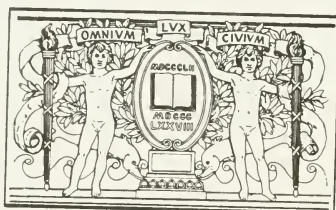


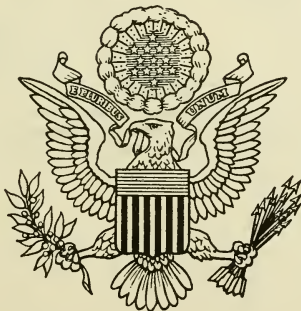
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COLONIZATION
OF
AMERICA'S BASIC INDUSTRIES
BY THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A.



SEPTEMBER 3, 1954

Prepared and released by the
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121, STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attack the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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FOREWORD

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has, over the past years, viewed with alarm the efforts and success of Communist infiltration into various phases of American life, not the least of which has been in organized labor.

The Communist Party in the United States made its first really concerted efforts in the direction of the labor unions in the late 1920's and early 1930's. It was during this period that labor unions commenced making the gains which they so richly deserved. A small but very vocal element of Communists seized upon this opportunity to ride on the crest of the much needed betterment of economic and social conditions for the American workingman. In many, far too many instances, non-Communist labor leaders were willing to close their eyes to the true purposes of the Communists and not only used, but encouraged the Communists in organizing among labor groups.

The awakening of the non-Communist labor leaders came only after they had found the Communists so strongly entrenched that the non-Communist labor leaders were deposed and replaced by the Communists.

Fortunately, congressional committees, principally the House Committee on Un-American Activities, recognized the menace of Communist-dominated labor organizations. In most instances, however, the warnings of the committee were unheeded, until the Communists had dominated some of our more vital labor unions. The Communists concentrated on unions whose members were employed in industries that were the basis of our national security and the lifeline of our defenses: Maritime, communications, shipping, radio, and electrical to mention only a few.

In 1947 the Congress enacted the Labor-Management Relations Act which contained provisions intended to exercise control over the Communist infiltrated and controlled labor organizations. The principal provision in this regard required officers of unions to swear under oath that they were not members of the Communist Party. The weakness in this provision, as established by hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, is that in most instances officers who were members of the Communist Party would go through the motions of resigning from the Communist Party and then swearing under oath that they were not members of the Communist conspiracy.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities recognizes the necessity of clearing the Communist infiltration from legitimate labor organizations and in order to exercise the proper control over those already Communist dominated unions, there has been given serious study to determine means of accomplishing this end.

Largely as a result of work by the House Un-American Activities Committee there has been enacted into law the Communist Control Act of 1954. The importance of this legislation rests in the fact that

the Subversive Activities Control Board may now determine whether an organization is Communist infiltrated. If this organization is a labor union, it will now be possible after a final determination by the Subversive Activities Control Board and the courts to remove the privileges and benefits available to legitimate labor organizations under the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has prepared this report in order that the Congress, the American people and the loyal American labor unions may be alert to guard against the Communist efforts to infiltrate and colonize labor organizations.

COLONIZATION OF AMERICA'S BASIC INDUSTRIES BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

WHAT ARE THE BASIC INDUSTRIES

J. Peters, the individual who directed the Soviet Espionage Organization in the United States, authored a booklet entitled "The Communist Party—A Manual on Organization." This booklet, by a man who directed the systematic stealing of America's secrets, was the Communist Party's "bible" on organization. This was true in July 1935 when it was first published, and this continues to be true even through today. Peters wrote that the Communist Party should concentrate all its forces and energy to build shop units first of all in the basic industries. These industries being those upon which the whole economic system depends. Peters listed these industries in their order of importance as follows:

- * * * * *
1. Those which produce material for production, like steel, mining, oil, chemicals.
 2. Those which deliver material to the place of production or consumption, like railroad, trucking, marine, etc.
 3. Those which produce power for running the wheels of industry, electric-power plants, steam and hydroelectric plants, etc.

It is also important to concentrate all our energy to build the party in the auto, textile, and packinghouse industries because of their strategic importance in the economic system. Strong party organizations (shop units) in these basic industries with a mass following could really influence and lead the millions of workers engaged in these as well as in all lesser industries in their daily struggles, and deliver decisive blows to capitalism.

While it is of the utmost importance to concentrate all energy of the party to build and strengthen the units in the basic industries, the other industries cannot be neglected. The party systematically builds units in light industries (clothing, shoe and leather, etc., in offices, stores, laundries, hotels and restaurants, etc.).
* * * (The Communist Party—A Manual on Organization, by J. Peters.)

CONCENTRATION ON INDUSTRY

Peters' Manual of Organization did not establish something new in respect to building the Communist Party among industrial workers. Lenin said in his What Is To Be Done:

The main force of our movement lies in the organization of workers in the large factories, for in the large factories are centered that section of the working class which is not only predominate in numbers, but still more predominant in influence, development, and fighting capacity.

During the early days of the organization of the Communist Party of the United States nearly all of the instructions which were issued to the Communist Party by the Communist International stressed this concentration in industry. In 1929, in an address by the executive committee of the Communist International to the Communist Party of the United States we read:

The Communist Party of the United States must strengthen its workers in regard to recruiting and retaining in its ranks the new cadres of workers that are joining

the party, especially of the working youth. It must widen its agitational and organizational work in the big plants, in the main branches in industry and among the Negroes, and must secure for the party an independent leading role in the industrial struggles of the working class that are developing, organizing in the processes the struggle of the unorganized workers.

