bloc. I think California runs very high because of the Chinese material which hits our San Francisco control unit.

The committee summoned two individuals who it learned were receiving considerable foreign propaganda under second-class privilege, and who it was believed were acting as redistribution points for this material in the Philadelphia area. The first witness, Werner Marx, a naturalized citizen born in Frankfurt, Germany, invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning Communist Party membership and activities.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that since you have been a resident of Philadelphia, without being registered as a foreign agent pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act, you have been receiving foreign Communist political propaganda and been a nerve center for the dissemination of that political propaganda in this community. If that isn't so, you deny it under oath. Have you received Communist foreign political propaganda?

Mr. MARX. I refuse to answer that on the grounds formerly stated.

The second witness, Max Lowenfels, convicted under the Smith Act in June 1955 for conspiring to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the United States Government, invoked the fifth amendment and refused to say whether he had been engaged in disseminating Communist propaganda in the Philadelphia area. He also refused to identify his own signature on two applications for a post-office box for the Pennsylvania Worker and the Daily Worker.

In San Francisco on December 10 and 11, 1956, the committee heard additional testimony as to the amount and variety of foreign Communist political propaganda coming into that area. The committee had previously been advised that San Francisco was 1 of the 3 ports of entry designated by the United States Customs as reviewing points for material of this type coming into the United States.

Commenting on the class and type of material entering the port of San Francisco, Mr. Fishman stated:

The unit in this port is a very active one and concerns itself pretty much with material which is intended for dissemination here in this area. During the past 3 months, for example, August, September, and October, rather, there was a total of 156,575 packages of (mail) * * * 490,330 pieces of individual printed matter were contained in these packages.

In regard to the total volume of propaganda coming into the United States, Mr. Fishman told the committee:

We attempt to control it all by diverting it through the exchange post offices at the three places I mentioned. But much of this material will get into the mails, the city mails, and be distributed without our control. We don't know exactly how much of it there is, but observations are that there are quantities of it which do get into channels of commerce.

During the committee's investigation in the San Francisco Bay area, four examples of this propaganda were purchased by the staff at a local bookstore. None of this material bore the label as required under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. One of the owners of the bookstore was subpoenaed to appear at the hearings. She was questioned about the dissemination of this type of Communist propaganda in the area and invoked the fifth amendment on this subject and on her alleged long and active association with the Communist Party itself.

Another witness in San Francisco was John C. Caldwell, an expert on China and southeast Asia. Mr. Caldwell, who had just returned from an extensive tour of the Far East, told the committee:

During the past year particularly there has been a tremendously increased Communist propaganda campaign directed toward specific groups and specific nations. And the general tenor of this campaign is a desire to create a spirit of neutrality among the countries of southeast Asia to stop criticism of China and to gain acceptance for Red China's hope for U. N. membership.

One of the most significant illustrations of these methods, Mr. Caldwell said, can be found in the case of Cambodia—

Cambodia is a small nation of 4½ million people. That will serve to illustrate, I think, the methods used and the intensity of the campaign.

There are 250,000 Chinese in Cambodia, and, even though that is less than 10 percent of the population, those Chinese control business, they control banks and the best newspapers. Those Chinese have a total of 160 schools. They have within the last year become heavily infiltrated with Communist teachers. So that it is the estimate today that over two-thirds of the teaching staffs of those schools are either actual party members or are sent by the party.

An illustration of the success is the fact that this past year 300 Chinese students went from Cambodia to study in Red China while only 34 went to free China on Formosa, a ratio of about 10 to 1.

Within the past year—and most of these things I speak of have happened in 12 months or less—4 or 5 Chinese newspapers have become either neutralist or actually pro-Red. They have been bought either by outright bribes to the editors or with gifts of newsprint, which is another common form of bribery the Reds are using.

In publications, within the past year and mostly within the past 3 months, 40 new bookstores have been opened in Cambodia. Now, of these 40, 39 are Communist bookstores, and 1 is anti-Communist * * *.

Finally, in Cambodia the Reds have offered a \$22 million economic aid program that is very similar to what we do through ICA.

So you see there the four methods: Education, newspapers, publications, and economic penetration.

Mr. Caldwell concluded his survey with a number of recommendations on ways of combating the increase of Communist influence in the Far East:

During this past year, particularly the past few months while attention of our country and most of the world has largely been focused on the Middle East, the Communists are making tremendous headways in southeast Asia, and that we are doing relatively little to combat it.

Now it is a very rich area: 160 million people; 90 percent of the world's rubber production, natural rubber; a third of the world's tin; and particularly important to China is the rice surplus of southeast Asia.

Most of the progress that they have made actually you can pinpoint it to within the last 6 months.

I would just like to tell you in conclusion what they have been able to do in Hong Kong, which is a British city with a large British garrison, a place visited by many Americans.

There are in that city 10 major newspapers. A year ago 2 of those newspapers were Communist; 2 or 3 you could consider neutralist. In other words, they neither criticized Red

China nor America. And the rest were staunchly anti-Communist

Now, as of the middle of November, the newspaper lineup in less than a year actually of that city runs like this: Communist now, 4 papers with a total circulation of 148,000; neutralist, 4 papers with a total circulation of 145,000; and only 3 papers out of 10 remain anti-Communist with a total circulation of 50,000

Now that means, as I pointed out before, that the people are beginning to live in a vacuum. They cannot know the truth of what happens, for instance in Hungary. They cannot know the truth of what is happening in this country.

I think there are things we can do to counteract it. We must do more in publications. Not in English but in native languages.

We certainly can produce documentary motion pictures.

We must make the Chinese of the area realize there is another China that they can look to, the China that is our ally, and that, of course, is Free China.

A number of uncooperative witnesses appeared before the committee. Most important of these was Dr. Holland DeWitte Roberts, president of the American Russian Institute in San Francisco, and the director of the California Labor School. Although identified in public session by sworn testimony as a Communist and although confronted with documentary evidence of his Communist Party propaganda activities, Dr. Roberts refused to answer questions dealing with his identification with the American Russian Institute and the California Labor School and with his activities on behalf of the Communist Party in the San Francisco Bay area.

THE COMMUNIST PASSPORT CONSPIRACY

From the time the Communist Party in the United States was organized nearly four decades ago, American passports have been used by the Communist conspiracy as a key means of moving subversive agents and spies in and out of the United States and other countries of the free world.

Over the years, the committee examined hundreds of fraudulent American passport applications. These applications showed use of false naturalization and false birth certificates for the purpose of obtaining United States passports. A number of Communist functionaries, including Earl Browder, were successfully prosecuted for having used false documents to obtain passports.

Current investigations by the committee have aided in determining the methods employed by Communists and their sympathizers in obtaining American passports and in revealing the necessity for remedial legislation.

While the issuance of passports to members of the Communist Party is prohibited by the Internal Security Act of 1950, the committee realizes that the situation has been complicated by recent security precautions of the Communist Party. The party, for example, has discontinued the issuance of membership cards, and in instances has discouraged actual membership for certain strategically placed followers.

The committee is aware that a considerable number of American citizens have used passports in recent years to participate in the activities of international Communist propaganda organizations. These organizations, through international conferences and other propaganda activities, have sought to discredit the United States abroad and to disarm the free world in its struggle against Soviet imperialism. Among the most blatant of these international Communist organizations are the World Peace Council and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which have local affiliates in the major countries of the world and which regularly hold highly publicized conferences or festivals for the purpose of denouncing the United States and building up support for the Soviet Union. American Communists and Americans under Communist discipline attending these sessions endorse the infamous propaganda issued by these organizations. The uses to which these people are willing to lend themselves were strikingly illustrated at the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions held in Communist China in 1952. There, Americans appeared before Communist representatives from every country of the world and accused American forces in Korea of waging bacteriological warfare and committing other crimes against humanity.

Committee hearings which opened in May of 1956 were designed to discover (1) how American citizens, participating in conferences of the nature described above, obtained their United States passports, (2) whether or not the administrative authority under which the Secretary of State issued or denied passports was adequate, and (3) to what extent individuals about whom the committee possessed derogatory security information, were obtaining passports through concealment of Communist affiliation.

During the hearings it was made clear that, both by regulations of the Department of State and as defined by international law, an American passport is a document of identity and nationality issued to persons owing allegiance to the United States and intending to travel or sojourn in foreign countries. The document, on its face, assures the bearer of the protection and good offices of American diplomatic and consular officers abroad. Furthermore, officials of foreign governments are requested to permit the passport bearer to travel or sojourn in their territory and, in case of need, to give the holder of a United States passport all lawful aid and protection.

Determining that a passport is a political document and recognizing its importance in the conduct of relations with other governments, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, on March 31, 1938, issued an Executive order which read as follows:

The Secretary of State is authorized, in his discretion, to refuse to issue a passport, to restrict a passport for use only in certain countries, to restrict it against use in certain countries, to withdraw or cancel a passport already issued, and to withdraw a passport for the purpose of restricting its validity for use in certain countries.

On August 28, 1952, the then Secretary of State Dean Acheson issued a supplement to this regulation which authorized the denial of a United States passport to persons affiliated with the Communist Party and, in addition thereto—

persons, regardless of the formal state of their affiliations with the Communist Party, as to whom there is reason to believe, on the balance of all evidence, that they are going abroad to engage in activities which will advance the Communist movement for the purpose, knowingly and willfully, of advancing that movement.

Since the issuance of these executive regulations, the Secretary of State has exercised his authority to deny passports on the basis of evidence available to him. To offset these restrictions, the Communist Party instituted a broad campaign aimed at forcing the Secretary of State to repeal, or at least modify, the regulations. It created an organization which it named American Committee to Survey Trade Union Conditions in Europe. This organization served the dual purpose of (1) arranging travel into Iron Curtain countries, including Russia, of Communist propagandists, and (2) attacking the passport regulations of the Secretary of State.

William A. Wallace, a former Communist, who had furnished information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation during his membership in the Communist Party, testified about his travel to Russia and the attack upon the passport regulations by the American Committee to Survey Trade Union Conditions in Europe. After identifying the Communist Party leadership of this organization, he told of a meeting which it had called in Chicago in May 1952:

Well, at Chicago, we met at the Midland Hotel, some time the first part of May in 1952, and we discussed the denial of passports to individuals in this country, what steps to take, to take guaranties that this denial wouldn't continue, that people would receive their passports; also spoke about how much money had been spent on sending delegations to Europe. I think it was something like I think about 20,000 bucks, somewhere around there, that Charlie Velson mentioned that we had spent, that this committee had spent in sending delegations to Europe.

We were going to continue doing this if we could get passports. Therefore, we had to raise a hullabaloo about this passport situation by publicizing it in leaflets, by publicizing it in whatever press we could, by bringing it before the communities; also said that in order to continue this work we would have to set up a committee to carry on this work, out of the Chicago area, that we should send a delegation to the State Department, protesting the fact that passports were being denied certain individuals and that we do everything in our power to raise such a hullabaloo that the Passport Office of the State Department would be so embarrassed that they would then stop denial of passports to certain individuals.

During hearings held in May and June, 1956, the committee called before it some 20 witnesses, all of whom had traveled abroad since World War II. Many had participated in conferences called by international Communist-controlled organizations in the roles of officials, delegates, or observers. Witnesses were directed to produce the United States passports under which they traveled abroad.

Some passports which had been reclaimed by the Department of State were subpoenaed for analysis by the committee.

A review of the passports showed clearly that when an American servitor of international communism traveled into an Iron Curtain country on a mission to promote international communism, the Communist countries did not affix entry and exit visas. Instead, these agents were given a slip of paper which was stamped with the entrance or exit permit. When these individuals left the Iron Curtain country, the separate slip was removed from their possession and proof of their travels within that country disappeared. A review of the passports obtained by the committee through subpoena showed that in 1 or 2 instances, the visa stamp of an Iron Curtain country had been affixed to the passport through some error, and was subsequently eradicated. The deceit was subject to discovery, however, because the Federal Bureau of Investigation recreated the visa stamp by means of a technical chemical process.

This deceit was not initiated abroad. It started in the United States when the individual applied for his United States passport. For example, Henry Willcox, a prosperous builder and president of the Willcox Construction Co. of Long Island City, N. Y., applied for a passport in 1952, advising the Secretary of State that he intended to visit France and Turkey for the purpose of negotiating a building contract. Before the committee, Mr. Willcox testified that he never went to Turkey because upon arrival in France he found out that the Turkish Government was not interested in the contract. He said he went to Peking, China, instead, for the purpose of attending the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. Asked why he had not stated in his passport application that he proposed to attend the Peking conference, Mr. Willcox replied: "I am sure that if I put that down, the passport would have been refused." In the official report of proceedings, Willcox was named as an official of the conference. As such, he approved and supported the condemnations of America voiced by his fellow delegates.

Louis Wheaton was identified by the conference proceedings as deputy secretary general of the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions. Following is a portion of a speech made by Louis Wheaton, as reported in an English-language broadcast from Peking, China, on October 31, 1952:

It is time that a few things be said to us, the people of the United States. The firsthand accounts of the conduct of our troops abroad are shocking. American troop's vicious and criminal behavior is absolutely horrible. These accounts were given by newspaper correspondents of many lands as well as by the Korean peace delegation to the conference. The people of Asia and the Pacific region are convinced that these accounts are true.

Just one of these instances is enough to show the ruthless and inhuman behavior of our forces. In one village in Korea more than 300 children were put into one warehouse and their mothers into another nearby. Gasoline was poured around the warehouse where the children were and set fire. The mothers, hearing the screams of their children, broke down the door and windows. As they were trying to save

their children, these mothers were machine-gunned by our troops. * * *

Henry Willcox not only endorsed these statements while they were being made before the Communist-called Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions; but upon his return to the United States, he also released to the press a statement by another American delegate, Hugh Hardyman, of California, charging that American forces in Korea had engaged in bacteriological warfare against the women and children of North Korea and China.

This same Henry Willcox and his wife, Anita, are currently applicants for United States passports. The Secretary of State refused them new United States passports, and they have instituted judicial proceedings to compel the issuance of passports.

Hugh Hardyman, who appeared before the committee in California, had also deceived the State Department in applying for a passport to attend the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. He advised the State Department merely that he desired to go to Australia. Actually, he traveled from California to Red China via New York and France—three-quarters of the way around the world. While Hardyman had enough money to finance his own trip, other Californians attending the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, and a subsequent conference held in Vienna, Austria, had their transportation paid by Communist-front peace organizations in California. All of the California delegates traveled to Red China via New York and Paris.

During the hearings, the committee also heard testimony by youths who had attended a World Youth Festival held in Warsaw, Poland, in 1955. From a witness, Joseph Scislowicz of Minneapolis, Minn., the committee learned that the American delegates to this festival were known in Poland under aliases.

Several of those named by Scislowicz as participants in the festival were subpoenaed before the committee during these hearings. All had concealed the purpose of their travel in their passport applications; all were discovered by investigations conducted by the committee to have been affiliated with the Communist Party; and all refused to answer committee questions relative to their applications for passports, their travel abroad, and their conduct at the festival.

These hearings provide proof that the individuals who took part in the so-called conferences for peace or for youth, were knowingly or unknowingly, an integral part of the international Communist movement. The youth festivals were promoted by the international organization known as the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The Asian and Pacific Peace Conference and other conferences along alleged peace lines, which were the subject of these hearings, were under the control of the World Peace Council. The World Peace Council and the World Federation of Democratic Youth are comprised of delegates from all countries of the world but they are dominated by the delegates from Soviet-bloc countries, with the support of Communist delegates from non-Communist countries. The purpose of the organizations is to propagandize in behalf of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and against the foreign policy of every free country in the world. Without exception, delegates to the peace conferences unanimously supported all resolutions proposed by the Communist leaders at the conferences. A review of the proceedings of

these conferences shows that Communist delegates from non-Communist countries attacked their governments and the governments of the other free countries of the world, but never once have delegates from Soviet-bloc countries condemned their own governments; nor, significantly, did the free-world delegates ever condemn the long record of Soviet aggrandizement and inhumanity.

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF GOVERNMENT

Further ramifications of Communist infiltration of the United States Government were uncovered in a significant series of hearings in Washington early in 1956.

The committee learned of the identity of four more agencies of the Federal Government which harbored Communist Party cells—the Railroad Retirement and the Social Security Boards, the Rural Electrification Administration, and the Department of Labor. The new information received by the committee corroborated the testimony of Herbert Fuchs who in previous appearances had bared the existence of at least 10 heretofore undisclosed Communist Party cells organized within various Government agencies during the 1940's. Much of the corroboration was obtained from James E. Gorham, who had been employed by the Federal Government from 1934 until 1955, with the exception of 5-month periods in 1938 and 1947.

Mr. Gorham afforded the committee invaluable information dealing with the extent and success of Communist Party infiltration of Government service at a time when it was a major target of the Communist Party.

Mr. Gorham testified that he first joined the Communist Party in 1934 in New York City while employed by the Office of the Federal Coordinator of Transportation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Before he was transferred to Washington, the committee learned three important Communist Party functionaries from Washington, D. C.—Henry Rhine, Albert Blumberg, and Eleanor Nelson—visited him in New York. They informed Gorham and other Communists in New York who were about to be transferred to Government jobs in Washington, about the organizational structure and operation of the party element in the Federal service. He was told that under no circumstances would he be known as a Communist to anyone other than to his fellow Communist Party members and that he would hold no party membership card as long as he was a Communist and employed by the United States Government.

Gorham testified that during the period from 1934 to 1942 he was a member of a Communist Party unit in several Government agencies. The first group to which he belonged was a fraction within the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in New York. He was recruited, he stated, by one Louis Lehrman. Upon his transfer to Washington, he was assigned to the Communist group comprised for the most part of employees of the National Recovery Administration. This assignment was arranged by Henry Rhine, who was then employed at NRA.

Gorham was next assigned to a party group composed of employees of the Works Progress Administration. This transfer was effected by Edna Richter, then an employee of the WPA. The next Communist Party unit to which Gorham belonged was a new one composed of

Gorham, Fuchs, and Samuel Koenigsberg, all staff employees of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Railroads, Holding Companies, and Related Matters, the so-called Wheeler committee. Gorham related that the Communist group within the Wheeler committee later added to its membership employees from the Interstate Commerce Commission and, at another time, "2 men and 1 or 2 women" in a merger of a Library of Congress Communist cell with the Wheeler committee cell.