EARLY SUCCESSES IN CONCENTRATION UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Communist Party of the United States concentrated its major attention upon the organization of party units in basic industries of America. The rise of the American labor movement then found a Communist unit in most basic industries; therefore, the small organized units were in a position to assert themselves as the leaders for organized labor in whichever plant they were located. Workers in these plants interested in economic betterment were becoming more and more interested in the trade-union movement. These workers were, however, trapped in that the only persons available to guide them and to increase their interest in the trade-union movement were members of the Communist Party. The workers were thereby made easy subjects of the Communist Party. Because of the lack of opposition the party members were able to convince scores of members that only the Communist Party was interested in furthering the trade-union movement. Many workers during this period joined the Communist Party believing the Communist argument that only through membership in the Communist Party could one best serve the cause of labor. These workers who succumbed to this propaganda argument of the Communist Party were typical of the average American who refuses to investigate on his own for the purpose of determining the truth for himself. To this group of workers there was added the opportunist, the worker who went along with the Communist for his own personal gain. The hard-core party members, the uninformed recruit and the opportunist merged into one political force; became the leadership within many industries. They formed unions on both the plant and industry levels. They were among the leaders in the Congress of Industrial Organizations through their leadership in such international unions as the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; the United Fur and Leather Workers; the Farm Equipment Workers; the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

TASK OF A COMMUNIST SHOP UNION

Other than an economic control, domination of the basic industries by the Communist Party gave to the Communist Party a vehicle with which to carry out the party's daily program. The task of a member of the Communist Party within a shop unit was set forth by J. Peters as—

first, participation in working out the policy of the party and second, the application of this policy in the daily work of the factory unit.

In detailing the manner in which this might be accomplished, Peters set forth in his booklet, *A Manual of Organization*:

* * * * *

The factory units have not only the right, but it is their Communist duty to participate in formulating the general policy of the party. How is this task performed? The policy of the party is decided at the convention in the form of

adopted resolutions. These resolutions are prepared for discussion by the central committee. The draft (proposed) resolution is published in the party press or in pamphlet form at least 2 months before the date of the convention. The unit membership organizes a thorough discussion on these draft resolutions. At the end of these discussions the unit votes on this resolution, either adopting it as is or making amendments as it thinks necessary.

The unit always has the right to make proposals to the section, district, or central committee as to the points on the order of business of the convention as well as to suggest amendments to the draft resolutions. These amendments and proposals are presented to the convention by the delegates. The delegates at the convention, after discussing the resolution and the amendments, vote on them.

The delegates who bring up amendments cannot be instructed by their organizations to vote under all circumstances for these amendments. If a delegate, at the convention, after his amendment is discussed, becomes convinced that the amendment is incorrect, he will vote as a good Communist against the proposals which he introduced.

After the convention, the delegates report to their units. The unit discusses the report and works out the details for applying the resolutions to the concrete situations before them.

The shop unit should discuss and express its opinion on all important political problems and tasks of the party. In this discussion the members of the nuclei should report the reaction of the workers with whom they are in contact (A. F. of L., Socialists, nonparty, etc.) to the given issue. This discussion will help also the section, district, and central committees to formulate correct slogans, to prepare proper actions, to react quickly and correctly to every happening, to all changes of the political life of the community, to work out a correct tactical line.

BRING PARTY CAMPAIGNS INTO THE FACTORY

The units should participate in all campaigns and actions of the party, that is, bring them into the factory. In order to be able to carry on this very important work, the shop units must develop their own initiative and must be well acquainted with the general line of the party. Otherwise, they will not be able to apply the line of the party in their work in the factory.

It is especially important to understand how to carry on work during election campaigns. The shop units can counteract all the demagogy of the capitalist parties if concrete problems of the factory workers are used in exposing the programs of capitalist parties. The units then can easily show the workers that only the Communists represent and fight for their interests.

The general task of the party is to win over the majority of the working class for its program. To achieve this aim, the shop units must become the recognized leaders of the workers in the factories. In order to win the confidence of these workers, the shop units must react quickly on all issues. A shop unit must utilize the attacks of the bosses on their working conditions for agitation and organization, for the counteroffensive for higher wages, better working conditions, etc.

At the same time the shop unit must show the workers how, in their fight for their daily bread, they come up against the close connections between their bosses and the city, State, and Federal Government, the political representative of the boss class. The units conduct struggles for the daily demands of the workers in the shop, for social and unemployment insurance, against taxation of small incomes, against sales taxes, for better housing, lower rents, etc.

ANSWER THE WORKERS' QUESTIONS

In order to win the confidence of the workers, the unit must be able to give a correct answer to every question which bothers the workers. However, this is possible only if the unit systematically gathers as much material about the given situation as possible. With the help of the section committee, the unit should equip itself with material about the profits of a company, e. g., the dividends paid out to the coupon clippers, the income of the bosses, how they live (house, apartment), how many servants and automobiles they have, and their political connections with the city, State, and Federal Government. If a unit is armed with such important material, it will be easier for it to bring these facts to the attention of the workers, in connection with their grievances, through the shop paper, leaflet, and Daily Worker.

The shop units must convince the workers of the necessity for organizing unions, of the necessity for united struggle for better conditions, for freedom of organization (union recognition), for equal rights for Negroes, against police terror, against

the factory spy system, against war and fascism, against lynching of Negroes, for the freedom of class-war prisoners.

The shop units should mobilize the workers by continuous agitation for international solidarity actions (support of the struggle of colonial peoples; against fascism in Germany, Italy, Spain, Poland, etc.; for the defense of the Soviet Union) and should contrast the conditions of the workers in the Soviet Union with those in the given factory and neighborhood.

The units must follow very carefully, every step that is taken by the capitalist class in the city and county councils, State legislatures and Congress, and expose all their moves through leaflets, shop papers, and the party press. This should always be done by starting out with the concrete problems of the workers in the given factory and neighborhood and bringing forward the slogans of the party suited to the situation.