Mr. Gorham finally was assigned to a cell composed of employees of the Securities and Exchange Commission, headed at that time by one "Mike" Naigles, an employee of the SEC. Gorham related that in 1935 he was suspended by the Communist Party for several months for too strenuous opposition to the totalitarian tactics of the party. He was later reinstated.

Regarding his final break with the Communist Party in 1942, Gorham stated:

Now, I found, however, as I think any thinking man must have found, it very hard to understand the gyrations of the Communist Party from 1939 through 1942 unless the party could be regarded as simply a form of front organization for the Russian party, which was in a sense what it really operated as. In other words, it was perfectly obvious in the rather clumsy attempts to change and to rationalize the change in position as the world situation changed, that the American Communist Party did not have a policy of its own. I personally became disappointed and quite disgusted with the explanations given me, and made up my mind to leave when the opportunity came to leave and I did so * * *.

The committee subpoenaed for appearance in Washington 31 individuals who had been identified by Mr. Fuchs and Mr. Gorham as active Communist Party members during the time they were employed by the Federal Government. Of these 31 individuals, 11 were still in Government service at the time the first Government employees' loyalty program was inaugurated in 1947. Five of these individuals retained their jobs even after 1950. When called upon by the committee to answer questions regarding their participation in the Communist conspiracy, 30 of the 31 claimed the protection of the fifth amendment.

One of the witnesses heard during these hearings was one Helen Roark Hill, formerly Helen Roark Himmelfarb, who was employed by the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, D. C. until April 27, 1954. Prior to this date, Mrs. Hill received two loyalty hearings during which she had continuously and emphatically denied, under oath, that she was, or had ever been, a member of the Communist Party. The committee ascertained that Mrs. Hill resigned her Government position before a final determination was made of her loyalty investigation which was reopened in 1953.

After her case came to the attention of the committee, Mrs. Hill was subpoenaed to appear in an executive session on May 14, 1954. At that time, she again denied under oath that she was, or ever had been, a member of the Communist Party. In addition she gave the committee a complete transcript of her hearings before the loyalty boards,

replete with her denials of Communist Party activity or membership. There the matter rested until Herbert Fuchs began to cooperate with the committee and stated that he had known Mrs. Hill as a member of the Communist Party while they were both employed at the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, D. C.

On July 28, 1955, Mrs. Hill was recalled before the committee in executive session. Again she was asked about Communist Party membership and activities at which time she claimed her privilege under the fifth amendment, refusing to answer any and all questions dealing with this subject.

Mrs. Hill was then called for a public hearing on February 28, 1956, at which time she claimed her privilege under the fifth amendment in response to practically all questions put to her by the committee, even including her previous appearances before the committee and whether or not she had ever held various jobs within the Federal Government. As in the preceding executive hearing, she refused to answer any questions dealing with Communist Party membership or activity.

In 1955, the committee reported that for the first time a witness had agreed to answer any and all questions if the committee secured for him a grant of immunity from prosecution under provisions of Public Law 600, 83d Congress. (Briefly, this law provides that in the event the committee authorizes that a witness be granted immunity and the court enters an order requiring the witness to testify, nothing that the person is compelled to state while so testifying may be used in any criminal proceeding against him.) The witness referred to above was Ellis Olim. Upon being recalled before the committee on June 20, 1956, Mr. Olim stated that he had misunderstood the committee's offer of immunity. He refused to cooperate with the committee and invoked the fifth amendment when questioned about Communist Party membership and activities.

Three of the witnesses heard during the course of the 1956 hearings refused to tell the committee whether or not, while employed by the Federal Government, they had transmitted any information or material which came into their possession as a result of their Government position, to any persons or entities not authorized by law to receive it.

The existence of at least two Communist Party cells in the regional office of the National War Labor Board in Denver, Colo., during the years 1943-45 was reported by the committee in 1955 as a result of testimony of Mr. Fuchs. On May 15, 1956, in Denver, Colo., the committee received testimony of one Norman Pixler. Mr. Pixler testified that he had been an employee of the War Labor Board in Denver during the years 1943-45, and that he had been solicited for membership in a Communist Party cell within that agency. He informed the committee that the individual most persistent in the attempt to recruit him into the party was Philip Reno. Reno has been identified to the committee by at least two witnesses as having been a member of the Communist Party while employed by the Federal Government in Washington, D. C., and Denver, Colo. Mr. Pixler testified further that Philip Reno was the person responsible for securing employment at the War Labor Board in Denver for at least five individuals known by Reno to have been members of the Communist Party.

Reno appeared before the committee in Denver. He refused to answer questions regarding the employment of persons named by Mr. Pixler. Committee counsel then declared:

I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that part of your responsibility in the Communist conspiracy was to introduce into the Federal Government persons known by you to be members of that conspiracy.

"I decline to answer that on the grounds given," Reno replied.

During the hearings conducted in Washington and Denver, four of the individuals identified as Communists denied under oath that they had been members of the Communist Party or that they had participated in Communist activities. These four cases, together with all testimony and evidence in the possession of the committee bearing thereon, have been forwarded to the Department of Justice for consideration in connection with possible perjury proceedings.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

To obtain an accurate view of the current developments of international Communist strategy and tactics, the Committee on Un-American Activities, during the summer of 1956, inaugurated a series of projects, comprising hearings and statements by a number of experts, on the Soviet program of conquest as it operates today in the various nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Chairman Francis E. Walter declared at the opening of the committee hearings—

It is abundantly clear from the evidence received by this committee and other organs of the United States Government—that the Communist conspiracy in the United States is but one aspect of the global conspiracy directed by the Kremlin.

Beyond this, it is equally clear that the activities and the objectives of the Communist Party of the United States are almost invariably foreshadowed by prior developments in Russia and various key countries abroad. One of the most compelling examples of this was the famous letter by the French Communist leader, Duclos, which resulted in the expulsion of Earl Browder as head of the American Communist Party.

In order to determine the nature of communism in the United States, it is essential, therefore, that we keep fully acquainted with the strategy and tactics of International Communism.

The first witness to appear before the committee, on September 10 and 11, 1956, was Ernst Tillich, leader of the Fighting Group Against Inhumanity, one of the most effective resistance organizations functioning behind the Iron Curtain. From its headquarters in West Berlin, Mr. Tillich and the Fighting Group conduct a ceaseless war against the Soviet police state whose borders begin only a few blocks away and stretch all the way to the Pacific Ocean.

The information which Mr. Tillich provided on the motives and purposes of current Soviet policy takes on particular significance in the following summary statement: "A half million combat-ready Soviet and East German Communist and Red army troops, poised on the border of Western Germany," he declared, "give the lie today to Soviet avowals of 'peaceful coexistence.'"

He continued—

Indeed, in the current strategy of the Kremlin, "peaceful coexistence" emerges only as another instrument for Communist expansion and ultimate global conquest.

In Germany today, the world has a compelling illustration of Communist coexistence in practice. In Eastern Germany the Soviets have some 250,000 Red army troops stationed at key points ready to surge across the Rhine up to the English Channel at a moment's notice. They have also established an East German Communist military apparatus of another 250,000 officers and men. These forces are supplemented by a veritable army of underground spies and saboteurs in Western Germany whose function it would be, in the event of war, to disrupt American and allied forces stationed there.

At the moment, however, the Soviets are hoping to achieve their program without resorting to another war. Their efforts are directed toward the winning of new allies or, at the least, toward inducing a neutralist posture among the nations of the free world which are now joined with the United States in an anti-Soviet coalition.

For the moment, the Soviets have laid aside their tactics of direct offensive. They are proceeding now in ways more subtle, but at the same time more dangerous for the very reason that they are more difficult to identify and deal with.

Since the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party last spring, the Kremlin has modified some of its internal policies in order to lessen the hostility of the people of Russia and the Iron Curtain countries.

But while more freedom has been established in certain areas of life, this does not mean—as the Soviets wish us to believe—that the nature of the Soviet system itself was changed. Any benefits given to the peoples of the Iron Curtain countries are prompted not by humanitarian considerations. They have been extended simply as a means to an end: The Soviets are beginning to realize that a productive slave is better than a dead one.

Despite the variety of methods they have employed, the Soviets have not succeeded in developing any widespread enthusiasm for communism behind the Iron Curtain in the satellite countries. The people have been forced to adapt themselves to the regime in order to live. But this does not mean that they accept it.

In East Germany, for example, 85 percent of the population are opposed to the Soviet-German police government. In the event of war or insurrection, these 85 percent would at the least engage in passive resistance and as many as possible would participate in active resistance. Similarly,

the East German army does not constitute a secure force for the Soviets. On the basis of accurate information available to us, we can estimate that, in the event of civil war or a third world war, at least 80 percent of the Communist police troops would desert at the first crisis.

The people behind the Iron Curtain represent the best allies that America has. It is essential that America continue to encourage and support them. There are various ways in which this can be done.

1. We must provide them with individual economic help, food packages, and the like.

2. We must insure that refugees who flee to the West are integrated politically and socially, as well as economically, into their new environment.

3. We must maintain as much contact as possible with the people of the Iron Curtain countries. We must emphasize that we consider them our friends and allies and that our opposition is directed only against the illegal governments which oppress them.

4. We must conduct a coordinated propaganda offensive which takes into account the psychology and aspirations of the people behind the Iron Curtain and of the Communist functionaries who can be persuaded to defect from the regime.

5. We must utilize a consistent propaganda of protest in which we denounce the excesses of the Soviets and the Communist satellite governments.

6. We must provide the peoples behind the Iron Curtain with specific political leadership by providing them with slogans and suggestions which they can use as a basis for criticizing and opposing the government.

The Soviets have converted Germany into a giant laboratory in which they are testing their procedures of aggression. At the same time, Germany provides the free world with one of the most effective areas in which to strike back at the Kremlin. It is essential that we utilize these opportunities effectively.

"On the clock of survival," Mr. Tillich warned, "the time is now 5 minutes before midnight."

The predictions of Mr. Tillich were borne out strikingly only a few short weeks later by the dramatic events first in Poland and then in Hungary where thousands died in an unquenchable battle for freedom against the Soviet juggernaut. A group of witnesses provided a valuable insight into the background of these developments. On Poland, the staff of the committee heard statements by Dr. Jan Karski, a member of the last free Polish government; Joseph Lipski; and Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, who served as Vice Premier, after World War II, together with the present Communist ruler, Gomulka.

While the free world hoped that the schism in Poland might augur a Polish break from the Communist orbit, Mr. Mikolajczyk found little to encourage such a view.

"Gomulka," he warned, "is a 'fanatical' Communist dedicated to the completion of the program of sovietizing Poland."

"Despite the dismissal of Rokossovsky as Defense Minister and head of the Polish Armed Forces," Mr. Mikolajczyk pointed out, "the Soviets nevertheless retain complete control over the Polish military forces, the secret police, and the economic planning division."

Mr. Mikolajczyk urged that any American aid to Poland be given only upon the conditions that free elections are permitted in Poland and that the Gomulka government demonstrate that it has genuinely disassociated itself from the program of Soviet imperialism with which it is still allied.

Spokesmen for free Hungary included former Premier Ferenc Nagy, now Vice President of the International Peasant Union; the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Bela Varga, former Speaker of the Hungarian Parliament; Stevan Barankovics, former chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party; and the Rt. Rev. Bela Fabian, former president of the Hungarian Independent Democratic Party.

Mr. Nagy expressed disappointment with the West for not giving adequate aid to the people of Hungary in their struggle for freedom.

Since the outbreak of the Hungarian struggle for freedom, he said—

I have heard numerous individuals ask the question: "What can the Western World do to assist courageous Hungary in its battle for liberty?" There have been, of course, several different answers to that question. When the first Soviet guns opened fire on the unarmed and helpless populace of Budapest, from the overflowing hearts of 10 million Hungarians came a fervent prayer that the Western World would address a strong demand—not just a suggestion—that the Kremlin withdraw all Soviet forces from Hungary at once, and evidence the sincerity of that demand, if necessary, with a show of Western force. In my judgment, the Soviet army would have immediately withdrawn from Hungary, had such a demand been made—and moreover, the chances for freedom in all captive nations would have instantly brightened. This could well have been the beginning of the end of the world Communist movement.

Another concrete measure would have been the prompt dispatch of a United Nations police force to battle-reddened Hungary, and this would only have been the discharge of an important U. N. responsibility in its cause to promote world peace and halt aggression. In an interview in Paris several weeks ago, I pointed out that, so far as we know, the Budapest revolt marks the first time that Soviet troops have fired on the populace of a satellite since 1945, and was in fact the first time that Soviet troops have been in combat outside of Soviet borders since the end of World War II. Therefore, the ruthless and reprehensible Soviet conduct in Hungary constituted a positive act of aggression that should have been dealt with immediately through proper channels of the United Nations.

He urged that the United States and the other free nations of the world refuse to recognize the new puppet regime recognized by the Soviet Union after quashing the rebellion.

As the situation stands at this moment, in my judgment the people of Hungary could salvage at least a moral victory if the Western Powers, particularly the United States, would steadfastly refuse to recognize the now-existing puppet regime of Jonas Kadar. In the meantime, it is my hope that the United Nations, dedicated as it is to promote the principle of national self-determination for all people, will sponsor free elections in Hungary under the supervision of a U. N. inspection team so that my people may have a government of their choosing. This is precisely one of the very privileges that an estimated 50,000 Hungarians have died for during the past 3 weeks.

Mr. Nagy, together with his compatriots who conferred with the staff of the committee, joined in a plea for effective humanitarian aid to the people of Hungary from the people of the free world but coupled this with urging caution that food and medical supplies be channeled to the Hungarian people and not to the regime which opposes them. The Committee on Un-American Activities expects to hear experts from other strategic areas of the world in coming months to provide the Congress and the people of the United States with current information about Soviet policy.

In another aspect of its study of international communism, the Committee on Un-American Activities, during 1956, published two symposiums containing analyses by a number of authorities on the current strategy and tactics of the Soviet Union. The first of these was The Great Pretense—a Symposium on Anti-Stalinism and the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party; in it, 39 experts contributed appraisals of the anti-Stalinist program which was thrust upon the world by the new leadership of the Soviet Communist Party in the spring of 1956. The experts stood together on these three major conclusions:

(1) The current policy and tactics of the Soviet Union present the greatest danger ever to confront the West;

(2) The current developments in the Soviet Union are a reflection of growing strength and confidence rather than weakness;

(3) The policy of anti-Stalinism proclaimed by Khrushchev does not denote any abandonment of the messianic Soviet program of universal conquest.

It is the hope of the Committee on Un-American Activities—

Chairman Walter stated in a foreword—

that these analyses may aid in creating an effective program with which to countervail the dangers of anti-Stalinism—and in maintaining reason and vigilance in that diminishing part of the world that is still free.

The second symposium, a two-volume work entitled "Soviet Total War—'Historic Mission' of Violence and Deceit," presented statements by 123 eminent United States Government officials, military leaders, educators, journalists, and labor and business experts in a comprehensive examination of the origin and current direction of Soviet policy developments in Europe, Asia, and Africa. FBI Director

John Edgar Hoover, who also contributed to *The Great Pretense*, declared that "we are not entering an 'era of peace.' Contrary to the opinion of wishful thinkers, the threat of Communist tyranny has not been lessened." The Kremlin's current "return to Leninism," Mr. Hoover warned, marks the emergence of a new Communist militance and the beginning of "war on a new plane."

Quick confirmation of Mr. Hoover's prediction came with the brutal suppression of the Hungarian freedom revolt and the intrusion of the Soviet Union into the turbulent Middle East. Both of these developments stripped the last threads from the mask of Soviet "peace," and shattered even the vainest hope that the campaign of de-Stalinization augured a change in the ways of the Kremlin. On the final day of 1956 these developments began to come full circle as Khrushchev, the originator of "anti-Stalinism," proclaimed that "in the fight against the imperialists, we are all Stalinists."

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

The chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Francis E. Walter, on June 7, 1956, in announcing that the committee will hold public hearings on activities of the Fund for the Republic, stated:

The Fund for the Republic, Inc., is financing a number of activities which have aroused criticism and doubt on the part of Members of Congress, prominent patriotic organizations, and individuals, including Henry Ford II himself, who has publicly described some of the actions of the Fund as "dubious in character."

Is this foundation, with its vast reservoirs of funds and power, a friend or a foe in our Nation's death struggle against the Communist conspiracy? Are its extensive and diverse activities strengthening or weakening our security structure in the Communist cold war? Are the leaders of this force, which enjoys the benefits of tax immunity, serving an interest inimical to our basic American traditions?

The Congress and the American people are entitled to know the answers to these questions. I wish to make it clear that the Committee on Un-American Activities is not at this time passing judgment on the Fund for the Republic or its activities. The committee is seeking the objective facts, so that they can be available to the American people.

In the embattled position in which the United States finds itself today, no organization is above appraisal of its position on matters vital to this country's welfare. In the words of Henry Ford II on the Fund itself, "No public trust can expect to fulfill its responsibilities if it does not respond to intelligent and constructive public criticism." The Congress has a right and a duty to inform itself on issues pertinent to prospective legislative action.

Staff investigations have not yet been completed, and the general public hearings on the Fund for the Republic have not as yet been

scheduled. In the interim, however, the committee has held hearings on two phases of the activities of the Fund for the Republic:

1. So-called blacklisting report

On June 25, 1956, the Fund for the Republic released a two-volume report on "blacklisting." The theme of the report is that there is in vogue in the entertainment industry a blacklist, which deprives people of employment because of political affiliations or beliefs.

The evidence adduced at the hearings established that there is not, and never has been, in the entertainment industry, any practice of depriving people of employment because of "political affiliations or beliefs," but that a number of people who have been identified as Communists or active on behalf of communism have been refused access to mass mediums of communications. This fact was established, not only by the examination in public session of Mr. John Cogley, who directed the investigation on behalf of the Fund for the Republic, but also by the testimony of the ablest leaders of nationwide anti-Communist organizations, including the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. These leaders roundly condemned the Fund for the Republic report as a "fraud" and a "tool" of the Communists in preventing the exclusion of Communists from the entertainment circles of this Nation.

2. The award to the Plymouth Monthly Meeting

On July 17 and 18, 1956, the committee held hearings in Philadelphia, Pa., respecting the award made by the Fund for the Republic to the Plymouth Monthly Meeting. The evidence adduced at the hearings established the following:

On June 23, 1956, the Fund for the Republic announced that it had awarded \$5,000 to the Plymouth Monthly Meeting (Religious Society of Friends) at Plymouth Meeting, Pa., for "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles" in refusing to dismiss a librarian who did not take the Pennsylvania loyalty oath. The librarian had been identified as a Communist before a Senate committee. She refused to testify respecting her Communist affiliations when called before the Senate committee, and has been convicted of contempt of Congress. She was not at any time employed by the Plymouth Monthly Meeting, but had been employed by a library group of Plymouth Meeting, Pa., which had on its board certain Quakers some of whom resigned in protest when the librarian was employed.

It was further established that the employment of the librarian has met, and continues to meet, overwhelming opposition, not only from the members of the Plymouth Monthly Meeting but also from the vast majority of the residents of the community. This opposition has been evidenced by a number of petitions, and by the fact that the township, the school board, and the Community Chest all withdrew their support of the library because of its employment of the librarian.

The Plymouth Monthly Meeting, to which the Fund for the Republic made the \$5,000 award for its alleged retention of the librarian, at no time evidenced a sympathy for the employment of the librarian, and has not accepted the award which was tendered to it by the Fund for the Republic.

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA AMONG PRISONERS OF WAR
IN KOREA

(Save Our Sons Committee)

Investigation of the dissemination of Communist propaganda among prisoners of war in Korea resulted in public hearings on June 18 and 19 in Washington which held up to view the treasonable activities of the Save Our Sons Committee.

Created by the Communist Party, the SOS Committee provided a vehicle through which the party exploited the plight of American prisoners of war in Korea, and the natural concern of their families for the welfare of their loved ones.

Organized October 25, 1952, in Springfield, Ill., it professed the high-sounding purpose of promoting a cease-fire in Korea and the repatriation of prisoners of war. Under this banner, the Save Our Sons Committee intended to draw into its orbit non-Communists motivated by a genuine desire for peace. Its supposed program was set forth in the following quote from the "Call" to the founding meeting:

A call to all patriotic Americans who have loved ones in Korea, in uniform, or about to be drafted:

Mothers, fathers of Americans in Korea, in the frontlines, in prison camps, and in hospitals. * * * All organizations whose members have sons in the armed services or in Korea come to an emergency Midwest assembly Saturday, October 25, 11 a. m., in Springfield, Ill., to save the lives of our sons and loved ones; to stir the conscience of America; to tell all public officials and all candidates for office that we want an immediate end of the senseless slaughter.

1. For a cease-fire in Korea on both sides NOW!

2. Continue negotiations to settle remaining question of repatriation of prisoners.

Actually, the organization was conceived by the Communists as an instrument for removing United States troops from the scene so that South Korea would be at the mercy of the Communist forces.

The organization, it was ascertained, concealed the fact that Florence Gowgiel, its chairman and one of its founders, was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Anzelm A. Czarnowski, of Argo, Ill., an FBI undercover agent within the Communist Party from 1944 to 1955, testified that he had known Florence Gowgiel as a Communist since 1946 and that she was a member of the Argo branch of the Communist Party to which he had been assigned.

The following excerpt from the testimony of Mr. Czarnowski indicates the close alliance that existed between the Save Our Sons Committee and the Communist Party:

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall when it was that the organization known as Save Our Sons Committee was formed?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. At meetings of the Argo branch when her [Mrs. Gowgiel's] son-in-law returned, who was paralyzed during the Korean campaign, she had mentioned several times about this war. It was in August or September of 1952 that press releases were distributed announcing the

establishment of an organization which was supposed to take place on October 25, 1952. She announced then that she was going to Springfield and help organize this organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a minute. You say she announced.

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. She told that to the branch members; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was at a meeting of the Communist Party, a branch meeting?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir. And that she needed the Communist Party to furnish or pay her expenses. The Argo branch of the Communist Party gave her \$20 to cover the expense to Springfield.

Mr. TAVENNER. For the trip to Springfield for the founding convention of Save Our Sons?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir.

* * * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. As time went on after the formation of Save Our Sons Committee, did Mrs. Florence Gowgiel appear at your Communist Party meetings and discuss the progress that was being made by Save Our Sons?

Mr. CZARNOWSKI. Yes, sir. She made reports to the Argo branch of all the activities that were going on in the Save Our Sons, and if there was any work to be done that she wanted the Communist Party members to do, naturally she reported that and asked us to do that. * * *

From testimony received at the hearings, it appears that Mrs. Gowgiel's principal activity consisted of writing letters to parents and wives of American boys fighting in Korea and to boys in Communist prison camps. These letters urged support for the treasonous program and efforts of the Save Our Sons Committee. It is evident that at least some names of prisoners of war were secured from newspaper lists which also published their home addresses.

Called as a witness, Mrs. Gowgiel refused to answer any questions concerning her activities and association with the Save Our Sons Committee on the grounds of self-incrimination. Questioned as to the source of funds with which she carried on her extensive correspondence with relatives of fighting men and with prisoners of war, Mrs. Gowgiel refused to answer on the same grounds. She also refused to affirm or deny the testimony of Mr. Czarnowski regarding her Communist Party membership.

The investigation and hearings disclosed that the Save Our Sons Committee periodically released a bulletin entitled "Save Our Sons" which it mailed to relatives of prisoners of war. The issues usually included reprints of letters purportedly written by Korean POW's, and some were addressed to the Save Our Sons Committee praising its work. The letters appeared to be authentic since they were written over the name of actual POW's. What the unsuspecting families did not know was that the contents of most of the letters were forged or written under duress.

Prisoners who received letters from Mrs. Gowgiel as chairman of the Save Our Sons Committee were forced to read them to other POW's over the loudspeaker. The Shanghai News, a Chinese publication which was circulated in the camps, announced the formation

of the Save Our Sons Committee and often carried news of its progress and activities.

The testimony of two former prisoners of war, Dale E. Jones and Erdis Spencer revealed the lengths to which this infamous Communist-front organization went to exploit the unfortunate plight of these prisoners. A letter lauding the Save Our Sons Committee and purportedly written by Jones was circulated by the organization in 1953. The letter which provides a perfect example of the type of propaganda broadcast by this organization is reprinted below:

"DEAR MRS. GOWGIEL: I am taking the great pleasure to write you that even we, who are over 5,000 miles away from home, know about the great work you have started in the United States. It is my belief that the Save Our Sons Committee will be a great help to us POW's, and to the frontline troops who are fighting over here in Korea. It will also help bring about an early conclusion to the Korean question. I, for one, and I know the other POW's here with me, wholeheartedly support and encourage you to carry on your great work in the future.

"You see, Mrs. Gowgiel, I am also from the State of Illinois and it makes me feel 100 percent better to know people like you are working for peace in my State, as well as in the rest of the States and countries over the world. I am also doing what I can, along with the other POW's, to bring about an early conclusion to this Korean war. Although I know it is such a small amount right at the present time, but we all know the peace movements in the States are growing stronger every day. So, therefore, we are hoping for the same thing over here in the POW camps. Once that all the people united together, then we can have everlasting world peace.

"I have read in the papers many times about the Save Our Sons Committee and also about your son-in-law's terrible incident. I deeply sympathize with him, for I know the horrible experience he must have gone through.

"It is up to you, Mrs. Gowgiel, to me and the other peace-loving people of the world to put a stop to this awful bloodshed over here in Korea. I am certain that the majority of the American people know that this war over here in Korea is useless and inhuman. Thousands of people are dying just because there are a few individuals who want a little more for themselves. They even kill their own people in order to make it that way. That is why the American people must urge President Eisenhower to keep his promise and put an end to the Korean war, peacefully. If the people of America don't join together and force him to do so, it might be extended into a third world war. You and I and millions of other people of the world must prevent this.

"The war over here in Korea could have been settled long ago if the American side would show some sincerity in the peace talks. But they always put in some unreasonable proposals, such as voluntary repatriation. You know, Mrs. Gowgiel, no one wants to stay away from his own home and loved ones and not never return to be with them again. That is what the American side keep saying about the Korean and

Chinese POW's. They are always talking about them instead of about the American POW's and front-line troops. We want to return to our loved ones very bad, even though we have always been treated with the best of care. We never have a dull minute here in this camp, but we want to come home.

"The Chinese volunteers are ready to have a cease fire right now and then talk about repatriation of all POW's in order to save lives, but the other side says 'no'—the fighting must go on. That can plainly show who wants peace and who doesn't. The Chinese people don't want to kill and cripple the American boys, but they have no other choice. They are here to protect their own country from being invaded.

"So, Mrs. Gowgiel, it is up to all the peace-loving people of the world to make more and more people see how they are being fooled by these handful of * * * until the great day comes when war will be done away with and everlasting peace the world over"——

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. The word that is not plainly written there is "profiteers." May I see your copy a moment?

No, it is "profit makers"—profit makers. The stencil was not very clear.

Mr. JONES (continuing reading):

"are being fooled by these handful of profit makers until the great day comes when war will be done away with and everlasting peace the world over.

"So, once again we encourage you to carry on your great work in the future. It will be a hard, bitter struggle, but peace will be ours in the end.

"I would be more than glad to receive a letter from you letting me know how you are coming along with your work. In the meantime I always will look for the news about the SOS Committee in the papers. I also would appreciate very much if you would contact my mother and tell her to join in with us. I am sure she would be glad to help us.

"I wish you all the best luck and wishes in your great work. Remember, peace will be our victory.

"Sincerely yours,

"Pfc. DALE E. JONES,
"POW Camp, North Korea."

Mr. Jones testified that he had never written to Mrs. Gowgiel, nor had he ever seen the letter which supposedly carried his signature. Mr. Spencer was shown a letter allegedly written over his signature and circulated by the Save Our Sons Committee. He admitted writing part of the letter after constant badgering by his Chinese captors, and related he had to write several letters before one was acceptable to the Chinese. Mr. Spencer further testified that the letter used by the organization had been "doctored."

The committee also called before it two other witnesses, Mrs. Elizabeth Mitterer, secretary and treasurer of the Save Our Sons Committee and Mrs. Mary Phillips Buckner, who, according to Mr.

Czarnowski, was the "financial angel" of the organization. Both invoked the protection of the fifth amendment in response to questions concerning the SOS and Communist Party membership.

The organization was still active at the time of the hearings. This was evidenced by a statement circulated among the press and signed by Mrs. Gowgiel as chairman and also by the issue of its publication entitled, "Save Our Sons," dated April-May 1956.

SOVIET ATTEMPTS AT SUBVERSION AND ESPIONAGE BY DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL

(Testimony of Sidney Hatkin)

The Committee on Un-American Activities has realized for some time that it is a common practice of Soviet Russia and its satellites to engage in espionage, intelligence operations, and other forms of clandestine activities under the protective cloak of diplomatic immunity afforded embassies, delegations, and missions in the United States.

Previous testimony before the committee has revealed that in most instances important and sensitive intelligence assignments are given to a few trusted and highly trained individuals. While concentrating on espionage, subversion, and the amassing of military and economic information pertaining to this country, they perform some legitimate diplomatic functions as a facade for their true purpose.

Further information on these practices was obtained on May 10, 1956, from Sidney Hatkin, a Department of Air Force statistician who had been suspended on security grounds. (He was later ordered reinstated.) His testimony concerned his experience with one Vladimir P. Mikheev, then an employee in the office of the military attaché at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D. C.

Mr. Hatkin related that in February 1956, while seeking employment following his suspension from the Air Force, he advertised for a position and emphasized his qualifications as an economist with research background. Shortly afterward he was contacted by Mikheev who stated he would like to have a résumé of Hatkin's background and experience and advised him that if he was interested in his services, he would contact him in the near future. Mikheev offered no further identification of himself beyond his name. Later, during the month of April, Mikheev called Hatkin and asked that he meet him at a Washington restaurant.

At this meeting, Mr. Hatkin related, Mikheev displayed extreme interest in his Government service background, particularly that relating to the aircraft industry. Mikheev thereupon offered Mr. Hatkin \$25 a day for preparation of a paper on the aircraft industry, and gave Hatkin \$25 at that meeting. The Russian explicitly requested that the paper include information on the following subjects pertinent to the aircraft industry: (1) "tendency of the industry"; (2) "major companies and their industrial capacity"; and (3) "aircraft production." Hatkin testified that he remembered these points specifically because he made notes at the time.

Throughout the meeting at the restaurant, Mikheev did not tell Hatkin where he might be reached, but merely stated that he would contact Hatkin. After considerable questioning by Hatkin, Mikheev

offered the explanation that he was planning to write a book while preparing for his doctor of philosophy at the University of Maryland. Mr. Hatkin's suspicions became aroused, and he then informed the Federal Bureau of Investigation of all that had taken place in regard to Mikheev. It was then that he learned for the first time that the "student" with whom he had been meeting was actually a clerk in the office of the military attaché at the Soviet Embassy.

When Mikheev called Hatkin again and proposed another meeting at the restaurant, Hatkin requested instead that Mikheev come to his home. When Mikheev arrived, Hatkin returned the \$25 advance payment to him and told the Russian that he wanted nothing further to do with him.

Immediately after Mr. Hatkin testified, Vladimir P. Mikheev was relieved of his duties at the Soviet Embassy and returned to the Soviet Union.

NORTH CAROLINA AREA

During 1956 the committee held hearings in certain areas in which Communist activities had not yet been publicly explored. The overall results confirmed again that there is no section or community in this country immune from Communist Party intrigue, ideology, and propaganda.

It was apparent to the committee from hearings held March 12-14 in Charlotte, N. C., on the extent of party infiltration in that area, that the Communist Party has followed the same pattern and strategy there as elsewhere in its program of subversion. One witness summed it up:

The strategy of the Communist Party never changes. The tactics may, but the strategy calling for the overthrow of the Government has not changed since Karl Marx, and the party says it never will.

As in other hearings, valuable information was obtained from Government undercover agents who posed as genuine party members for a period of years. These courageous individuals who have thus served our country under great personal sacrifice, deserve the commendation of all loyal Americans.

Charles Benson Childs, an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from October 1950 to April 1955 in the North Carolina area, testified that his induction into the Communist Party was preceded by a period of activity in the Progressive Party and in the Marxist Labor Youth League.

Childs' first association with the Labor Youth League occurred in Greensboro, N. C., but, he testified, other groups met at Winston-Salem, High Point, and Durham. This was confirmed by Federal Bureau of Investigation undercover agent Odis Reavis who testified that he had been literature director of the Labor Youth League and as such had distributed, among other propaganda, a pamphlet which accused the United States of being the aggressor in the Korean war and which called for "bringing the boys home" from Korea. This was the Communist Party line adopted by such other Communist front organizations as the American Peace Crusade and the Save Our Sons Committee.

Mr. Childs also described a training school for party members of outstanding ability held in 1952 at the Walnut Grove farmhouse of William Binkley. Those who attended went under assumed names and were told that "there was to be no mail to or from school, and no telephone calls, and no one would be permitted to leave the school before it was over." Mr. Binkley, when confronted with a photograph of his farm home refused to identify it and invoked his constitutional privilege against self-incrimination. He also refused to answer questions propounded by the committee as to whether he was a Communist at the time he was organizer for the building trades union or if he was elected to serve on the national committee of the Communist Party at its 10th convention.

The Communist apparatus in the North Carolina area also proceeded with the party's national "colonization" program aimed at placing party members in key industries. The committee subpoenaed three men with university degrees who, in compliance with party directives, were then working as a fish scaler, a sheetmetal worker, and meat clerk, respectively. Resumes of their employment records revealed that they made frequent job changes into various fields. All were identified as Communist Party members by earlier witnesses, but when confronted with the allegations, they invoked the fifth amendment and refused to answer.

Mr. Reavis, who spent some 6 years in undercover activities, testified that the several Communist Party groups to which he belonged were particularly active in circulating the Stockholm Peace Petition in certain Negro mass organizations and in organizing furniture workers.

From Ralph C. Clontz, Jr., an FBI undercover agent within the North Carolina Communist apparatus during the years 1950 to 1954, the committee learned of the operations of a Communist front known as the Daniels Defense Committee. Following excerpts are from Mr. Clontz' testimony dealing with this organization:

Mr. CLONTZ. The Daniels Defense Committee was a Communist-front organization set up by the party with Communist Party domination, control, and complete direction. I attended the founding meeting and attended most of the meetings while I was here in North Carolina, and Mr. Bond was an officer of that alleged committee. My recollection is that he was the treasurer at one time. It was one of those typical Communist plots. They take a supposed trial at which a Negro has been unjustly convicted, they claim, and blow it up for the benefit of the party.

In this particular case the Daniels Defense Committee held meetings all over North Carolina in churches and various other places in North Carolina and even, as I recall, went north.

Mr. ARENS. Do you now see in this courtroom the person known by you as Nathaniel Bond, whom you have described in connection with these various activities?

Mr. CLONTZ. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly confront him, stand up, look him in the eye, and point him out to the committee?

(Witness stands and points.)

Mr. CLONTZ. That is Nathaniel Bond * * *.

* * * * *

In the Daniels Defense Committee my experience there was that the Communist Party stayed in the background, so far as known Communists were concerned. For example, at the meetings Junius Scales and Henry Farash, who was the party organizer from New York, would not be seen inside the church. People like Bond, who could hide behind his supposed connection with the NAACP, and other people of his ilk, would actually run the show, while Scales, Farash, and other people like that would control the show from the outside.

Many people were misled by what appeared to be an injustice that had taken place in Greenville, N. C. Many of our Negro churches let these people come into this building and hold meetings and in some cases take up collections through the misapprehension that they were helping the cause of justice, whereas actually they were helping the cause of the Communist Party.

The committee has ample evidence that Nathaniel Bond was treasurer of the Daniels Defense Committee which was founded in 1949. Both Mr. Childs and Mr. Clontz identified Bond as a Communist Party member. However, when confronted by these two witnesses, Bond refused to confirm or deny their identification of him and invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer any questions concerning his association with the Daniels Defense Committee.

Mr. Clontz testified further that he was able to identify the monthly Negro magazine Freedom as a Communist publication. The first issue of this publication was released in November 1950, and its editorial board is headed by Paul Robeson. Others on the board include Revels Cayton, Shirley Graham, Alphaeus Hunton, and Modjeska Simkins; its general manager is George B. Murphy, Jr. Robeson, Cayton and Murphy were identified as Communists in sworn testimony before the committee in past years; all have extensive Communist-front records.