By bringing forward continuously the political problems of the workers, the shop units increase the general political understanding of the workers, increase their class consciousness and bring them into working class political activity.

In this way, the circle of sympathizers will constantly broaden, the basis for recruiting new members into the party will be established and thus increase its influence.

WHAT ARE THE ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS OF THE SHOP UNIT?

The main organizational task of the shop unit is to establish strong connections with all the workers in the factory. Thus the workers can be mobilized for quick action when the need arises. In order to achieve this aim, the factory unit must throw all its energy into building the union in the factory and in organizing united-front actions for the various campaigns of the party (against war and fascism, election campaign, May First, etc.), and on the concrete issues in the factory (grievances, speed-up, wages, freedom of organization). In this organizational activity of the factory unit, we must pay special attention to the problems of the Negro workers in the factory, because of the special form of exploitation they are subjected to and because they are discriminated against on the job. A special approach and methods should also be worked out to organize the women and the young workers in the factory. Every shop unit has the task of building as well as strengthening the YCL unit in the factory.

The other organizational tasks of the factory unit are the following: (1) To control and check whether the general decisions of the membership meeting and the concrete assignments are carried out by every member of the unit; (2) to control the membership dues; (3) to get finances for the work of the unit; (4) to see whether the members of the unit are members of the union; to see whether party members in the union and other mass organizations work regularly in the party fractions; (5) to keep in constant touch with all sympathizers; (6) to distribute literature and to sell the Daily Worker every day; (7) to establish and carefully guard the printing apparatus which publishes papers and leaflets; (8) to find specific methods for detecting and exposing stool pigeons; (9) and last, but not least, constantly to recruit new members into the party.

* * * * *

EARLY SUCCESSES OF COMMUNISTS WITHIN SHOP UNITS

Some leaders of the CIO saw the evils of Communist control of the labor movement from the very start. They also saw that without the Communists and the unions which they controlled there would be no CIO. They therefore accepted them not as Communists but as trade unionists, feeling that the Communists would place their party activities second to their union activities. They found that not to be the case, especially during the Hitler-Stalin pact period when the program of the Communist Party was to denounce America and its political leaders for what the Communists termed, "war mongering." The Communist Party program was not one of propaganda during this period but rather one of force. The Communist leaders within the trade-union movement forced actions designed solely to delay or, if possible, to destroy America's defense buildup. Their actions were climaxed in the Allis-Chalmers strike and the one at North American

Aviation. The production of both these plants was geared to defense, geared to the production of material necessary to aid in the battle against Fascist Germany. The North American Aviation strike was led by Communist Party members, many of whom had only recently joined the union movement.

Shortly thereafter, Germany attacked Russia, and immediately the Communist program became one of unending sacrifices on the part of the workers for full defense production. Even before America became a fighting ally of Russia, the Communist Party of the United States was demanding that workers sign a nonstrike pledge. The war period developed to be one of utmost cooperation in the war effort by the Communist Party and its members. This cooperation lived through the war, at least through the surrender of the Fascist government of Europe. Complete cooperation by the Communist Party did not cease until after the war in the Pacific ended.

The end of the conflict in Europe was, however, the signal to the Communist Party for it to change its way of living. The entire organization of the Communist Party was changed. Industry shop units which had been eliminated during the war period of the Communist Political Association were reactivated. John Williamson, reporting to the special convention of the Communist Political Association, again emphasized that shop units were clubs, were one of the keys to concentration in the basic industries. He listed the elimination of the shop unit as one of the great harms of the Communist Political Association when he said:

During the past period, the elimination of the shop form of organization has greatly weakened the ties of the CPA with the workers in the basic industries, thereby actually hindering our working-class members from making their maximum contribution to our own organization and the labor movement influencing negatively our ability to win the labor movement for correct policies. The trend, for the first time in many years, of a decline in the industrial composition of our membership, is due in no small measure to the fact that the shop form of organization was dissolved and the community club did not provide the trade unionists with the necessary guidance for the solution of the complex problems they faced daily. While we must not ignore the consideration which led to the dissolution of the shop form, namely, the strengthening and maintenance of our ties with the progressive forces within the labor movement, we must simultaneously strengthen our organization among the decisive sections of the working class and provide a medium through which the shop workers can be involved in the development of policies that affect the labor movement and our Nation. For this reason your committee is firmly convinced that the shop branch shall be reconstituted as a basic form of Communist organization.

Williamson's report concluded with the demand of every district of the Communist Party to concentrate on the basic industries for the following reasons:

1. To strive to influence all mass organizations to root themselves among the basic workers.
2. To direct our work in such a manner as to guarantee that all industrial districts, particularly New York, California, and eastern Pennsylvania, shall have a membership whose majority is industrial workers. That Michigan, Illinois, and Ohio shall aim at 75-percent industrial workers.
3. To give a hundred times greater attention by the party committees, as far as speakers, literature, organizers, and press are concerned, to the so-called small industrial towns, such as McKeesport, Schenectady, Youngstown, Akron, Flint, Gary, and towns in the anthracite region and West Virginia.
4. To mobilize the entire party membership to direct its work in such a way as to be conscious at all times of the need to strengthen our position in basic industries.

5. To concentrate on increasing the circulation of the Daily Worker and The Worker among the workers in all concentration industries, districts and areas, and to speed the issuance of editions of the Worker in Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio.

6. To center our cadre policy upon developing and promoting party leadership from among the most promising active members in the concentration industries and shops.