LOS ANGELES AREA

Through a continuing series of hearings during the past 8 years, the Committee on Un-American Activities has been successful in bringing to light the professional section of the Communist conspiracy in Los Angeles, Calif.

The professional section known as the Hollywood section and officially in Communist parlance as the Northwest section was composed of active Communist conspiratorial cells broken down into lawyer units, doctor units, motion picture actor units, motion picture writer units, motion picture directors unit, radio writer units, radio actor units and a musicians unit.

The professional section of the Los Angeles County Communist Party proved to be the backbone of "intellectual" communism in Los Angeles. Its sphere of influence spread throughout California and neighboring States. The Northwest section of the Communist Party ground out tons of propaganda parroting every twist and turn of

Soviet Union foreign policy, created fronts which were to raise over a million dollars for the coffers of the Communist Party and lent talent for entertainment for Communist fund-raising causes. The committee hearings have effectively reduced the influence of the professional section. Although the Northwest section was recently reorganized and boasts of 200 members, most have been publicly identified.

The Communist cell in the professional section, known as the musicians unit or branch O, was the subject of public hearings in Los Angeles, April 16 through 21, 1956. Sworn testimony by former Communist members of the musicians unit disclosed 75 musicians to have been members of the unit.

The committee's interest in the musicians unit was twofold: First, to conclusively establish the existence of the cell; expose the secret conspiratorial membership; document its participation in the local Communist movement and its adherence to the international Communist conspiracy. In the testimony received during the hearing evidence was obtained that established all of these points.

Second, the committee in prior California hearings had heard considerable testimony to the effect that the Independent Progressive Party (the California section of the national Progressive Party) was a creation of the Communist Party. The committee was particularly interested in the part played by a Communist cell qualifying the Independent Progressive Party as a legal party on the ballot in 1948, and in the subsequent efforts to infiltrate and dominate the Independent Progressive Party by Communist Party members.

Of the 75 musicians identified as Communist Party members, 9 had either left the Communist Party or moved from California prior to the inception of the Independent Progressive Party. It was found that of the balance of the 66 active in the Communist Party or under discipline of the Communist Party, 31 members of the unit circulated Independent Progressive Party petitions, 25 registered as Independent Progressive Party voters, and 44 signed Independent Progressive Party qualifying petitions. Thirteen of these members had no affiliation with the Independent Progressive Party.

If the same pattern prevails throughout the Communist organization as was evident in the musicians unit, it seems that any success claimed by the Independent Progressive Party was due to the efforts of the Communist Party in qualifying the Independent Progressive Party on the ballot.

Henry Wallace, candidate for President on the Progressive Party ticket, received over 10 million votes in the 1948 national election. The Progressive Party, including its California branch, certainly ranks as one of the largest and most successful fronts ever created by the Communists.

The following excerpt of testimony by William Don Waddilove, an undercover agent in the Communist Party from 1947 to 1948, illustrates the methods of the Communists in establishing the IPP:

Mr. SCHERER. What did you understand to be the purpose of the Communist Party in infiltrating the [Independent] Progressive Party? Why was it done?

Mr. WADDILOVE. I would say, rather than infiltrate, I think it was spearheaded by the Communist Party. I don't

think the [Independent] Progressive Party would have reached a place on the ballot had it not been for the organization of the Communist Party behind it.

At the conclusion of the hearing, the committee stated:

The fact of the existence of the so-called musicians branch or branch O of the Communist Party has been clearly established as has the fact that members of that branch, together with other members of the Communist Party, made a determined, concealed, and deceitful effort to qualify the Independent Progressive Party on the California ballot.

The testimony received this week here in Los Angeles by the subcommittee bears out and confirms other and abundant testimony taken by the committee in other cities throughout the United States that the Progressive Party movement was, in its inception, a creature of the Communist conspiracy, and that its actions were, in major part, secretly controlled and directed by the Communist Party of the United States.

In Los Angeles the committee also continued its investigation into Communist controlled labor unions and heard testimony from four officials of the International Longshoremens' and Warehousemen's Union, Local 26, Los Angeles, Calif.: Al Kaplan, president; Louis Sherman (alias Louis Schneiderman), secretary and treasurer; and two lesser officials, Thomas Chapman and Sidney London. All invoked the protection of the fifth amendment when asked questions relating to activity and membership in the Communist Party.

The committee also examined Carter Darnell, Sylvia Lardner Darnell, and Samuel Berland, officials of the Hale Construction Co., Garden Grove, Calif. All three, identified as Communist Party members, refused to cooperate with the committee and plead the fifth amendment when questioned regarding their Communist Party membership.

The Los Angeles regional office of the Veterans' Administration informed the committee that from September 1953 until December 1955 a total of \$16,324,685 certificates of reasonable value, covering 1,193 units, had been issued by the Veterans' Administration to the Hale Construction Co. Certificates of reasonable value enable the builder to borrow a much higher percent of the total construction costs. The certificates guarantee the purchaser of the home a loan should the purchaser qualify and thus the Government greatly assists the builder.

TESTIMONY OF NIKOLAI KHOKHLOV

During the hearings in Los Angeles in April 1956, the committee received an astute analysis of current conditions in the Soviet Union. The witness was Nikolai Khokhlov, a former Soviet intelligence officer assigned to the German-Austrian desk of Soviet intelligence. Mr. Khokhlov defected to the West, in January 1954, after refusing to carry out the assassination of Georgi Okolovich, an anti-Communist resistance leader living in West Germany.

Mr. Khokhlov dealt at length on two phases of life in the Soviet Union: the suppression and control of creative art, literature, and

music in the Soviet Union, and the true feeling of the great masses of Russian people toward the Soviet police state.

Mr. Khokhlov was able to draw upon personal experience in his description of the perversion of the arts. He had been an actor and director in the Soviet theater and motion pictures, and later, as an officer of Soviet intelligence, he maintained his contacts in these fields for propaganda purposes.

Mr. Khokhlov told of the many twists and contradictions in the Soviet Government's definition of what it considers "good" art, music, or literature. The Kremlin, he stated, was able to implement its policies by maintaining control over certain writers, artists, or composers.

Mr. Khokhlov explained in some detail how the Soviet Government, before World War II, tried to prevent the creation of art which encouraged nationalism and then later, after the Nazi invasion, completely reversed itself and launched a campaign to inflame the patriotic passion of the Soviet masses. When the war was over, they again enforced the rule that, in regard to the creative arts—

no citizen would have the right to regard himself as an individual, but must regard himself solely as a citizen of a new kind of state—the Soviet state.

Mr. Khokhlov added that in the Soviet Union the market for creative artists is controlled by the state. Not only is the artist's production considered, but the entire background of the artist himself is evaluated before he, or his work, may be judged worthy of official acclamation.

Mr. Khokhlov stated that only about 3 percent of the entire Russian population are members of the Communist Party. Mr. Khokhlov contends that the great majority of the Russian people detest communism even more than the people of non-Communist nations because they have actually lived under its domination. The conflict between the Soviet people and the Soviet Government, he declared, results primarily not from the depressed standard of living but, rather, from complete deprivation and the annihilation of all individual rights and lack of personal decency.

Because of this extreme hatred of the present Soviet system by the Russian masses, Mr. Khokhlov asserted, the system will be destroyed from within by these very people who desire as much as any human their individual rights and personal freedom.

Mr. Khokhlov concluded his testimony with a strong appeal that the free world truly understand that communism is an "immoral, indecent system designed to exploit drastically the individual in order to achieve its own ends." Further, he urged the West to bring to the great masses in Russia a "faith and trust in them, and the belief that they will, through their own faculties and capabilities, shed the odious yoke of communism."

"I know now," he declared, "that it is impossible today to be a decent person and a Communist at the same time."

ROCKY MOUNTAIN AREA

Hearings in Denver, May 15-18, pinpointed Communist Party activities among Mexican-Americans, youth and labor unions in the Rocky Mountain area.

Among the first witnesses was Bellarmino Duran, one of the many patriotic Americans who have devoted years of their lives as undercover agents for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Of Spanish descent, Mr. Duran received his preparty indoctrination in a Marxist-Leninist youth group which met in Denver. After this he entered the Communist Party and was assigned to work among Mexican-Americans in the Denver area. As a leader of the West Side Mexican Branch of the party, he represented the Colorado Mexican Commission of the Communist Party at meetings held by the National Mexican Commission. Chief of the national organization was Art Bary, convicted in 1955 for violation of the Smith Act.

Mr. Duran told the committee that—

When I first entered the Communist Party on the Mexican West Side Branch one of the basic understandings which was given to us there was that religion and communism did not go together. We had to have a basic understanding and willingness and determination that there would come a time where we had to give our lives for the party and we had to be ready for that. The activity that developed from that was merely to bring about the two requirements of a revolution. The activities in the Communist front were directed to create the two requirements which were: One, economic crisis and, two, political crisis. The activity of the Communist Party working within the Mexican community was to agitate the aspirations of the Mexican people in this spontaneous stampede to show the Government was not willing to accept them and it was because capitalism had entered a decadent stage and was now entering a Fascist stage and there was no place for the Mexican people in the capitalist society. Therefore, the answer, for the Mexican people's problems would be a new society, the overthrow of capitalism, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist Party's immediate objective became the establishment of an organization which would enfold Mexican-Americans throughout the Nation. The West Side Mexican Branch, as well as other Mexican branches throughout Denver, established the National Association of Mexican-Americans (ANMA). Founded in Los Angeles, its headquarters were moved to Denver in 1952. Here again, as in other front organizations, it only required 10 to 20 dedicated Communists, out of a total membership of 7,500, to gain complete control of the organization. Alfredo C. Montoya, its national president, also a member of the National Mexican Commission of the Communist Party, appeared before the committee on May 17. Montoya, who now resides in El Paso, Tex., was identified by Mr. Duran as a member of the Communist Party. He invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer questions concerning his position with the ANMA, and his alleged Communist Party membership.

From his vantage point within the party, Mr. Duran was in a position to identify more than 70 individuals who to his knowledge were Communist Party members. The committee summoned 18 of these and gave them an opportunity to affirm or deny the testimony of Mr. Duran. All invoked the fifth amendment and refused to state whether they were members of the Communist Party or had engaged in party activities.

Duran also described a number of schools conducted by the party for Communist Party members. One of these operated in 1949 at the Ute Ranch, near Idaho Springs, Colo. Here, members were trained in the techniques of creating and spreading distrust in the American system of government. At another school, party leaders were kept apprized of the Communist Party line on the Korean conflict. Other schools were held at Estes Park and Evergreen, Colo., in 1951 and 1952.

Mr. Duran related some of the methods employed by the party in its obsession with secrecy. Some of the security measures instituted by the party are depicted in the following excerpt:

In 1948 when I entered the Mexican West Side Branch of the Communist Party we were told that no longer would the Communist Party issue membership cards, and that was for security reasons. At all times if we were arrested or questioned we were to deny that we were Communist and at no time were we at liberty to admit Communist membership.

In 1951, prior to the National Mexican Commission meeting of the Communist Party, Anna Bary also stressed again that no Communist can admit at any time that he is a Communist.

In general, the security that the Communists took was to investigate all the membership whether or not they had any relatives in the Federal Government or local government or newspapers or radio.

Approximately in 1951 when the top leadership went underground the system was established to where any messages they wanted delivered to the top leadership would be taken to the house of Richard Demming, and Richard Demming in turn would take it to Arnold Berkens, and Arnold Berkens would take it to another carrier outside the city, and that carrier would carry it to where the individuals were at.

In going to meetings we were to make absolutely sure we were not followed by any FBI or newspaper man or any unauthorized person or anybody who did not belong to the group. The members of one group were not to walk together. The meetings that were held were to be organized only in certain houses where not too many meetings were held before.

A complete inspection would be made of the house and, if necessary, names were changed to code names. In our section the membership at first took on numbers, Nos. 1 to 15. When you paid your dues and got literature you gave a number, no name.

The committee is concerned by the increasing emphasis of the Communist Party on recruiting new members from the Nation's youth. Harold Page Martin, who testified in Denver, was able to describe this phase of Communist activity. The party's objective with respect to youth in the Colorado area was identical to that in other sections of the country. Mr. Martin testified that party members were instructed to infiltrate mass youth organizations already in existence, or to create others centered around youth interests. Outlining the steps which led him to communism, Mr. Martin stated that he became interested in the subject of socialism during his senior year at high school. This interest was heightened by association with others of the same orientation; ultimately it led to his joining the Young Communist League at the University of Colorado in 1942. Following his release from the Army, Mr. Martin joined the Communist Party and was eventually assigned to the student branch of Boulder, Colo., where he remained until he left the party in 1949. During this period, he served on the Youth Commission of the Communist Party.

Mr. Martin further testified that at a State Communist Party convention held in Denver in 1948, specific plans were formulated directing Communists to infiltrate basic industries. In order to implement this plan, party members were directed to forsake college training, minimize their native aptitudes, and, above all, disregard their personal feelings. Young students were especially affected by these party directives. Mr. Martin testified further—

Mr. MARTIN. The party at that time was developing the line of what was known as the concentration policy; that is, concentrating party members in areas in certain basic industries.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. MARTIN. There was a feeling that by concentrating the party forces and party members and party energies in a certain few large industries where the larger number of workers would be present, that party propaganda would be more successful and the recruiting and general building of the party would be carried on more effectively.

Mr. ARENS. What did the party do from the standpoint of causing the students to find themselves in basic industries or to locate themselves in basic industry?

Mr. MARTIN. The party leadership locally felt at that time, following out the line of concentrating party members in industry, that all students who could be persuaded to do so and who were considered sufficiently politically developed and able to do so, should leave school and go into industry of some kind or other.

Mr. ARENS. Were they required to do so?

Mr. MARTIN. They were not exactly required, but those students, who the party felt had the capability and had sufficient training and indoctrination really to be effective as party organizers in industry, were very strongly urged to do so, so strongly that it was practically a requirement.

Mr. Martin displayed great courage in his willingness to cooperate with the committee and disclose his association with the Communist Party. The committee feels that his testimony, showing how individ-

uals become involved with the party and what causes them to break from the movement, is an important contribution. The following is an excerpt from his testimony on this point:

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Martin, you were ideologically identified with the party; were you not?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; I was.

Mr. ARENS. You were a true Communist, were you not; that is, a conscientious member of the party, were you not?

Mr. MARTIN. That is true.

Mr. ARENS. You eventually broke with the party; did you not?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; I did.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us first of all what makes a Communist? Why did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. MARTIN. That is a difficult question. People join the party for many reasons. One certainly was a kind of intellectual curiosity and a genuine desire to do something about the many things that are troubling us in the world today. Partly it was a social contact. The way I was recruited into the party was the way almost everyone else was recruited, following a regular policy of every party member getting to know other people personally, working with them, talking with them, discussing things with them, convincing them through personal contact.

Mr. ARENS. Is communism a disease of the heart or of the head in your judgment?

Mr. MARTIN. I believe it is a disease of the head.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. MARTIN. I think that the heart is in the right place; there is a desire to do something about the ills of the world. It is a mistaken path, a kind of intellectual egotism, I believe. The idea that a small group can hold the key to the answer to the whole thing within a small formula.

Mr. ARENS. It is based on a materialistic philosophy of life?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; it is.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent does the Communist Party use as a facade for its operations the great humanitarian issues, such as peace, brotherhood, and that sort of thing?

Mr. MARTIN. The Communist Party uses every issue imaginable, large or small, that they feel will appeal to people at a particular time, that will draw people forward. The party always desires to have people in groups—the larger the groups the better—because in these groups they can reach them, influence them, work with them, recruit them, or at least mold them to their own ends.

Mr. ARENS. What caused you to break with the Communist Party?

Mr. MARTIN. More than anything else the concept the party calls and refers to as democratic centralism. The concept of strict, absolute authoritarianism. It is something that the beginning recruit in the party does not see very clearly. It does not manifest itself so clearly within the

branches throughout the membership of the party as a whole.

As one climbs higher in the party into higher and higher levels of activity, it becomes more and more pronounced until it becomes clear that, as you get up to the highest levels, the dedicated Communist, the genuine Bolshevik, regards himself, and is regarded by the party, simply as an instrument for carrying out party decisions and party activities, with any other considerations, personal or otherwise, entirely subjected.

That the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers is still controlled by a Communist element within its ranks became evident from testimony presented at the hearings when several current officers were identified as members of the Communist Party. When called upon to testify concerning alleged Communist Party activities, all invoked their constitutional privilege against self-incrimination. The individuals referred to include the following:

Harold C. Sanderson, comptroller, national office, Denver.

Morris Wright, business agent, local 890, Bayard, N. Mex.

Alfredo Montoya, business agent, locals 501, 509, and 903, El Paso, Tex.

Rudolph B. Cook, supply department, headquarters, Denver.

Virgil Akeson, secretary since 1941 in the legislative office as well as the national office.

Anthony Morton, employed by the monthly organ of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

Graham Dolan, on the staff of the publication.

Bernard W. Stern, research director (identified by a witness in 1955).

The committee also heard testimony of R. C. Moorehead, an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who served his country well by keeping the FBI informed of Communist Party activities in the Phoenix, Ariz., area for a period of 3 years—from 1947 to 1950. His first act in this role was to join the Communist Party branch composed of some 50 to 75 migratory workers within local 78 of the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union of America. Mr. Moorehead testified, however, that the local succeeded in ousting the Communists who were in control. Throughout his membership he kept the FBI informed as to the activities of the Communist Party in Arizona, and aided the Government in convicting seven Smith Act defendants in Denver in 1955.

ST. LOUIS AREA

Witnesses appearing before a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities in St. Louis June 2-8 disclosed that the Communist Party had succeeded in infiltrating various labor unions in vital industries and mass organizations in that area.

William W. Cortor, a member of the Communist Party from 1938 to 1947, and again from 1951 to 1954, when he served as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, named over 60 persons he had known as members of the party in the St. Louis area. He testified about the breakdown of the membership into small tightly knit groups which became the general pattern in 1950, following the

first convictions of top Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act. This was done in order to conceal membership and activities and thus minimize exposure. Mr. Cortor continued as follows:

Mr. TAVENNER. * * * What security provisions did the Communist Party have at the time you again became a member of it in 1951?