COUNTERACTION BY LABOR

Following the end of World War II, the anti-American, antilabor, and pro-Soviet program of the Communist Party became evident to non-Communist leaders within the CIO. They observed the influence which the Communists could muster through the use of the trade-union movement. These leaders observed and heard the Communists castigate them as antilabor because they, the non-Communist labor leaders, were endorsing programs designed to curb international communism. These programs, such as NATO and the programs designed to strengthen the economic conditions of the free countries of Europe, threatened international communism; therefore, the programs, the program's performance, and the program's endorsers were declared enemies of the Communist Party.

This consistent subservience to the program and policies of the Communist Party by members of the Communist Party and the unions which they controlled necessitated their removal from the organized American labor movement. The CIO fired many of the Communists from their staff and in 1949 they expelled from their ranks the international unions which were under the control of members of the Communist Party.

RESULTS OF EXPULSION OF COMMUNIST-DOMINATED UNIONS

Many results beneficial to the workers resulted from expulsion of the Communist-dominated unions from the CIO. Among these was the clear statement to the worker that membership in the Communist Party was inimical to trade unionism. Thereafter, workers were not being lured into the Communist Party through false notions. The party organization in basic industry was greatly reduced, and in those where it was not reduced, it did not gain, even though in certain plants, such as Ford, they had a united-front program.

Dealing with the united-front program, Henry Winston, in his report to the 15th national convention stated:

It must be said in self-criticism that we began to unfold this policy, but in most cases did not follow through. Wherever this policy was fought for, important gains were won by the workers. Our party in Detroit, sensitive to the moods of the workers in Ford's, reacted to the mass issue of speedup. The party undertook to help organize the rank-and-file workers into a broad united front around this issue on a department and building level. Playing its vanguard role, the party issued tens of thousands of leaflets, stickers, and buttons, organized the extensive circulation of The Worker, and through this means helped to make speedup an issue which reached the point of a strike led by local 600 against Reuther's opposition. The party helped to strengthen its ties with the masses in a lasting way. These ties were not weakened as a result of Reuther's sellout.

This action, however, revealed not only the strength of the party, but also its weakness. For example, the party did not grow numerically as a result of such splendid leadership. We not only failed to recruit in general, but especially among the Polish, Italian, and Negro workers. So while a correct program was worked out and a splendid example of united-front action developed, there was no building the party. A complete concentration policy must embrace all of these elements.

The Communist Party knew it was losing its hold on the trade-union movement and it was experiencing a near-despair condition within this field. Communist Party members holding positions within labor locals or internationals were being exposed to the workers by hearings conducted by the Committee on Un-American Activities. These Communists were losing their positions. Others known to the workers as Communists were being shunned. The non-Communist affidavit required of labor-union officers forced likely Communist recruits to back away. Therefore, in 1948, the Communist Party began an intense study of its organization within the basic industries. This study continued over a period of 9 months and resulted in the decision that the auto industry was therefore to be the main concentration. This undoubtedly was arrived at because the auto industry sets the pattern for industry in general, and also because of the success which the Communist Party enjoys through the successful united-front action within Ford Local 600, and the few other United Auto Workers locals.

The resolution adopted by district 7 of the Communist Party as the result of the study is typical of the decisions reached in all Communist districts. District 7 resolution on concentration, which was on the must list for discussion by all Communist clubs, sections, commissions, and departments, reads as follows:

RESOLUTION ON CONCENTRATION FOR DISCUSSION AT ALL CLUBS, SECTIONS,
COMMISSIONS, AND DEPARTMENTS

Our Party in Michigan has a great responsibility to move the auto workers into struggle against their exploiters—the auto barons and their stooges in government. The auto monopolists are a key section of American imperialism, which seeks political and economic domination of the world, and the crushing of the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union through a predatory war.

To carry through these objectives in the face of a rapidly developing economic crisis (deepened by the Marshall plan and the reactionary foreign policy) the bourgeoisie of our country, more and more travels along the road of instituting one fascist measure after another.

An aroused, conscious working class and trade-union movement, can rally the rest of the population to defeat the drive to hunger, war, and fascism. The bourgeoisie concentrates its efforts on weakening the labor movement. It strikes out in the first place against the Communist Party seeking to behead and paralyze labor's will to struggle.

Never before has there been such a direct, ideological offensive on the part of the bourgeoisie to convince the American worker that his interests and the interests of the billionaire finance capitalists are identical. They are attempting to sell their imperialist program as a "just, noble, and necessary mission" of America which will benefit the workers. This propaganda barrage exalts the "Free Enterprise" system, as the finest, though not perfect, development of mankind. In contrast, Socialism is presented by them as a horrible prison camp, which at its best, is never equal to American capitalism with all its weaknesses.

The main instrument in their ideological campaign to divide the labor movement and corrupt sections of the white working class, is their attempt to intoxicate the American workers with attitudes of "Anglo-Saxon" chauvinist nationalism. White chauvinism has merged with and become the spearhead of the preparation and organization of fascist violence against labor and the people. They are moving every propaganda medium, spending millions to try to convince the American workers that the Communists are "foreign agents" who are trying to provoke "chaos and disorder," to destroy democratic rights, etc.

To facilitate this ideological offensive from the outside, Social Democrats, Trotskyites, labor reformists carry on simultaneously a supporting ideological offensive within the labor movement. Lenin, long ago, pointed out the role of the Social Democrats as agents of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the labor movement. They are the bribed section of the labor movement who sacrifice the interests of the

immense majority for a minority of the labor movement. They receive the praise, buildup, and support of the bourgeoisie in order to enhance their role.