Mr. CORTOR. Well, the group memberships were, in the vast majority of cases, limited to not over 4 in any 1 group. And there would be only one person in that group who would be in contact with the next higher body, which would be the section. And then the section leaders, people in the section—there would be one person in that group who would be in contact with the next higher body, and so on up.

Mr. SCHERER. What was the reason for that, Witness?

Mr. CORTOR. Well, they were afraid of being exposed.

The committee has in the past heard considerable testimony concerning Communist infiltration and control of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America and the National Maritime Union. Mr. Cortor corroborated previous testimony and added information as to tactics and methods utilized by Communists in their attempt to subvert and control labor unions. Typical of this was the situation within the River Section of the National Maritime Union in St. Louis. Here, Mr. Cortor related, some 11 individuals, all Communists, were able to completely dominate the union which consisted of about 2,000 members. It should be pointed out that the National Maritime Union, after numerous and persistent attempts, succeeded in purging itself of its subversive leadership in 1949. The UE, on the other hand, was expelled by the CIO in 1949 due to its complete domination by Communists. During the years 1953 to 1954, the witness, through his employment at the Fisher Body plant of General Motors and his subsequent assignment to the automotive section of the Communist Party, also learned of another Communist Party group in that plant.

From Mr. Cortor's testimony, the committee learned of several incidents involving "colonization" at a General Motors plant, as well as at other defense plants in the St. Louis area. "Colonization" is the Communist Party's own term for a particular tactic employed to infiltrate basic industries. In carrying out this objective, party members are urged, and often ordered, to obtain employment in basic industries. Many secure jobs under false pretenses by concealing their educational and professional training. Even college graduates, who would ordinarily qualify for much better positions, accept employment as unskilled workers in order to carry on Communist propaganda and recruit workers.

Typical cases of colonization were uncovered during the hearings: James Sage, after receiving his master's degree in educational administration at Washington University, secured employment on the assembly line at General Motors. Henry Holland, also employed at General Motors, had received his bachelor's degree in physics from the same university. Their job applications failed to disclose the fact that they even had attended college. In the course of the hearings, both were identified as Communist Party members, but, when given an opportunity to deny the allegation, invoked their

constitutional privilege against self-incrimination and refused to answer questions propounded by the committee concerning Communist Party membership and activities.

Mr. Cortor also testified about Communist activities within mass organizations in the St. Louis area. He himself had been assigned to work within the St. Louis branch of the National Negro Labor Council and the St. Louis Emergency Defense Committee, organized under the guise of obtaining "justice" for defendants involved in the St. Louis Smith Act trial. The defense committee which published a periodical entitled the "St. Louis Defender," served almost exclusively as a loudspeaker for Communist propaganda in the area. Like many other "defense committees," the St. Louis organization solicited contributions ostensibly for the aid of Smith Act cases but actually for the Communist Party itself.

Another witness was Thomas A. Younglove, an undercover operative for the FBI within the Communist Party from 1945 to 1949. His party membership ended with his appearance as a Government witness in the New York Smith Act trials.

Younglove named more than 50 other individuals who to his knowledge were Communist Party members, and also corroborated Mr. Cortor's identification of a number of others. Mr. Younglove was able to learn the identity of some of them when he served as dues secretary of the Southside Club of the Communist Party in St. Louis.

Of inestimable value was his graphic description of schools conducted by the Communist Party, two of which he attended. The following excerpt from the testimony by Mr. Younglove serves to point up the revolutionary aspect of the party's plan as taught in these schools:

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose of this type of training that you have just spoken of?

Mr. YOUNGLOVE. Indoctrinate the members' minds, sabotage the minds, and unite those sabotaged minds into one, and order them back into the jobs and professions they came from, fixing ill will and distrust between the rich and the poor, between management and labor, between the student and his teacher. And our training was to support and create any and all kinds of revolution against the social and political order of things.

Mr. SCHERER. When you say any and all kinds of revolution, was this one of the schools where they actually taught the mechanics of sabotage?

Mr. YOUNGLOVE. That is correct.

One of my instructors, by the name of Marcella Oser, stated in class that a condition for a successful revolution was a condition that must exist, when organized labor was organized and led by the vanguard of the working people, and the masses were politically trained to follow. And, with a complete unification between the standing Army of our country and the Communist Party, it would never be necessary for them to take a defensive stand, for the defensive stand is the death of all armed uprisings, and we should strike at the most vulnerable spots when enemies least expect us to seize power, when its forces are scattered.

To further illustrate the aims of the Communist Party, Mr. Younglove testified that in 1946, while employed by a St. Louis utility company, he took precautions to prevent his party membership from becoming known. That he was strategically placed for sabotage purposes is evident by his testimony:

Mr. YOUNGLOVE. I was told by one of the State officers of the Communist Party that my name would never be revealed as a party member. I was urged to keep my membership secret in the Communist Party for I was in a vital industry.

And I was further told, on the same occasion, that the membership list of the Communist Party was not kept at headquarters, but it was kept at a safe distance.

At a later date I was assigned to drive a man whom I had never met before in my life. He was from New York City. He carried a press card in his pocket from the Daily Worker. He operated under the name of Whirlwind Larson. And on the second day of driving this man through many, many parts of the city, and visiting many addresses, of which he had the list, he told me I was the most valuable comrade in this part of the country.

With the knowledge that I had of the explosives that I would use in the course of my work, and that at that time being in the natural-gas distribution system, employed by the Laclede Gas Light Co., the industry and the distribution system that supplied all of the heavy industry and most all of the light industry here, that I could blow it, blow it up out of the ground and keep it blown out.

Mr. SCHERER. Wasn't it said often that in a city the size of St. Louis that all you need were about 15 trained comrades in espionage to make ineffective a city such as St. Louis, that is, comrades properly placed in communications and utilities?

Mr. YOUNGLOVE. That was not said by Whirlwind. That was said—almost the exact words, only the number was less—by the State chairman, Ralph Shaw.

Mr. SCHERER. He said that you didn't need that many?

Mr. YOUNGLOVE. Not that many.

Mr. SCHERER. To disrupt a city the size of St. Louis?

Mr. YOUNGLOVE. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. How many did he say you would need?

Mr. YOUNGLOVE. About 5 or 6 well, highly trained, highly disciplined core party personnel.

Mr. SCHERER. Placed where? Utilities?

Mr. YOUNGLOVE. Utilities, transportation, distribution, and waterworks.

Two other witnesses, Joseph Schoemehl and the Reverend Obadiah Jones, both of whom served as informants for the FBI within the Communist Party, testified in executive session on June 2, 1956. Mr. Schoemehl, in addition to verifying revelations of other witnesses concerning schools conducted by the Communist Party, also corroborated the identity of more than 30 active Communists in the St. Louis area. Particularly revealing was his description of the incident in

1950 when he was called before a review commission for questioning to determine his fitness for continued membership in the Communist Party. This "trial," conducted by James Forest, Romey Hudson, and Helen Musiel, was cloaked in secrecy, and the defendant was not given benefit of counsel, nor was there a jury. However, as a result of the "trial," Mr. Schoemehl's party activities, for all intents and purposes, were terminated.

The testimony of Reverend Obadiah Jones, a Negro, helped to cast further light on the attempt being made by the Communist Party to exploit the Negro race. The committee is deeply appreciative of the contribution made by the Reverend Jones which amply corroborated testimony of other individuals who also were in a position to speak with authority on the subject. All agree that the Communist Party is not truly interested in the welfare of the Negro race, but only in using them to sow seeds of discontent and to further the avowed purpose of the party to create turmoil, dissension, and rebellion among the American people.

Dr. John F. Rutledge, a former Communist and member of a professional group of the Communist Party in St. Louis, related to the committee how a person of intellectual curiosity can so easily become enmeshed in the insidious Communist web. Dr. Rutledge, a practicing physician, in recalling the circumstances which led to his succumbing to communism, stated he first became concerned with local social problems. Later, his interest in socialized medicine prompted his study of the Russian system as well as other European versions. During the war years, a growing interest in Russia developed, which led to a study of Marxism, and eventual membership in the Communist Party.

The party determined that Dr. Rutledge could best serve its purpose by becoming a concealed Communist. He was therefore assigned to work within various political mass organizations, which included in fairly rapid succession the National Citizens Political Action Committee, the Progressive Citizens of America, the Missouri Citizens for Wallace, and the Progressive Party.

The committee has maintained an interest in securing testimony relating to professional groups of the Communist Party. Such groups usually include doctors, lawyers, accountants, businessmen, and other professional people who naturally are of great importance to the party, due to their influence and affluence.

While in St. Louis, the committee summoned Douglas MacLeod, an attorney, and Dr. Sol Londe, a physician, both of whom had been identified during the course of the hearings as members of the Communist Party. However, Mr. MacLeod and Dr. Londe invoked the fifth amendment when asked about their Communist Party membership.

Testimony, as well as committee investigation, has produced voluminous information on the Communist Party control and domination of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.

Seeking to enlarge upon its store of information, the committee called before it, in St. Louis, Linus Wampler, an international representative in the Missouri area of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. According to Wampler's own testimony, the district which he represents has bargaining contracts in such vital defense plants as the National Lead Co. at Fredericktown, Mo., the Valley Dolomite

Corporation of Bonne Terre, Mo., the National Lead Co. at Baxter Springs, Kans., and the Humboldt Brick & Tile Co., at Humboldt, Kans. However, when the committee attempted to elicit information from Mr. Wampler as to the extent of Communist control of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers in his district or questioned him concerning his own Communist Party membership, he invoked the fifth amendment and refused to answer.

The committee also called George Kimmel, a former president of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' local at Ste. Genevieve, Mo., which was in Wampler's district until it lost its bargaining rights in a recent election. It was hoped that he would supply information on the extent of Communist infiltration of that local. He invoked the fifth amendment when questioned concerning his local and his Communist Party membership.

NEW HAVEN AREA

Efforts of the Communist Party to expand its apparatus in the Bridgeport-New Haven area of Connecticut were examined by the committee in hearings held in New Haven, September 24-26. Four former FBI undercover agents testified that the objectives of the party were to win control of legitimate labor unions; "colonize" basic industries; proselytize youth and students; and generally organize large numbers of non-Communists for political action on behalf of the Communist Party.

Harold Kent, an employee of the General Electric Co. since 1943, described Communist activities in the industrial center of Bridgeport. Kent was an FBI undercover agent within the Communist Party from 1952 until early 1956, when he appeared as a Government witness at the Connecticut Smith Act trial.

The other former FBI undercover agents were Miss Rowena Paumi, a Bridgeport hairdresser; Worden C. Mosher of New Haven, who held key posts in various Communist Party branches in New Haven during the years 1939 to 1950; and Mosher's son, Harold W. Mosher, of Hamden, Conn., who had participated in Communist Party work among youth.

Mr. Kent achieved a high rank in the Connecticut Communist Party apparatus. He served on the city committee of the party and the State Negro commission and, most important, was a member of the five-man "concealed" State board. This top body of the Communist Party met twice monthly in New York to formulate long-range activities for the State as a whole. These directives were passed on to local Communist clubs and to individuals for execution. Members of this top policy board, besides Mr. Kent, were Sid Taylor, chairman of the Connecticut Communist Party, Robert Ekins, Jacob Goldring, and Irving Dichter. Taylor, Ekins, and Goldring were recently convicted under the Smith Act for conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

Identified as members of the Communist Party during the hearings were Oliver R. Arsenaunt, former member of the Bridgeport Board of Education, and Frank Fazekas, who were founders and the first president and treasurer, respectively, of Local 203 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. They remained in office for a period of 7 years from the time the local was founded in

the midthirties, and were among those expelled at a later date by the union. This local represented the workers at the General Electric Co. plant for more than 10 years until it lost its bargaining rights in an election. When called to testify before the subcommittee sitting at the New Haven hearings, Arsenault and Fazekas invoked the fifth amendment and refused to answer questions regarding party membership or activities in behalf of the party. By their own testimony, they were still employed at the General Electric plant at the time of the hearing. Also identified as a Communist was Irving Dichter, now a member of the executive board of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of America and who has represented the international in an official capacity in various sections of the country since 1941. He too invoked the fifth amendment when questioned concerning Communist affiliations and activities.

A case of "colonization" came to light when a witness identified as a Communist Party member withheld the fact that he had completed the scholastic requirements for a degree when applying for his present job as a bench hand with the Singer Manufacturing Co. This is the usual pattern engaged in by those educated individuals who, under the direction of the Communist Party, conceal their background in order to be in a better position to spread the Communist doctrine among workers.

The People's Party, an affiliate of the Progressive Party, served as another vehicle for Communist activities in Connecticut. It was apparent from testimony that the Communist Party succeeded in placing Communists on the People's Party ticket.

Mr. ARENS. Now during the course of your experience in the Communist Party were you active at any time in the People's Party?

Mr. KENT. Back during the days of 1949 and 1950 I was.

Mr. ARENS. Can you identify the People's Party? What was it?

Mr. KENT. It was a political party which in my area, in my knowledge, was controlled by the Communist Party. Most of the leaders in the organization were members of the Communist Party to my knowledge * * *.

Mr. ARENS. In what area was that?

Mr. KENT. Bridgeport.

Miss Paumi was able to supply information on recent Communist activities in the Bridgeport area. Functioning as a dues collector and as a worker on membership committees in several Communist Party branches, she was able to learn the identity of some 25 individuals under Communist Party discipline. In the following excerpt, Miss Paumi describes some of the party's policies and security procedures:

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the activities and techniques of the Communist Party underground in Connecticut?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a brief description of the functions and activities of the underground operations of the Communist Party in Connecticut.

Miss PAUMI. Well, I believe they started in 1950, around the time of the first arrest of the 10—11, it was. When they were first arrested, we started to take security measures. We were told not to use the phones for contact because they were always afraid somebody would tap the phones, and we were contacted. At any closed meetings, we were contacted personally. We weren't using the mail as much as we had used it previously. If it was an open meeting, we would send fliers out, or letters, at that time, and also, if it was a closed meeting, they would call us up and say to be at somebody's house at a certain time. We would be picked up and then we would go to the meeting, wherever it was.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any information respecting change of identity, appearance of any of the comrades?

Miss PAUMI. I have known of instances where some tried.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us a few illustrations of that?

Miss PAUMI. I do know of one instance where I was asked to change the appearance of one of the leaders of the Communist Party in Connecticut.

* * * * *

Mr. ARENS. What is the objective of the Communist Party?

Miss PAUMI. Well, the objective of the Communist Party is to—their main concentration was in the industrial plants to get as many Communist Party members in industrial plants so that we could recruit more members into the Communist Party, and also the Communist Party feels that socialism will be here very soon.

Mr. ARENS. By socialism, they mean communism, do they not?

Miss PAUMI. Communism. We were taught at a recent class, I would say in 1953, that war was inevitable between communism and capitalism.

Mr. ARENS. How serious is the Communist conspiracy, particularly in the Connecticut area of which you have knowledge?

Miss PAUMI. To my knowledge, I would say it is a serious threat to the industrial part of Connecticut and to the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Paumi, you at one time actually were ideologically identified with the Communist Party, were you not?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell this committee in a casual way, informal way, what makes a Communist?

Miss PAUMI. Well, I would say that if they were the intellectual type of person, I would say that it is a change for them; that they want to see a change, and that is their way out. Also, I would say it is a person who has had some disappointment in life or has some sort of complex or has something in their background that they want to hide, and where they are not welcome in society.

Mr. ARENS. Are they dedicated?

Miss PAUMI. I would say 90 percent are dedicated, but some are not.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any doubt in their minds but that they are going to overthrow the Government of the United States and eventually control the world?

Miss PAUMI. I wouldn't say that there is any doubt in their minds about that. I think they believe that.

Miss Paumi also testified that the Connecticut Peace Council and the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights were controlled by the Communist Party.

The committee learned from the testimony of Worden C. Mosher, that at the time he operated as an undercover agent within the Communist Party there were 800 to 900 members in the State of Connecticut, approximately 200 of whom were in the New Haven area. Among branches of the Communist Party Mr. Mosher identified the Howe Street Club; Dixwell Club; Grand Avenue Club; Branford Club; Youth Club; Industrial Club; Railroad Club; and the Professional Club. Party work among youth in universities was facilitated by the formation of Communist clubs at Yale University and the University of Connecticut.

Mosher further stated that 1 or 2 dedicated Communists in any industrial plant was all the party needed to spearhead its work among labor. By becoming stewards or organizers in the local union, these Communists were in a strategic position to influence other union members, and thereby attempt to gain control of the union.

Harold Mosher informed the subcommittee that he had devoted more than 3 years to Communist Party youth work in New Haven in order to expose this phase of the Communist conspiracy. He first became recruiting director for the youth branch of the party; later he was dues secretary of the Labor Youth League which replaced the Young Communist League as the top Marxist youth organization. He also testified that in the period from 1949 to 1950 there were some 25 members in the Labor Youth League organization in the New Haven area.

YOUNGSTOWN AREA

The committee held hearings in Youngstown, Ohio, on November 26, 27, and 28, 1956. The first 2 days of these hearings dealt primarily with the operation of the Communist Party underground apparatus in northern Ohio, attempts by the Communists to infiltrate vital industrial centers in the area, and the general Communist Party organizational structure in the Youngstown area. The third day comprised a continuation of the committee's hearings on Communist political subversion.

Twenty witnesses were heard during the first 2 days. Among these was David W. Garfield, who had been the leader of the Communist Party underground apparatus in northern Ohio from 1950 to 1952. Garfield, who originally joined the party in 1941, was active in the party in Youngstown until 1948. During this period he served as chairman of the Youth Club of the party, and was also a member of the Youngstown Section Committee of the Communist Party. In 1948, he was assigned by the party as section organizer in the Canton, Ohio, area.

Garfield provided a wealth of details concerning the party organization in Youngstown and Canton, and its plans for infiltrating these two vital industrial areas. He identified several persons as members of the Communist Party, who are currently employed in basic industry in the area.

Frank Peoples, a former FBI undercover operative from Lorain, Ohio, who was chairman of a steel group in Lorain, also testified and corroborated Garfield's testimony concerning the importance to the party of infiltrating the steel industry. The following is a significant excerpt from his testimony on this point:

Mr. ARENS. * * * What importance does the Communist Party attach to infiltration in the steel industry and in heavy industry?

Mr. PEOPLES. Infiltrating, we were taught in the party, is very important in all basic industries.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. PEOPLES. It is important for the building of the Communist Party, and we were taught to strengthen the Communist Party in this country whereby the forces would be strong enough so that when the proper time arrived, as they called it, they could take over the Government.

Mr. ARENS. Did you receive any instruction in the Communist Party while you were an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in devices, modes of sabotage to stop production in a plant in the event the whistle is blown by the hierarchy of the conspiracy?

Mr. PEOPLES. Yes, indeed.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us just a word about that, sir?

Mr. PEOPLES. One specific incident that I remember very clearly is in the plant where I work. We had one Reuel Stanfield, who, at that time was a member of our branch. At that time he was employed in the fuel and power department of the National Tube Co. At one of our Communist meetings, the importance was being stressed among the various members of the group on members of the party holding strategic positions in industry. This Stanfield at that time expressed the importance of his position. He said that in the department where he worked, which was the fuel and power, he could stop production within this plant, the entire plant, within just a few minutes. In fact, he could shut down the entire plant within 10 minutes.

Mr. ARENS. Was that taught to the specialized comrades as to how to do all of this, to stop production?

Mr. PEOPLES. Yes; indeed.

In connection with the underground operation of the Communist Party in Ohio, David Garfield testified that in 1950, when he was directed by the party to assume leadership in the underground apparatus, he disassociated himself from the open party and moved from Canton to Cleveland, Ohio. According to Garfield, the purpose of establishing the underground was to assure a reserve force of dedicated Communists in the event of a major crackdown on the party by the Federal Government. He provided the committee with valuable information on the machinations of the underground movement.

Garfield described the extreme security precautions taken by the members of the underground to avoid detection. As a precaution, assumed names were used, attempts were made to disguise physical appearances, coded messages sent by selected couriers were used for correspondence, rendezvous and meetings were highly secretive, and only a few of the more highly placed, trusted party members were aware of the members' true identity or location. Garfield, as the No. 1 man, was furnished a telephone number in Brooklyn, N. Y., by which he could be put in touch with the national underground operation.

Garfield also testified that a reserve fund of \$20,000 to \$30,000 was established for use of the Communist Party underground in Ohio. This fund was to be used only in case of an emergency.

In an endeavor to obtain additional information on the underground operation in northern Ohio, the committee subpoenaed several other witnesses who it believed possessed the desired information. One such witness was Edward Chaka, whom Garfield had described as being active in the underground and also as one of the persons in charge of the underground fund. The committee produced Chaka's employment record with a company in Cleveland, which indicated his employment had been continuous from May 1946 until September 1951. In April 1956, Chaka returned to the same company and informed his employer that during the period from 1951 to 1956, he had been "self-employed (odd jobs)." However, the committee produced an employment record of his wife, Betty, which revealed that in 1954, she was employed in Akron, Ohio, under the name of Jean Horner, listing her husband as John. Both Betty and Edward Chaka refused, on the basis of the fifth amendment, to state whether or not they had ever resided in Akron, had used assumed names or had participated in the Communist Party underground movement.

Another witness who the committee believed possessed important information concerning the underground operations was Hyman Lumer. His identification as a Communist Party member has been well established by several witnesses who testified previously before the committee. The committee possesses information that Lumer only recently returned to the open apparatus of the party and is currently district organizer for the Ohio Communist Party. The committee was able to produce copies of a driver's license and a social-security card which had been issued to Lumer under the name of Robert Harold Meyers. Lumer refused, on the basis of the fifth amendment, to identify these documents or to state whether or not they were used by him in connection with his activities in the underground apparatus.

Another important phase of the Youngstown hearings dealt with an organization in Youngstown known as the United Cultural Association. This organization, which owns a large home in Youngstown, was organized in 1947 and is currently operating. Garfield testified that while he was in Youngstown, he had attended numerous Communist Party functions held at the home of the United Cultural Association. The committee produced bank records on the organization which indicated that the current officers are Spiridon Comanita, president; and Eli Nadrich, secretary and treasurer. Garfield identified both these individuals as Communist Party members, and both invoked the fifth amendment when questioned concerning the Communist

Party and the United Cultural Association. From the evidence before the committee, it is clear that the United Cultural Association is a facade for the Communist conspiracy.

Representative Edwin E. Willis, chairman of the subcommittee which met in Youngstown, summarized the results of the hearings in a concluding statement:

* * * We have learned, for example, of one more part of the widespread Communist underground apparatus directed by dedicated hard-core men and women. We have received evidence of the Communist techniques of infiltration, conspiracy and potential sabotage and espionage. We have been able to determine that despite the Ohio Smith Act trials of several years ago, which, it was hoped, would decapitate the leadership of the Communist Party in this area, the Communist organization has been able to maintain and even extend itself, and stands today as a grave and continuing threat.

This is proof, again, that no single blow is sufficient to dissolve and immobilize the Communist conspiracy, and that continuing and relentless efforts by agencies of this Government, such as this committee, are essential.

Communist propaganda continues to flood this area, through concealed Communists and through front organizations. The purpose of these Communist activities is to confuse and weaken the will to resist the Communist advances, and to destroy the executive and legislative program which has been designed to obstruct the operation of a Communist apparatus in this area and throughout the entire United States * * *.

EXECUTIVE MEETINGS

Numerous executive committee meetings were held during 1956 at which the committee discussed at length the subjects under investigation and proposals for remedial legislation. Excerpts from minutes of such executive committee meetings held by the committee during the current and other years relating to certain contempt matters, are set forth in appendix III.

CONTEMPT PROCEEDINGS

Challenges made by witnesses to the pertinency of committee questions and the existence of a legislative purpose were almost universally unsuccessful in contempt cases which came to trial in 1956. Nine committee witnesses who had refused to answer material questions were tried on contempt charges during the year. All but one of them were convicted.

The House of Representatives, in 1956, voted contempt citations against eight other witnesses who refused to answer committee questions. Their cases have not yet come to trial, however.

Important decisions were rendered by the courts during 1956 in the following contempt cases:

† = Marcus Singer, associate professor of zoology at Cornell University, and a witness before a subcommittee on May 26, 1953, in the field of

education, was convicted on a contempt charge for refusal to answer material questions. He was given a 3-month suspended sentence and a fine of \$100. His case is pending in the circuit court of appeals.

Goldie E. Watson, an elementary teacher in the Martha Washington Public School of Philadelphia, Pa., was a witness in the field of education before the committee on February 17, 1954. She was convicted under the contempt statute for refusing to answer material questions. A sentence of 3 months' confinement and a fine of \$1,000 was imposed. The jail sentence was suspended.

Bernhard Deutch was questioned on April 12, 1954, regarding his knowledge of Communist Party activities while a graduate student at Cornell University. Although admitting his former Communist Party membership, he refused to answer material questions relating to his party activities. The indictment was dismissed on motion of the court. This action was reversed by the circuit court of appeals. There was a conviction on trial, the sentence imposed being 90 days in jail and \$100 fine. The fine was remitted. An appeal was taken.

John T. Watkins was questioned by the committee on April 29, 1954, regarding his knowledge of Communist Party activities. He was indicted under the contempt statute for his refusal to answer material questions and was convicted and sentenced to 12 months in prison and a fine of \$500. The jail sentence was suspended. On appeal the case was reversed by the United States circuit court of appeals. However, at a rehearing en banc, ordered on petition of the Government, the original conviction was affirmed. The case is reported in 233 F. 2d. 681. Certiorari was granted to the Supreme Court where the case is now pending.

Lloyd Barenblatt was interrogated on June 28, 1954, regarding his knowledge of Communist Party activities while a student at the University of Michigan. He was convicted under the contempt statute and sentenced to imprisonment of 6 months and a fine of \$250. The case is pending in the circuit court of appeals.

Norton Anthony Russell, an employee of Vernay Laboratories, an affiliate of Antioch College, Dayton, Ohio, was questioned regarding his knowledge of Communist Party activities. On refusal to answer material questions, he was indicted, tried, and convicted under the contempt statute. A sentence was imposed of 30 days in jail and a fine of \$500. An appeal has been taken to the United States circuit court of appeals.

John T. Gojack, general vice president of United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, and president of district No. 9, was indicted, tried, and convicted under the contempt statute for refusing to answer material questions when a witness before the committee on February 28, 1955. He was given a sentence of 9 months' confinement and a fine of \$500. An appeal was taken.

A subpoena duces tecum was issued requiring Arthur McPhaul, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress of Michigan, to produce certain records of that organization before a subcommittee sitting in Detroit, Mich., on February 27, 1952. He was indicted, tried, and convicted under the contempt statute for his refusal to produce such records and to answer material questions. Sentence has not yet been imposed.

In addition to the convictions in the above cases, there are two cases of contempt which have been tried in the State of Michigan, but the

decisions of the courts have not been handed down. One is the case of Bolza Baxter, Jr., upon whom a subpoena duces tecum had been served requiring the production of certain books and records of the Labor Youth League of Michigan before a subcommittee sitting in Detroit, on May 5, 1954. The other involves a contempt charge against Dr. Horace Chandler Davis for refusal to answer material questions propounded to him in a hearing conducted in Lansing, Mich., on the 10th day of May 1954.

The only district court decision adverse to the committee during the year 1956 is the case of Millie Markison, who was called as a witness before the committee on July 14, 1954. Although there was a finding of guilty in this case, a motion for judgment of acquittal, notwithstanding the verdict, was granted.

The committee is appreciative of the diligence and skill exhibited by Government attorneys in the presentation of these cases.

At the recommendation of the committee, the House of Representatives voted contempt citations against the following individuals during the past year: George Tyne, Elliott Sullivan, Peter Seeger, John W. Simpson, William E. Davis, Anne Yasgur Kling, Otto Nathan, and Arthur Miller.

George Tyne, Elliott Sullivan, and Peter Seeger were witnesses at a hearing conducted in New York City on the 15th day of August 1955. John W. Simpson, William E. Davis, and Anne Yasgur Kling were witnesses at St. Louis, Mo., at hearings beginning June 4, 1956. Otto Nathan and Arthur Miller were witnesses heard in Washington, D. C., on June 12 and 21, 1956. All were cited for contempt by resolutions of the House of Representatives and their cases were referred to the proper Federal court districts for indictment and trial. None of these cases has come to trial.

REFERENCE SERVICE

The reference service furnished to Members of Congress, to committee staff members, and to the various agencies of the executive branch of the Government during the past year has kept pace with the growth of the activities of the committee.

This service is based upon a unique collection of material on the subject of subversive activities. It has been maintained by the committee over many years and has grown appreciably during the past year. The collection is distinguished by the fact that it contains a large amount of original or primary source material. Consequently, the information which is reported in answer to reference requests is based for the most part upon actual documents in committee files, testimony given under oath before the committee, or the results of investigations as described in reports published by the committee.

According to committee rules, this specialized reference service is supplied to Members of Congress only, and in the interest of accuracy, regulations require that the requests and answers be made in writing.

During 1956, over 1,350 requests were received from Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives for information on 5,309 individuals and 966 organizations or publications. In each instance, a separate check was made of each individual and organization. A total of 3,562 individuals and 408 organizations were reported to have a record of Communist or pro-Communist activity. There were nearly 800 more reports written in 1956 than in the preceding year.

In order to increase efficiency, a number of reports on recurring subjects were mimeographed and a revised method of reporting was devised to shorten answers without omitting any essential information.

Although facilities of the reference section are open to all staff members for their use in making checks, this section supplied other members of the committee's staff with additional service which varied widely, according to need, from a simple check with verbal answer, or the assembling and loan of material, to written reports in either tabular or narrative form. In 1956, staff requests necessitated a check for information on 5,339 individuals and 614 organizations, publications, or broader subjects and resulted in a total of 2,512 written reports—almost 1,200 more than in 1955. Moreover, approximately 1,100 documents, newspapers, and periodicals were withdrawn from files and photostatic copies of them obtained for use as exhibits in the preparation for, and actual conduct of, the committee's hearings.

Both card and printed indexes, committee publications, and some files are made available to properly designated representatives of the various departments of the executive branch of our Government. Since space and facilities are entirely inadequate to meet the great demand for this privilege, the number of persons from any one agency who are permitted to check has been limited. Even under these conditions, almost 3,200 visits were made by designated representatives of the executive agencies during 1956. Almost one-half of these visits extended over the period of a full working day.

The reference collection has been greatly enriched during the past year not only by an increased flow of material acquired through regular procedures, but also by special material numbering thousands of pieces secured through the cooperation of various sources.

LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in the discharge of the duties imposed upon it by rule XI (17) and (26), conducted extensive nationwide investigations and hearings during the year 1956. These are the basis of the following recommendations to Congress for the enactment of legislation which the committee feels is necessary for the strengthening and clarification of legislation in the field of un-American activities:

1. The long-continuing investigation of the misuse of passports by subversives and concealment of facts relating to Communist connections and associations in passport matters, culminated in the holding of extensive public hearings on this subject in 1956. In carrying out the purpose of the committee to ascertain the procedures by which the Communist Party has been able to obtain passports, and make possible illegal travel for Communist Party members and sympathizers, the committee undertook to review and study the procedures of the State Department in the issuance of passports and the functioning of the State Department in the execution of the laws and regulations relating thereto.

These hearings and studies impel the committee to make the following specific and general recommendations:

- (a) The committee is of the opinion that the use of passports by the Communist conspiracy constitutes a threat to national security and an interference with the orderly conduct of foreign

relations. The committee is further of the opinion that concealment by passport applicants of their true destination in foreign travel and their full purpose in visiting foreign countries, as well as concealment of their former connections and associations with the Communist Party or its functionaries, has operated against the best interest of this country. The testimony amply justifies the conclusion that an organized effort, spearheaded by the Communist Party, is being made to disrupt and break down the hitherto reasonably satisfactory administrative enforcement of the laws and regulations relating to the issuance of passports.

Although recognizing the historic discretion of the Secretary of State to issue, withhold or limit passports under regulations adopted pursuant to Executive orders, the committee believes that the hand of the Secretary should be strengthened by the enactment of legislation expressing the will and intent of the legislative branch of the Government spelled out in direct and positive form. It is believed to be highly important that this historic discretion of the Secretary of State specifically be made applicable, by statutory definition, to international travel of adherents to the Communist Party; that statutory recognition be given to basic regulations now governing passport matters; that specific statutory authority be given to the Secretary of State to issue substantive regulations in the passport field; and that specific statutory sanction be given to the review procedure in denial cases to insure freedom from arbitrary and capricious action, and protection of constitutional rights.

In view of the importance of these matters in the field of foreign relations and national security, a tight control of the issuance of passports should be observed. To assure accomplishment of this objective, penal sanctions should be provided for the issuance by Government officials of passports in violation of the express will and intent of Congress and of the regulations promulgated by the Secretary of State pursuant to statutory authority.

It is believed that H. R. 11582 introduced on June 4, 1956, if enacted into law, would satisfactorily achieve most of the basic recommendations made by the committee on this subject, provided that penal sanctions omitted in the bill are added.

(b) Glaring instances have come to the attention of the committee of certain foreign travel by nationals of this country, neither Communist nor subversive, at times, in areas, and under circumstances rendering such foreign travel against the best interest of this country. In the opinion of the committee, serious consideration should be given to the extension of legislation governing the issuance of passports, to cases coming within this category.

(c) It has come to the attention of the committee during the course of its studies, that there is justification for confusion in the administration of the passport laws. These laws, basically contained in the act of 1927 and its numerous amendments, have been weakened and vitiated in instances by court decisions and modified and superseded in others by the Immigration and Nationality Act, known also as the Walter-McCarran Act. The extended period over which applicable statutes were enacted and their heterogeneous character make a satisfactory determination

of legislative intent extremely difficult. In the opinion of the committee, the entire problem of regulatory statutes governing issuance of passports, their limitations and extensions, in terms of time and geographical area, should come under review for the purpose of enacting a comprehensive codified statute covering the entire subject.

2. The experience of the committee with recalcitrant witnesses during the year 1956 has brought into focus the urgent need for remedial legislation in this field. A study of this problem involves consideration of:

(a) The Immunity Act;

(b) A more expeditious method of dealing with contempt; and

(c) A method by which committee hearings may be protected against interference by misconduct of witnesses, counsel, and others.

(a) The Immunity Act provides for a procedure by which a witness appearing before a grand jury or a congressional committee may under certain circumstances be granted immunity from prosecution. The constitutionality of this act was sustained in the case of *Ullman v. United States*, 350 U. S. 422, which involved testimony before a grand jury. However, no congressional committee has resorted to the provisions of the act. The committee is of the opinion that further observation of the functioning of the act is needed before making any specific recommendations relating thereto.

(b) The importance of streamlining procedures by which congressional committees may seek legal redress against contemptuous witnesses was pointed out in the committee's annual report for 1955. H. R. 780 approved by the House but not acted upon by the Senate is a step forward in the solution of this problem and its adoption is recommended. This proposal permits congressional committees by majority vote to refer a defiant witness directly to the court. If the court determines that the witness has been in contempt and he so continues, the witness may then be adjudged in contempt of the court itself, thus avoiding extensive delays under the present cumbersome process requiring House resolution, transmittal to the United States attorney, presentation to a grand jury, and trial. This would serve as an alternate remedy to be resorted to in extreme cases.

(c) A witness by the name of George Tony Starkovich was guilty of gross misconduct before the committee in a hearing conducted in Seattle in 1953. The witness carefully avoided being placed in the position of refusing to answer questions propounded to him, but in his answers he was guilty of such gross insolence, contempt, and derision of the members of the committee that the hearings were disrupted and a Communist scheme to prevent the orderly completion of the hearings was on the verge of success. The public was astounded that there appeared to be no remedy for such an intolerable situation. The committee endeavored to make a test case, and Starkovich was indicted on the theory that his misconduct constituted a violation of his subpoena and that he was in contempt of the House of Representatives within the meaning of title 2, United States Code, section 192. The court, in adversely disposing of the committee's contention, stated:

* * * as far as this particular judge is concerned, there isn't any question about it but what additional legislation is needed in this field to clarify the situation. * * * The only thing that you can prosecute under section 192 is * * *

either a failure to show up after proper summoning, and so on, or a refusal to answer specific questions. And the misconduct of the witness, however outrageous, however shocking it may be to the sense of propriety or whatever, is not a violation of 192 in my judgment, and accordingly if the Congress feels that that kind of conduct should be made punishable—and I daresay they wouldn't get much objection from anybody on that—they had better legislate on it.