The American bourgeoisie knows that tremendous rank and file movements can break through and move even a Social Democratic leadership. Therefore, they carry through simultaneously more direct attacks. These take the following forms:

- 1—Promoting divisions within the labor movement, particularly along racial lines (Negro vs. white) through a carefully executed policy of throwing Negroes out of industry, and refusing to upgrade Negroes and refusing to hire Negroes.
- 2—Attempting to separate the militant leadership from the trade union movement through the Taft-Hartley law, deportations, penalties within the shop, of militant committeemen, etc.
- 3—Direct attacks, such as fines, injunctions, protection of scabs.
- 4—Softening up through reduction in size, of committeemen, umpire system, no strike clauses in contract, company security clauses, etc.

Yet the bourgeoisie, assisted by the Social Democrats, have not been able to stam pede millions of workers into hysterical mass support for their program of hunger, war and fascism. Every experience has indicated that where workers are given the proper leadership, the will to struggle breaks through and tremendous rank and file movements develop, despite the efforts of the Social Democratic leadership.

The concentration work of the Party must result in real and substantial contributions by the Party to the fight for:

- 1—*The people's livelihood*, including the defense of the union.
- 2—*People's liberty*, above all the case of the 12 and the fight for Negro rights, plus mass reactions to each attack on the liberties of the people.
- 3—*People's peace*, above all a mass campaign against military appropriation to supplement the North Atlantic military alliance, for friendship with the Soviet Union, and for the opening of trade channels with the People's Democracies, China, and the Soviet Union.
- 4—*People's democratic advancement*, especially in terms of cementing the alliance of the labor movement with the Negro People's Liberation Struggle.

Our objectives, stated broadly then, in our concentration work can be generalized as follows:

- 1—To stimulate the broadest united front actions of employed and un-employed auto workers, especially in the plant and local union levels, to break through the deadlocked bargaining on the 1949 economic and contract demands and to make the trusts pay for the unfolding economic crisis.
- 2—To strengthen the leading role of the working class in the democratic people's coalition by moving the auto workers into decisive and leading action on the political problems facing the American people, the struggle against hunger, war and fascism.
- 3—To heighten the unity of Negro and white workers through resolute campaigns for Negro rights, accompanied by mass education and struggle against white chauvinism.
- 4—To lead widespread rank and file movements in the plants and departments on the economic issues facing the workers.
- 5—To help build, broaden and unify a coalition of progressive forces in each department and shop and local, welded into a stable regional and national organization which will function on an all year-round basis.
- 6—To expose the demagogy of, and isolate the Social Democrats and reformist labor leaders. To defeat the Trotskyites in their despicable role as provocateurs and splitters of the progressive coalition.
- 7—To deepen the understanding of the workers in the struggle against imperialism, for socialism.
- 8—To decisively strengthen and build the Communist Party and raise its ideological level as the vanguard of the working class.

Our State Committee has just reviewed 9 months of concentration work by our Party, since the last State Convention. In that time our Party has increased its attention to the problems of the auto workers. The face of our Party has been presented to the auto workers to a greater degree than in the past 10 years. We have seen the development of economic struggles, dramatized in the Ford strike against speedup, despite the stifling attempts of Reuther. A beginning has been made in the development of the united front from below.

This period of time has seen the consolidation of some Party shop clubs, an improvement in the sale of Party literature, a greater utilization of the Michigan Worker as the major instrument for the concentration work. Among our com-

rades in auto, there is higher morale, and greater confidence in the determination of the State leadership of the Party to decisively influence the auto workers.

This resolution, based on the discussion of the State Committee, and the experiences in the past 9 months, will attempt to present some of the major problems necessary to be overcome in charting the next steps.

FOR A DRASTIC IMPROVEMENT IN THE WORK AMONG GENERAL MOTORS WORKERS

This is a precondition for further advancement in auto. GM employs 350,000 auto workers of the 1 million within the UAW. Saginaw Valley, comprising Flint, Pontiac, and Saginaw, is the heart of the GM Empire, with 150,000 auto workers. The city of Flint has some 56,000 GM workers. Flint is the key to moving the GM Division of the UAW, the division which Reuther heads and therefore the key to striking a powerful blow against Social Democracy. Whatever develops in Flint has great influence on the entire UAW.

The UAW convention exposed the weakness of our Party's industrial concentration method of work in auto. The anti-Reuther forces did not have a majority base in any one of the auto's big three. Where Party work was on a relatively higher level as in Ford, the anti-Reuther strength was greatest. In GM, our main national concentration sector, the progressives were weakest of all. Flint and Pontiac, with strong anti-Reuther forces in the past, were Reuther strongholds in this convention despite the mass dissatisfaction of the GM workers with wage cuts, increased speedup, phony umpires and frozen contracts. It's therefore clear that we need a drastic improvement in our work in auto, in the first place in our work in GM, without in any way curtailing our work in Ford which remains our main concentration point in Michigan's Wayne County.

Our leadership must face this problem and map out comprehensive proposals for continuous assistance and attention to this: The Number 1 Concentration on a State Scale.

FOR AN IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN ON THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AS THE PREREQUISITE FOR WINNING THE ENTIRE PARTY AND PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT FOR CONCENTRATION WORK

Experience in the last 9 months has revealed that the mobilization of the entire Party in Wayne County to carry through the concentration objectives around the Wayne County concentration on Ford, is totally inadequate. We have failed to carry through a consistent widespread ideological campaign within our Party, as the basic prerequisite for concrete organizational steps to bring about a situation in which concentrated activity among auto workers, and particularly Ford, will be the basic method of work of the entire Party. Such an ideological campaign is necessary to take our concentration work out of the realm of another "task." Gus Hall, in his article in April's Political Affairs, expresses our tasks in this regard appropriately:

"As a result of our experience, it is now clear that industrial concentration cannot be viewed as a task; it is not an assignment that you give to one section of the Party. Industrial concentration is a basic Leninist method of work for the *whole* Party. Industrial concentration means giving life to some basic Leninist concepts of a Marxist Party. It gives life to the Leninist concept of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class. It gives meaning to the whole idea that ours is a working-class party. It gives life to the concept that we must take hold of the main link, the link that will move everything else at the given moment.

"Industrial concentration gives content to the Leninist concept of the hegemony of the proletariat in all phases and stages of the struggle. If we agree with Lenin that 'only a class like the proletariat could rally around itself all the forces discontented with capitalism' then we must show that agreement by applying the method of industrial concentration in leading and winning the proletariat * * *

"One cannot speak seriously about replacing capitalism by socialism unless the decisive role the working class must perform in this transformation is fully grasped.

"No movement, organization, or coalition dedicated to human progress can succeed today unless the working class is an integral part, in fact, the most decisive part, of such a movement.

"The working class will *not* play this decisive role *automatically*. It must be organized, it must be *made* conscious of being a class in struggle with the capitalist class, it must be infused with political consciousness, it must be taught how to unravel the hidden forms of slavery and exploitation, it must be guided along the

road to victory over its class foe. Marxism-Leninism is the key to accomplishing all these tasks. We must use this key by concentrated attention to this all-important and decisive section of the population.

"Industrial concentration is the basic method and approach toward everything we do. Issues and tactics will change, but the role of the working class in general and of the workers in basic industry in particular is a constant, permanent element in all industrial concentration plans or objectives. Industrial concentration is the *method* of the work of the Party of a 'new type'. * * *

"Finally, industrial concentration is not a seasonal occupation. It is not a method of work that we will use only for a period of time. It is a *permanent* method of work."

It is necessary to restate once again why Ford is the major concentration of Wayne County. Local 600 is the largest industrial unit in the world. The entire labor movement watches Local 600 as a barometer indicating trends in the course and policies of American labor. Local 600 has been and still remains the biggest bulwark against the domination of the labor movement by the Social Democratic leadership and policies of the UAW.

Local 600 has the largest concentration of Negro workers in America, the Foundry alone employing some 6,000 Negro workers. The plant is located in the 16th Congressional District, the largest working class district in the United States, populated by many national groups. This district alone has three heavily populated Negro communities: Inkster, Ecorse, and River Rouge. The Rouge, with its 60,000 industrial workers, the heavy concentrated population of foreign-born, and the strong progressive Negro communities, all combine to make Ford the greatest potential force for Peace, Democracy, and Socialism in Wayne County.

Such an understanding flowing from the ideological campaign would help to reorient every aspect of Party work and Party organization toward the central objectives of reaching, influencing and winning the workers in auto. It would ensure that auto would become the knowledge, concern and everyday activity of all leaders and organizations of our Party on all levels. It would assist all clubs of the Party to undertake specific responsibility with regard to the main concentration of Wayne County, Ford, and to the miscellaneous Auto Section. Clubs would strive to recruit shop workers, with the aim of changing the composition of many community and nationality clubs to embrace a majority of auto workers and their families.

Many comrades would be encouraged to volunteer to change their jobs to seek employment in large auto plants. Hundreds of additional comrades would be reenrolled in an ever growing brigade to go out early in the morning, in the afternoon and late evenings, to sell the Michigan Worker, Party literature or distribute leaflets at shops and in communities where auto workers work and live. To organize and influence the wives and children of auto workers through activities in the communities. In short, the activities of every club, section, department, commission, progressive mass organization would be directed toward helping in every way to achieve our objectives of Auto Concentration. No club or group of our Party can grow and develop if its plans, perspective and activity are not constantly related to reaching, influencing and recruiting auto workers.

FOR A STRUGGLE AGAINST STRONG TENDENCIES OF ECONOMISM WHICH ENDANGERS OUR WORK IN THE TRADE-UNION MOVEMENT

The key link to accomplishing our objectives in auto concentration, is a forthright recognition of the need to struggle against and overcome strong tendencies of Economism which have weakened our activity. This is a deep rooted problem of long duration which has plagued us for many years. The recent period has not been distinguished by a vigilant struggle against it. Too much of our Party work and activity is confined to narrow trade-union issues.

It reveals itself most sharply in the neglect and underestimation of the Party organization, unstable status of the shop clubs of our Party, and the alarmingly low rate of recruitment of auto workers *into the Party*. Further evidence is our failure to fully utilize the major instruments of the Party for mass education, and our acceptance of low standards of performance as our accepted norm. Our work is characterized by a continuous hesitation to undertake energetic action to move the workers into struggle on any questions outside of the immediate "practical" trade union issues, particularly the struggle for Negro rights, Defense of the 12, activity in opposition to the North Atlantic Pact, etc. The sporadic activity to help build the Progressive Party, the poor attendance of auto workers at the Marxist Michigan School of Social Science, all flow from Economist tendencies which pervades our organization. One has but to analyze the subjects

of discussion at the club meetings in the past months to realize that political education, which would lead to action on the major political questions of the day, are not always the predominant feature of our meetings. All this requires an intense ideological campaign against Economism through systematic study and discussion of Lenin's "What is to be Done?"

Unless the State Board and State Committee helps raise the political content and activity of our comrades in the shops, then the ability to lead workers effectively in resistance to the coming economic crisis will be most difficult. The root source of basic economic problems auto workers face (speedup, short workweek, unemployment, impending wage cuts, attacks against Negro auto workers, discrimination, etc.) is directly the result of the imperialist war program of the Wall Street monopolists and their efforts to create a fascist United States. The auto barons and their lackeys in the labor movement are trying to put over a gun, not butter, economy. This understanding is the touchstone of everything.