The outrageous conduct of Starkovich was repeated by a number of witnesses during 1956. One instance is the case of Paul Robeson, whose conduct when appearing as a witness before the committee was so disruptive that it was necessary to adjourn the hearings. As a result of the continued study that the committee has given to this problem, it is recommended that title 8, United States Code, sections 192 and 194, be amended so as to provide that every person who misbehaves in the presence of either House or any joint committee established by a joint or concurrent resolution of the two Houses, or any committee or subcommittee of either House of Congress, or so near thereto as to obstruct such House or committee in the performance of its duties, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and punishable in the manner now prescribed for the refusal of a witness to answer any question pertinent to the matter under inquiry. It is suggested that the language of such a proposed amendment should follow, as nearly as possible, the language of the Federal statute relating to punishment by a court for contempt committed in its presence, since the language in that statute has been the subject of litigation and the scope of that act has been legally defined. By such an amendment, the committee and the House of Representatives may proceed against the offender for contempt when guilty of such misbehavior in the same manner as they now proceed when a witness refuses to answer.

3. Testimony received in hearings conducted in widely separated areas of the country clearly demonstrates that provisions of the Lobbying Act are being violated by numerous organizations and associations, in many instances under Communist influence and direction, which are trying to influence Congress in the repeal of legislation enacted in the field of subversion and security. Their activity, in the judgment of the committee, comes within the three prerequisites for coverage under the Lobbying Act as defined in the opinion of Chief Justice Warren, in the case of the *United States v. Harriss*, 347 U. S. 612. Beyond this, it would be well to clarify the provisions of the act so as to remove any doubt regarding its applicability. The act should clearly make it an offense for all officers, members, and employees of such organizations and associations to engage in such activities without complying with the provisions of the Lobbying Act.

4. As indicated in this annual report, testimony taken before the committee reflects the difficulties encountered by the Post Office Department in attempting to intercept the tremendous flow of political propaganda entering this country in violation of section 1 (j) of the Foreign Agents Registration Act and the extremely harmful effect of such propaganda upon the morale of a fine stratum of newly made citizens. It is urged that Government departments concerned give consideration to the facts brought to light during the course of these

hearings, with a view to strengthening the weaknesses in the act and to adopting more effective means of counteracting the schemes and devices used in avoiding the prohibitions of the statute. Committee plans envision continued study of this problem.

5. The investigations and hearings of the committee during 1956 and prior years have disclosed fraudulent use by functionaries of the Communist Party of social-security cards. Instances have been disclosed in which Communist Party functionaries have secured social-security cards made out in fictitious names and used them to facilitate employment in defense industry. This device is an effective means of concealing saboteurs and subversives in industries vital to the national defense. The committee is doubtful that such conduct comes fully within the prohibition of any Federal statute. Due to the serious threat to national security that this type of misconduct entails, the committee recommends the immediate adoption of legislation making such conduct an offense and providing for substantial fine or imprisonment, or both, for violation thereof. As the very nature of the offense makes it difficult of discovery, it is recommended that the period within which a prosecution may be instituted should be 10 years from the date of commission of both the substantive offense and conspiracy to commit the offense.

6. The National Security Act of August 26, 1950, gave to the heads of certain departments and agencies of the Government summary suspension and unreviewable dismissal powers over their civilian employees when dismissed "in the interest of national security." Its provisions were extended to all other departments and agencies of the Government by Executive Order No. 10450. The Supreme Court of the United States construing this act in the case of *Cole v. Young*, 351 U. S. 536, gave a narrow and limited meaning to "national security." The Court held that the term was intended to comprehend only those activities of the Government that are directly concerned with the protection of the Nation from internal subversion or foreign aggression and not those which contribute to the strength of the Nation only through their impact on the general welfare.

The committee is of the opinion that the National Security Act, thus weakened by judicial interpretation, should be strengthened by the enactment of legislation providing that all employees of any department or agency of the United States Government shall be deemed to be employed in an activity of the Government involving national security. The proposed legislation should also contain adequate provision for administrative review of any determination to dismiss an employee. H. R. 11721 introduced in the 84th Congress on June 12, 1956, was designed to accomplish these purposes, and in the opinion of the committee should be reintroduced and adopted.

7. Testimony adduced before the committee at hearings conducted in the latter part of 1955 and the early part of 1956, reflects there existed at one time at least 10 Communist Party cells within various governmental agencies in the city of Washington. These hearings point up the necessity for alertness to discover efforts of Communist infiltration in government.

The committee has learned anew from these hearings the great importance of performing the duties imposed upon it under the "watch-dog" provision of the House Rules, rule XI, section 26. The committee will continue to exercise watchfulness of the execution by ad-

ministrative departments and agencies of laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of this committee.

The vast majority of the recommendations made by the Committee on Un-American Activities has been adopted. However, there are certain recommendations previously made by the committee and not as yet enacted into law, which it is deemed are important enough to resubmit with the urgent request that consideration be given to their adoption during the present session of Congress:

1. Information obtained through surveillance by technical devices should be permitted as evidence in matters affecting the national security provided that adequate safeguards are adopted to prevent any abuse of civil liberties.

2. The unauthorized transportation in interstate commerce of Government documents falling within a top secret, secret, or confidential classification should be made a criminal action.

3. Any person bidding for a Government contract should be required to file an affidavit stating he is not at the time and has not been within the preceding 10 years a member of any organization advocating overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

4. The 5-year statute of limitation for prosecution of the offenses of treason, espionage, sabotage, and other subversive activities should be amended so as to permit prosecutions for a period not to exceed 15 years from the time of commission of the offense.

5. The present 3-year statute of limitations for prosecution of offenses committed in violation of title 18, United States Code, sections 1001 or 1621, dealing with false statements and perjury, should be extended to 10 years when involving subversive activities and connections, and in instances where a person becomes an officer or employee of the United States or of any department or agency thereof, or of any corporation, the stock of which is owned in whole or in part by the United States, or any department or agency thereof, such person should be prosecuted, tried, and punished for such offense at any time within 10 years after such person has ceased to be employed as such officer or employee.

6. The committee is of the opinion that a more realistic punishment for crimes of such gravity as those involving seditious conspiracy, advocating overthrow of the Government, and conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the Government, should be provided. Title 18, United States Code, section 2384, involving seditious conspiracy should provide a maximum penalty of a fine of not more than \$20,000 or imprisonment of not more than 10 years, or both, the maximum penalty now being a fine of \$5,000 or imprisonment for not more than 6 years, or both. Title 18, United States Code, section 2385 involving advocating overthrow of the Government should provide a maximum penalty of a fine of \$20,000 or imprisonment of not more than 20 years, or both, the maximum penalty now being a fine of \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or both.

7. The committee desires to restate its opinion that willfully contradictory statements made under oath by a witness before Federal grand juries, Federal courts, or congressional bodies, should be punishable as perjury without the present requirement that the Government prove which of the statements is false. When two contradictory statements

are made, one of which is obviously false, the Government must now prove the falsity by testimony of two independent witnesses or by the testimony of one witness and corroborative evidence. Bills introduced in the House and the Senate during the 84th Congress have the effect of remedying this situation by requiring the Government to prove only that the statements of a witness are themselves contradictory—provided that they are willful, concern material matters, and are made within 3 years of one another.

8. The Committee on Un-American Activities has heretofore expressed the opinion that it is inadvisable for the Congress to undertake any broad, new legislative action against the functioning of the Communist Party pending the final determination of the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950. Since that opinion was expressed, the case of the *Communist Party v. Subversive Activities Control Board*, 351 U. S. 115, has been remanded by the Supreme Court of the United States, to the Board for further proceedings. This mandate of the Supreme Court has been complied with by the making of a modified report, and it is expected that the case will soon be before the Supreme Court for a decision on the merits. Until final disposition is made by the Supreme Court of the issues raised, the committee remains of the opinion that legislative recommendations in this specific field should be withheld.

PUBLICATIONS

One of the most effective ways to combat the growth of communism in our country is by educating the public as to the aims and methods of the Communist Party and the results of Communist ideology where it has gained control. The work that has been done in the past by the committee in the dissemination of literature exposing the workings of the Communist Party is reflected in the increase of requests for committee publications during the year 1956.

After completion of a series or a phase of hearings, the actual verbatim record of the proceedings is printed and becomes available for public distribution upon request as long as the supply lasts.

In many cases, letters requesting printed copies of these hearings indicated that they were to be used by church, labor, veteran, civic, patriotic, educational, and other groups which are intelligently fighting communism and subversive activities. Distribution of committee publications to organizations adds greatly to their actual circulation.

In addition to the printed copies of hearings, reports are issued from time to time by the committee. These reports, either in summarizing the work of the committee in various fields or in giving detailed information on subversive activities, furnish to the Congress and to the public the results of highly intensified investigation and research by the committee.

During the year 1956, the committee printed and filled requests for approximately 351,500 copies of its hearings and reports. Requests for thousands of copies of publications printed in previous years have been filled. The Government Printing Office has also distributed several thousand copies of committee hearings and reports.

THE GREAT PRETENSE

(A Symposium on Anti-Stalinism and the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party)

This report endeavors to provide an adequate explanation of, and an indication of, what the world may expect from the Soviet Union's new course since the death of Stalin. The 39 contributors are all specialists in some aspect of the Soviet Union and the global conspiracy which it directs. Some of them are former officials of the Soviet Government and have seen both Stalin and his successors at close range. Others have been important figures in the Communist apparatus in America. Those who themselves have not participated in the Soviet program of conquest are qualified to speak authoritatively on it by reason of direct personal experience or by long research and study. It is instructive that, while these specialists vary in approach and emphasis, they agree, without exception, that the ultimate importance of anti-Stalinism will derive not from the disposition made of Josef Stalin, but from the reaction by the West.

THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY

The material included in this five section report consists of the early basic Communist pronouncements which have assumed new importance in the current revival of Leninism. It deals with all the aspects of the politics, the economy, the social, educational, and cultural structure of the Soviet Union; the principal resolutions and programs adopted by the various world congresses of the Communist International and the actuation of these resolutions and programs into revolutions in various countries throughout the world. Perhaps the most important part of the report is the evidence of how the Communist Party of the United States, like the Communist parties in all other countries, acts under the rigid discipline of the Kremlin.

TRIAL BY TREASON

The Committee on Un-American Activities has prepared this report on the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg case not only because the facts of the Rosenberg campaign deserve study, but also because these facts, taken together, provide a singularly instructive example of a Communist front; how it is created, directed, and financed. In particular, they provide an example of the means by which the Communists today attempt to prepare the way for the fruition of their conspiracy. Essential for their success is the disintegration of the Nation's social fabric; it was to promote this disintegration that the Rosenberg campaign was conceived.

The supply of this report was exhausted in a matter of days after its original printing and will be augmented by a reprint early in 1957. It will then be possible to fill the many requests for this report.

SOVIET TOTAL WAR

The Committee on Un-American Activities has compiled this two-volume symposium of the "Historic Mission" of Violence and Deceit to which 120 noted specialists have contributed their views. In the Communist threat, they clearly see the greatest danger that the free world has ever had to face. They unmask its deceptions and subterfuges—its relentless psychological, political, economic, sociological, and military strategies. Like all reasonable people, these contributors do not desire war, but only a lasting peace. On the other hand, they are fully aware that, in hoping for peace, we cannot permit ourselves to be frozen into extinction as free men. They point out that unless we meet the total challenge of Communist unconventional war, we shall assuredly condemn ourselves to the Arctic hell of Siberian slave-labor camps. There is no third way: Either we prevent the achievement of communism's "historic mission"—or we perish.

The supply of this publication was exhausted in a matter of days after its original printing and will be augmented by a reprint early in 1957. It will then be possible to fill the many requests for this report.

APPENDIX I

Following is a complete list of committee hearings and publications for the second session of the 84th Congress:

- Investigation of Communist Infiltration of Government—Part 3.
- Investigation of Communist Infiltration of Government—Part 4.
- Investigation of Communist Infiltration of Government—Part 5.
- Investigation of Communist Infiltration in Government—Part 6.
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the North Carolina Area.
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles, Calif. Area—Part 7.
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles, Calif., Area—Part 8 (Testimony of Nikolai Khokhlov).
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles, Calif., Area—Part 9.
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles, Calif., Area—Part 10.
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles, Calif., Area—Part 11.
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the Rocky Mountain Area—Part 1.
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the Rocky Mountain Area—Part 2.
- Investigation of the Unauthorized Use of United States Passports—Part 1.
- Investigation of the Unauthorized Use of United States Passports—Part 2.
- Investigation of the Unauthorized Use of United States Passports—Part 3.
- Investigation of the Unauthorized Use of United States Passports—Part 4.
- Investigation of Communist Propaganda in the United States—Part 1
- Investigation of Communist Propaganda in the United States—Part 2
- Investigation of Communist Propaganda in the United States—Part 3¹
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the St. Louis, Mo., Area—Part 1
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the St. Louis, Mo., Area—Part 2
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the St. Louis, Mo., Area—Part 3
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the St. Louis, Mo., Area—Part 4
- Investigation of Communist Propaganda Among Prisoners of War in Korea (Save Our Sons Committee)

¹ These hearings were not in print at the time this report went to press. They will be released, however, at a later date.

- Investigation of So-Called Blacklisting in Entertainment Industry—
Report of the Fund for the Republic, Inc.—Part 1
- Investigation of So-Called Blacklisting in Entertainment Industry—
Report of the Fund for the Republic, Inc.—Part 2
- Investigation of So-Called Blacklisting in Entertainment Industry—
Report of the Fund for the Republic, Inc.—Part 3
- Investigation of the Award by the Fund for the Republic, Inc. (Plymouth Meeting, Pa.)
- International Communism (Testimony of Ernst Tillich)
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the New Haven, Conn.,
Area—Part 1
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the New Haven, Conn.,
Area—Part 2
- Hearings on Attempts at Subversion and Espionage By Diplomatic
Personnel
- Investigation of Communist Activities in the Youngstown and North-
ern Ohio Areas ¹
- Communist Political Subversion—Washington, D. C., Youngstown,
Ohio, Chicago, Ill., Los Angeles and San Francisco, Calif., Seattle,
Wash.¹
- The Great Pretense—A Symposium on Anti-Stalinism and the 20th
Congress of the Soviet Communist Party—House Report 2189
- The Communist Conspiracy—Part 1 (Communism Outside the United
States), Section A: Marxist Classics, House Report 2240.
- The Communist Conspiracy—Part 1 (Communism Outside the United
States), Section B: The U. S. S. R., House Report 2241
- The Communist Conspiracy—Part 1 (Communism Outside the United
States), Section C: The World Congresses of the Communist Inter-
national, House Report 2242
- The Communist Conspiracy—Part 1 (Communism Outside the United
States), Section D: Communist Activities Around the World,
House Report 2243
- The Communist Conspiracy—Part 1 (Communism Outside the United
States), Section E: The Comintern and the CPUSA, House Report
2244
- Trial By Treason (The National Committee to Secure Justice for
The Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell)
- Soviet Total War, "Historic Mission" of Violence and Deceit—
Volume I
- Soviet Total War, "Historic Mission" of Violence and Deceit—
Volume II
- Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications—Revised
Annual Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the
Year 1956

¹ These hearings were not in print at the time this report went to press. They will be released, however, at a later date.

APPENDIX II

JUNE 5, 1956.

HON. HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.,
Attorney General of the United States,
Department of Justice, Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR MR. BROWNELL: I recently had occasion to study the amici curiae brief filed with the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *The Communist Party of the United States v. The Subversive Activities Control Board*. In a letter to Solicitor General Sobeloff requesting consent to the filing of the brief, Royal W. France, attorney for the amici curiae, states baldly that the petitioners comprise a "group of prominent American citizens, none of whom are Communists." This statement can be regarded only as a deliberate attempt to deceive the Court.

The files of this committee show that, apart from the extensive Communist front affiliations of most of the amici curiae, 26 of them have been identified in sworn testimony as members of the Communist Party. These are:

Elmer A. Benson	Arnold Keene
Lloyd L. Brown	Albert E. Kahn
Edwin Berry Burgum	Rockwell Kent
Isobel Cerney	John A. Kingsbury
Hugh DeLacy	John Howard Lawson
Dorothy W. Douglas	Carey McWilliams
Howard Fast	Scott Nearing
James W. Ford	Wm. L. Patterson
Daniel Fine	Holland Roberts
Sid Gluck	Rose Russell
Ralph Gundlach	Mary Van Kleeck
William Harrison	John Weatherwax
W. A. Hunton	Eliot White

I earnestly suggest that these facts be brought to the attention of the Supreme Court and that the Department of Justice do everything within its power to make certain that these petitioners (friends of the Communist Party, rather than of the Court) receive no status whatsoever in these proceedings.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCIS E. WALTER, *Chairman.*

APPENDIX III

Excerpts from minutes of executive meetings held during 1956 and other years, relating to contempt matters, are set forth as follows:

1. The Committee on Un-American Activities met in executive session Thursday, January 20, 1955, in room 225, House Office Building, at 2 p. m., the following members being present:

Francis E. Walter, chairman	James B. Frazier, Jr.
Morgan M. Moulder	Harold H. Velde
Clyde Doyle	Bernard W. Kearney
Edwin E. Willis (entered 2:45 p. m.)	Donald L. Jackson

The following staff members were present:

Thomas W. Beale, clerk	Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel
------------------------	---------------------------------

* * * * *

The following resolution was read by the clerk and unanimously adopted:

Be it resolved, That the chairman be authorized and empowered from time to time to appoint subcommittees composed of 3 or more members of the Committee on Un-American Activities, at least 1 of whom shall be of the minority political party, and a majority of whom shall constitute a quorum, for the purpose of performing any and all acts which the committee as a whole is authorized to perform.

2. The Committee on Un-American Activities met in executive session on March 6, 1956, at 10:40 a. m., in room 225, Old House Office Building. The following members were present:

Francis E. Walter, chairman	Donald L. Jackson
Morgan M. Moulder	Gordon H. Scherer (entered at 11:05)
Clyde Doyle	
James B. Frazier, Jr. (entered at 10:55)	

Mrs. Juliette P. Joray, acting clerk, was also present.