The role assigned to the ACTU, Trotskyites and especially the Social Democrats, is precisely to mislead and dull the fighting resistance of the workers. The betrayal by Reuther of the recent Ford strike against speedup was the logical consequence of his unqualified support for the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and now the North Atlantic Military Alliance, stepping stones toward fascism and imperialist war. To justify such betrayals he has often unashamedly admitted that these "sacrifices" were necessary in order that the war program be put over.

Communist auto workers understand this. Therefore they make a key contribution to the welfare of their fellow workers when they constantly strive to help raise the level of political consciousness and understanding. Only in so doing are the guarantees created to successfully resist the attempts of the monopolists and their lackeys to place the burden of the coming economic crisis on the backs of the workers.

In this period of mounting, crucial struggles, continuing economist trends and tendencies serve only to impair the class consciousness and understanding of workers. It becomes an impediment to the full mobilization of auto workers in the struggle against hunger, war, and fascism.

The struggle against Economist trends has to turn from words and talk to deeds and action. The same organizing genius and zeal for detail, the same alertness which Communist auto workers have learned in helping to organize, build and defend their local unions, must now be reflected in ORGANIZING the fight for PEACE; ORGANIZING the fight for NEGRO RIGHTS; ORGANIZING the defense of DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS; ORGANIZING to bring the CASE OF THE TWELVE before their fellow workers and local unions.

In the coming months there will take place the full unfolding of the struggle of the auto workers to break through the deadlocked 1949 economic and bargaining demands and make the auto barons pay for the unfolding economic crisis. To help guarantee this fight and break the deadlock, our Party projects the following main campaigns for the next three and one half months; the fight for Peace, Defense of the Twelve, Fight against White Chauvinism and for Negro Rights, full participation in the Municipal Elections. To the extent that these questions become the concern of the auto workers and they move on them, to that extent will be their victory on the economic questions.

FOR MAKING THE MICHIGAN WORKER THE MAIN MASS IDEOLOGICAL INSTRUMENT OF CARRYING THROUGH THE CONCENTRATION OBJECTIVES OF THE PARTY

In the past 3 months the concept of the Michigan Worker as the mass ideological instrument for carrying Party policy to the auto workers has slipped into the background of our practical work.

This approach, when it permeated all of the Party's work for 18 months, resulted in Michigan developing what was characterized by the national leadership of the Party, the best State edition with the greatest proportionate circulation. This position must be regained immediately.

The paper must be used particularly by the auto sections and clubs as an organizing instrument in their mass campaigns among the auto workers. For this purpose, special editions must be organized on a planned basis.

The content of the paper must reflect the political as well as the economic struggles of the workers, and must also serve to deepen the workers' understanding of capitalism as a system of exploitation which they must take the lead in removing in order to replace it with socialism.

The Michigan Worker must deepen the workers' class consciousness and expose the class nature of the capitalist state. But it must also show the working

class how capitalism oppresses not only the workers but all sections of the population except the handful of supermagnates. The Michigan Worker must become a *tribune of the people*, which exposes and explains every form of exploitation and oppression, and mobilizes the people, and the working class in the first place, to resistance against the bourgeoisie. Thus will the Michigan Worker help to make the working class conscious of its vanguard role in rallying all oppressed sections of the people against capitalism.

FOR AN ALL-OUT FIGHT TO STABILIZE THE PARTY SHOP CLUB AND PARTY ORGANIZATION

Tackling and overcoming the extremely unstable, unsatisfactory political and organizational status of the Party shop clubs is of first rate importance. It is a prime responsibility of leadership in our Party, to address itself to the solution of this problem—the daily struggle to realize in life the Marxist concept of our Party—as the vanguard of the working class, its highest form of organization, its organized detachment.

The application of the spirit of our Resolution, and the execution of our Plan of Work will illustrate in life, the role, and function of our Party. It will demonstrate the necessity of a well organized, disciplined Communist Party, constantly being built as a result of struggle.

The State Committee calls upon the entire Party to complete the recruiting goals of 200 auto workers by the Dearborn and Miscellaneous Auto Sections, and an additional 50 by the remainder of the clubs in Wayne County, as well as 20 in the Saginaw Valley.

IMPROVE THE FUNCTIONING OF THE STATE ORGANIZATION

A change in the system of leadership, and the division of labor in the State Organization is necessary to move concentration work into the next higher stages. At the present moment there appears to be a contradiction between daily leadership to the concentration tasks of our Party, and the everyday campaigns and mobilizations of our Party. The tremendous administrative work, the necessity for attention to outstate which comprises one-third of the membership, the problems involved in giving leadership to mass organizations, and the fact that there are only two people directly in the State Office, prevent full attention to winning the sections in Wayne County to the concentration work. These problems likewise prevent consistent political assistance to the sections in Wayne County, making for "fire brigade" methods of work and lack of close political guidance.

It is proposed, therefore, that three comrades shall work out of the State Office, including the District Organizer. The responsibility of one of the comrades shall be active, daily, leadership to the sections and clubs in Wayne County. A Wayne County Committee shall be established under the leadership of a County secretary. This shall not be a body which replaced the prime responsibility of the State Board for Wayne County. Neither shall a duplicate apparatus to the state apparatus be established.

Our State Committee calls upon all clubs, sections, departments, commissions, Communists in mass organizations, to organize the widespread discussion of this Resolution as well as the Plan of Work accompanying it. The objective is to create within our Party the fullest discussion, and opportunity for creative thinking, suggestions criticism and self-criticism—all leading, of course, to the *working out of concrete plans for reorientating the work of all levels of our Party toward the auto workers*, and the accomplishments of our Plan of Work.