* * * * *

Without objection, the committee authorized a preliminary investigation and preparation for a hearing to be held in St. Louis, Mo., sometime in June.

3. The Committee on Un-American Activities, pursuant to notice, met in executive session on May 9, 1956, at 11 a. m., in room 225 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

The following members were present:

Francis E. Walter, chairman	Bernard W. Kearney
Morgan M. Moulder	Gordon H. Scherer
Clyde Doyle	
James B. Frazier, Jr.	

Also present were Richard Arens, director, and Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel.

* * * * *

Mr. Arens also advised the committee that hearings had been set for St. Louis on June 4. Whereupon the chairman appointed the following members as a subcommittee to conduct these hearings: Mr. Morgan M. Moulder, chairman; Messrs. James B. Frazier, Jr., and Bernard W. Kearney, as associate members.

* * * * *

4. The following order was made by Francis E. Walter, chairman, on May 31, 1956:

To Mr. Richard Arens, Director, Committee on Un-American Activities:

Pursuant to the provisions of law and the rules of this committee, I appointed a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities consisting of Congressman Morgan M. Moulder, chairman, and Congressmen James P. Frazier, Jr., and Bernard W. Kearney as associate members, to hold hearings in St. Louis, Mo., on the subjects under investigation by this committee. I have been advised by Mr. Kearney that he will be unable to attend the hearings, and for that reason has resigned from the subcommittee.

You are hereby notified that I do appoint Congressman Gordon H. Scherer as a member of the said subcommittee to act in the place and stead of Mr. Kearney. The said subcommittee as reconstituted, is authorized to receive testimony in executive session on the 2d day of June, 1956, in St. Louis, Mo., and to begin public hearings on the 4th day of June, and to continue in session at such times and places as it may deem necessary, until its work is completed.

Please make this action a matter of committee record.

(Signed) FRANCIS E. WALTER,
Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.

5. The Committee on Un-American Activities met in executive session on June 27, 1956, in room 225, Old House Office Building, at 10:15 a. m.

The following members were present:

Francis E. Walter, chairman	Donald L. Jackson
Morgan M. Moulder	(entered at 10:45 a. m.)
Clyde Doyle	Gordon H. Scherer
James B. Frazier, Jr.	(entered at 11:15 a. m.)
Bernard W. Kearney	

Also present were Richard Arens, director; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Juliette P. Joray, clerk; and Richard S. Weil, a member of the staff.

Mr. Moulder reported to the committee that he was chairman of a subcommittee appointed by the chairman, composed of Messrs. James B. Frazier, Jr., Gordon H. Scherer, and himself, to conduct hearings in St. Louis beginning June 4, 1956; that the subcommittee had unanimously agreed that a report of the facts relating to the refusal of John W. Simpson, William E. Davis, and Anne Yasgur Kling to answer questions before the said subcommittee at hearings conducted in the New Federal Building in St. Louis, Mo., beginning June 4, 1956, be referred and submitted to the Committee on Un-American Activities as a whole, with the recommendation that each of said witnesses be cited for contempt of the House of Representatives in the manner and form provided by law, for their refusal to answer certain material questions.

The report of the facts relating to the refusal of John W. Simpson to answer questions was submitted to the committee, upon which a motion was made by Mr. James B. Frazier, Jr., and seconded by Mr. Morgan M. Moulder, and unanimously carried, that the subcommittee's report of the facts relating to the refusal of John W. Simpson to answer questions before said subcommittee at the hearings conducted before it in the Federal Building on June 4 and 5, 1956, be and the same is hereby approved and adopted, and that the Committee on Un-American Activities report and refer the refusal of John W. Simpson to answer questions before the said subcommittee, together with all the facts in connection therewith, to the House of Representatives, with the recommendation that the witness be cited for contempt by the House of Representatives for his refusal to answer questions to the end that he may be proceeded against in the manner and form provided by law.

The report of the facts relating to the refusal of William E. Davis to answer questions, was submitted to the committee, upon which a motion was made by Mr. James B. Frazier, Jr., and seconded by Mr. Morgan M. Moulder, and unanimously carried, that the subcommittee's report of the facts relating to the refusal of William E. Davis to answer questions before said subcommittee at the hearings conducted before it in the Federal Building on June 6, 1956, be and the same is hereby approved and adopted, and that the Committee on Un-American Activities report and refer the refusal of William E. Davis to answer questions before the said committee, together with all the facts in connection therewith, to the House of Representatives, with the recommendation that the witness be cited for contempt by the House of Representatives for his refusal to answer questions, to the end that he may be proceeded against in the manner and form provided by law.

The report of the facts relating to the refusal of Anne Yasgur Kling to answer questions was submitted to the committee, upon which a motion was made by Mr. James B. Frazier, Jr., seconded by Mr. Morgan M. Moulder and unanimously carried, that the subcommittee's report of the facts relating to the refusal of Anne Yasgur Kling to answer questions before said subcommittee at the hearings conducted before it in the Federal Building on June 6, 1956, be and the same is hereby approved and adopted, and that the Committee on Un-American Activities report and refer the refusal of Anne Yasgur Kling to answer questions before the said committee, together with all the facts in connection therewith, to the House of Representatives, with the recommendation that the witness be cited for contempt by the House of Representatives for her refusal to answer questions, to the end that she may be proceeded against in the manner and form provided by law.

Mr. Francis E. Walter reported to the committee that he was chairman of a subcommittee appointed by himself, composed of Messrs. Edwin E. Willis and himself, to conduct hearings beginning on the 15th day of August 1955, at the United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City; that the subcommittee had unanimously agreed that a report of the facts relating to the refusal of George Tyne, Elliott Sullivan, and Peter Seeger to answer questions before the said subcommittee at the hearing conducted in the United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City, beginning on the 15th day of August 1955, be referred and submitted to the Com-

mittee on Un-American Activities as a whole, with the recommendation that each witness be cited for contempt of the House of Representatives in the manner and form provided by law for their refusal to answer certain material questions.

The report of the facts relating to the refusal of George Tyne to answer questions was submitted to the committee, upon which a motion was made by Mr. James B. Frazier, Jr., seconded by Mr. Morgan M. Moulder, and unanimously carried, that the subcommittee's report of the facts relating to the refusal of George Tyne to answer questions before said subcommittee at the hearing conducted before it in the United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City, on August 15, 1955, be and the same is hereby approved and adopted, and that the Committee on Un-American Activities report and refer the refusal of George Tyne to answer questions before the said subcommittee, together with all the facts in connection therewith, to the House of Representatives, with the recommendation that the witness be cited for contempt by the House of Representatives, for his refusal to answer questions, to the end that he may be proceeded against in the manner and form provided by law.

The report of the facts relating to the refusal of Elliott Sullivan to answer questions was submitted to the committee, upon which a motion was made by Mr. James B. Frazier, Jr., seconded by Mr. Morgan M. Moulder, and unanimously carried, that the subcommittee's report of the facts relating to the refusal of Elliott Sullivan to answer questions before said subcommittee at the hearing conducted before it in the United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City, on August 16, 1955, be and the same is hereby approved and adopted, and that the Committee on Un-American Activities report and refer the refusal of Elliott Sullivan to answer questions before the said subcommittee, together with all the facts in connection therewith, to the House of Representatives, with the recommendation that the witness be cited for contempt by the House of Representatives, for his refusal to answer questions, to the end that he may be proceeded against in the manner and form provided by law.

The report of the facts relating to Peter Seeger to answer questions was submitted to the committee, upon which a motion was made by Mr. James B. Frazier, Jr., seconded by Mr. Morgan M. Moulder, and unanimously carried, that the subcommittee's report of the facts relating to the refusal of Peter Seeger to answer questions before said subcommittee at the hearing conducted before it in the United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City, on August 18, 1955, be and the same is hereby approved and adopted, and that the Committee on Un-American Activities report and refer the refusal of Peter Seeger to answer questions before the said subcommittee, together with all the facts in connection therewith, to the House of Representatives, with the recommendation that the witness be cited for contempt by the House of Representatives, for his refusal to answer questions, to the end that he may be proceeded against in the manner and form provided by law.

Mr. Walter reported to the committee that he was chairman of a subcommittee appointed by himself, composed of Messrs. Clyde Doyle, Bernard W. Kearney, Gordon H. Scherer, and himself, to conduct hearings in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., on the 12th day of June 1956; that the subcommittee had unanimously agreed that a report of the facts relating to the refusal of

Otto Nathan to answer questions before the said subcommittee at the hearing conducted in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, on June 12, 1956, be referred and submitted to the Committee on Un-American Activities as a whole, with the recommendation that the witness be cited for contempt of the House of Representatives in the manner and form provided by law, for his refusal to answer certain material questions.

The report of the facts relating to the refusal of Otto Nathan to answer questions was submitted to the committee upon which a motion was made by Mr. Gordon H. Scherer, seconded by Mr. Bernard W. Kearney, and unanimously carried, that the subcommittee's report of the facts relating to the refusal of Otto Nathan to answer questions before said subcommittee at the hearing conducted before it in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., on the 12th day of June 1956, be and the same hereby is approved and adopted and that the Committee on Un-American Activities report and refer the refusal of Otto Nathan to answer questions before the said subcommittee, together with all the facts in connection therewith, to the House of Representatives with the recommendation that the witness be cited for contempt by the House of Representatives for his refusal to answer questions, to the end that he may be proceeded against in the manner and form provided by law.

* * * * *

6. The Committee on Un-American Activities met in executive session on Tuesday, July 10, 1956, in room 225, Old House Office Building, at 3:30 p. m.

The following members were present:

Francis E. Walter, chairman	Edwin E. Willis
Morgan M. Moulder	Donald L. Jackson
Clyde Doyle	

Also present were Richard Arens, director, and Juliette P. Joray, clerk.

The chairman called the committee's attention to the action taken at the previous meeting of the committee that the director for the committee advise counsel for Arthur Miller that Arthur Miller would be given 10 days to appear before the committee and purge himself of contempt resulting from his refusal to testify regarding certain matters, at the end of which time further consideration would be given to the question of contempt proceedings. The chairman reported that he had received a letter from counsel for Miller enclosing a statement of Arthur Miller in which he reiterated his refusal to testify regarding certain matters; certain affidavits; and a memorandum regarding policies and precedents on contempt. The chairman stated that the communication constituted a refusal of the witness to purge himself of contempt and advised the committee that the subcommittee appointed to hear the testimony of Arthur Miller on the 21st day of June 1956, consisting of himself, as chairman, Messrs. Clyde Doyle, Bernard W. Kearney, and Gordon H. Scherer, had agreed that the facts relating to the refusal of Arthur Miller to answer pertinent questions before the said subcommittee be referred and submitted to the Committee on Un-American Activities as a whole, with a recommendation that the witness be cited for contempt of the House of Representatives in the manner and form provided by law.

The report of the facts relating to the refusal of Arthur Miller to answer pertinent questions was submitted to the committee, upon which a motion was made and duly seconded, that the subcommittee's report of the facts relating to the refusal of Arthur Miller to answer questions before the said subcommittee at the hearing conducted before it on June 21, 1956, in the Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., be and the same is hereby approved and adopted, and that the Committee on Un-American Activities report and refer the refusal of Arthur Miller to answer questions before the said subcommittee, together with all the facts in connection therewith, to the House of Representatives, with the recommendation that the witness be cited for contempt by the House of Representatives for his refusal to answer questions, to the end that he may be proceeded against in the manner and form provided by law.

The motion was unanimously carried.

7. The Committee on Un-American Activities met in executive session on June 8, 1955, at 10 a. m., in room 225, Old House Office Building. The following members were present:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| Francis E. Walter, chairman | Harold H. Velde |
| Clyde Doyle | Gordon H. Scherer |
| James B. Frazier, Jr. | |

* Also present were Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk, and Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel.

* * * * *

The clerk was directed to proceed with the investigation of Communist infiltration in the field of entertainment in New York, preliminary investigation having been authorized earlier in the year.

* * * * *

8. Minutes of executive meeting of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, January 22, 1953, room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Harold H. Velde, chairman, presiding.

The chairman called the meeting to order at 2:05 p. m. Committee members present were Representatives Harold H. Velde, Bernard W. Kearney, Donald L. Jackson, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Francis E. Walter, Morgan M. Moulder, Clyde Doyle, and James B. Frazier, Jr.

* * * * *

The following resolution was offered and unanimously adopted:

Be it resolved, That the chairman shall have authority from time to time to appoint subcommittees composed of one or more members of the Committee on Un-American Activities, for the purpose of performing any and all acts which the committee as a whole is authorized to do.

* * * * *

9. The Committee on Un-American Activities met in executive session on Wednesday, March 3, 1954, at 10:10 a. m. in room 225 Old House Office Building.

The following members were present:

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| Harold H. Velde, chairman | Francis E. Walter |
| Donald L. Jackson | Clyde Doyle |
| Gordon H. Scherer | James B. Frazier, Jr. |

* * * * *

Mr. Walter offered the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

Be it resolved, That subcommittees of the Committee on Un-American Activities will consist of not less than three members, with at least a majority of the subcommittee present at the hearings for which they were appointed.

10. The Committee on Un-American Activities met in executive session on Monday, August 9, 1954, at 4 p. m., in room 225 Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

The following members were present:

Harold H. Velde, Chairman	Francis E. Walter
Bernard W. Kearney	Morgan M. Moulder
Donald L. Jackson	(entered at 4:05 p. m.)
Gordon H. Scherer	

* * * * *

Mr. Scherer moved that the committee conduct hearings at Dayton, Ohio, at some time between the present and 6 weeks before the elections. Seconded by Mr. Jackson and carried unanimously. The chairman appointed the following subcommittee to conduct the hearings: Mr. Scherer, chairman, Mr. Walter, and Mr. Clardy.

* * * * *

11. The Committee on Un-American Activities met in executive session in room 225, Old House Office Building, on Wednesday, November 17, 1954, at 9:30 a. m. The following members were present:

Harold H. Velde, Chairman	Francis E. Walter
Kit Clardy	Morgan M. Moulder
Gordon H. Scherer	

* * * * *

Also present were Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; Courtney E. Owens, chief investigator, and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. Walter reported that he was 1 of a subcommittee composed of 3 members appointed by the chairman to conduct hearings in Dayton, Ohio, on September 13, 14, and 15, 1954, consisting of himself, Mr. Scherer, and Mr. Clardy, and after consideration of the testimony given by Lee Lorch and Robert M. Metcalf on the 15th day of September 1954, he moved that the report of the facts relating to the refusal of the aforementioned witnesses to answer questions before the said subcommittee at the hearings aforesaid be referred and submitted to the Committee on Un-American Activities as a whole with the recommendation that the reports of the facts relating to the refusal of said witnesses to answer questions before the said subcommittee, together with all the facts in connection therewith, be reported to, and filed with, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the House now being adjourned, in order that the said Speaker may certify the same under Seal of the House to the appropriate United States attorney to the end that the said Lee Lorch and Robert M. Metcalf may be proceeded against for contempt of the House of Representatives in the manner and form provided by law. The motion was seconded by Mr. Clardy and carried unanimously by the entire subcommittee consisting of Messrs. Walter, Clardy and Scherer.

The chairman directed the clerk to notify all the members of the committee that there would be an executive meeting of the committee to be held Thursday morning, November 18, 1954, at 10 a. m., in room 225, Old House Office Building, for the purpose of considering contempt citations against Norton Anthony Russell, Robert M. Metcalf, and Lee Lorch.

* * * * * * *

12. The Committee on Un-American Activities met in executive session on Thursday, November 18, 1954, at 10 a. m., 225 Old House Office Building. The following members were present:

Harold H. Velde, chairman	Francis E. Walter
Kit Clardy	Morgan M. Moulder
Gordon H. Scherer	

Also present were the following staff members: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, chief clerk; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; and Courtney E. Owens, chief investigator.

Mr. Scherer reported to the committee that he was chairman of the subcommittee appointed by the chairman, composed of himself, Mr. Clardy, and Mr. Walter to conduct hearings beginning on the 13th day of September, 1954, at Dayton, Ohio; that the subcommittee met in executive session on November 17, 1954, attended by all the members of said subcommittee, at which time a motion was made and unanimously adopted that a report of the facts relating to the refusal of Lee Lorch and Robert M. Metcalf to answer questions before said subcommittee at the hearings conducted at Dayton, Ohio, beginning on the 13th day of September, 1954, he referred and submitted to the Committee on Un-American Activities as a whole, with a recommendation that the report and statement of facts with reference to the refusal of said witnesses to answer questions be made to and filed with the Speaker of the House, the House now being adjourned, in order that the said Speaker may certify the same under Seal of the House, to the appropriate United States attorney, to the end that the said witnesses may be proceeded against for contempt of the House in the manner and form provided by law.

A motion was made by Mr. Scherer, seconded by Mr. Walter, and unanimously carried, that the subcommittee's report of facts relating to the refusal of Lee Lorch to answer questions before the said subcommittee at the hearing conducted by it in Dayton, Ohio, beginning on the 13th day of September, 1954, be, and the same is hereby approved and adopted, and Mr. Velde, chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, is hereby authorized and directed, upon his signature, to transmit the report and statement of facts relating to the refusal of Lee Lorch to answer questions before the said subcommittee to the Hon. Joseph W. Martin, Speaker of the House of Representatives, the House of Representatives now being adjourned, in order that the said Speaker may certify the same to the United States attorney for the southern district of Ohio, to the end that the said Lee Lorch may be proceeded against for contempt of the House of Representatives, in the manner and form provided by law.

A motion was made by Mr. Scherer, seconded by Mr. Walter, and unanimously carried, that the subcommittee's report of facts relating to the refusal of Robert M. Metcalf to answer questions before the said subcommittee at the hearing conducted by it in Dayton, Ohio, beginning on the 13th day of September 1954, be, and the same is hereby approved and adopted, and Mr. Velde, chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, is hereby authorized and directed, upon his signature, to transmit the report and statement of facts relating to the refusal of Robert M. Metcalf to answer questions before the said subcommittee to the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Speaker of the House of Representatives, the House of Representatives now being adjourned, in order that the said Speaker may certify the same to the United States attorney for the southern district of Ohio, to the end that the said Robert M. Metcalf may be proceeded against for contempt of the House of Representatives in the manner and form provided by law.



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