The above resolution adopted by district 7 of the Communist Party followed a directive issued by the national committee of the Communist Party through Gus Hall. Hall's directive was disseminated to all districts of the Communist Party and its members through the April 1949 issue of Political Affairs, a publication of the Communist Party. The resolution also followed the directive's growing out of the 1949 National Convention of the Communist Party. At this convention the members of the Communist Party were told:

We, therefore, must conscientiously undertake to change a situation where a minority of the party is organized on the basis of shop clubs. The majority of the

party should be based in the shop clubs. If this were the case today, imagine what a valuable contribution our party could make to our class and people in the struggles which now loom on the horizon as the titanic battles of tomorrow.

These struggles not outlined in the above quote were explained to the convention as the seating of Red China in the United Nations and the supporting of the Soviet foreign policy which the Communists referred to as a "program for world peace." These were only a few of the struggles outlined, but the ones upon which major emphasis was placed.

Outlining the importance of a shop unit of the Communist Party in struggles such as these, the Communist Party related how a shop steward, who in turn is a member of the Communist Party, could carry out a propaganda program in the seating of Red China in the United Nations. The Communist Party states:

a statement issued by a shop steward on the question of seating China in the United Nations, backed by the support of workers in a department, is of more fundamental importance than a statement issued by this or that middle-class person who has no organized base in general, and certainly no base among shop workers.

This propaganda technique has been and is still being used successfully by the Communist Party. It is only too clear in the minds of many, how the Communists, with this very technique, have during their heyday, forced workers to believe that the Committee on Un-American Activities was an antilabor committee. It is also clear how, with the use of this technique, the Communists successfully adopted the union conventions, resolutions citing the same charges.

THE COLONIZER

The need to continue this attack upon anti-Communists and anti-Soviet forces in the United States meant the building up of Communist shop clubs. However, the material from which to recruit was no longer available among the workers in the same degree as it had been available in the past. Therefore, the Communist Party directed its intellectuals and white-collar-worker members to leave their own chosen fields and to obtain employment in the basic industries. This the Communist Party did, starting in late 1948 and early 1949.

The Congress and the American people were first informed of this in 1951 when the committee brought before it two highly successful undercover agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. One, Mrs. Mary Markward, was the former treasurer of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia. In her testimony, Mrs. Markward related that district 4 of the Communist Party designated for concentration in the steel industry, the maritime industry, the electric industries located in Baltimore, Md., and the building-trade industries in the District of Columbia.

The other witness, Herbert A. Philbrick, testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities as follows:

* * * * *

I remember specifically at one of the party building conferences the comrades were instructed to take positions as colonizers; that is, to take upon themselves the duty of being colonizers in the key industries.

That meant if you had a job in a small business or nonessential industry, you should leave it and take a job in one of the key industries. These key industries were listed by the party leaders. We were told they were industries important to the war effort.

We were instructed that the imperialist aims of the United States, the war-promoting purposes of the United States, were to carry on a war against the Soviet Union, and a war against the free peoples of the world, that is, peoples under the jurisdiction of the Soviet Union.

We were told that the chief means at the disposal of the American imperialists was the productive capacity of this country, which they said was owned directly by the capitalists of the United States.

We were taught that, since this was the key weapon, it was the weapon we had to attack and destroy as Communists.

We were told in New England one of the key industries consisted of the General Electric plant in Lynn. We were told one reason why colonizers were needed there was because it was involved in the development of defense materials, including jet airplane engines. I might point out that at that time no one outside of the party had any knowledge that jet airplane engines were being developed at the General Electric plant in Lynn, but they knew that.

Another key industry was the communications industry; another was the leather industry, boots and shoes; and another was the clothes industry, service clothes, and so forth.

We were told that the steel industry and lines of transportation were very important centers for Communist Party infiltration and colonization, so various comrades were ordered at this time to take up jobs at these spots.

* * * * *

The Communist Party's program of increasing its organizational strength by means of shop units has continued even to today. J. Edgar Hoover, in testifying before the House Committee on Appropriations on December 9, 1953, advised that committee that the New York district of the Communist Party had set a goal for the year 1953 of having 65 percent of its membership employed in the basic industries of the country. Mr. Hoover advised the committee that the Communist Party today regards labor unions as instruments to be controlled and used to develop the Communist revolution.

Dealing with Communist plans to colonize industry, Mr. Hoover continued as follows:

* * * * *

A national conference held in August of this year of the Communist Party reaffirmed the time-honored premise that control of the labor union is of primary importance to the development of the Communist revolution in this country.

They designated, particularly, the automobile industry as being the prime target because it is well known that it is one of the most vital industries to our national defense production.

In New York, the party has set a goal for 65 percent of its membership to become employed in the basic industries of the country. Instructions were issued for the reorganization of the Communist Party in Los Angeles recently to organize on an industrial basis and party members were requested to secure work in the basic industries in that area, thus showing the trend of placing as many members as they can in the key industries of the country—the basic industries which if disrupted would materially affect our national defense.

Currently, some trade unions operating in the maritime, mining, electrical, and the communications fields are chief strongholds of the Communist Party. The Communist Party still maintains its strongest bases in those unions, which were expelled from the CIO during 1949 and 1950. All of this poses a major and dangerous threat to our national security, because it involves these various unions that were expelled by the CIO. One of those unions represents a large portion of all employees in the electrical industry of the United States. Another union that was expelled exercises life-and-death control over our Pacific coast commerce; another union has members employed in the production of copper and zinc which are essential to the national defense efforts. * * *

The colonizers, a Communist phrase used in referring to members of the Communist Party who enter basic industry employment at the demand of the Communist Party, fall into the category of members of the Communist underground apparatus. In dealing with the difficulties faced by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in maintaining

its surveillance over the activities of the Communist Party, Mr. Hoover described the methods used by the Communist Party today to maintain its organization. The difficulties with which the Federal Bureau of Investigation is confronted apply equally as well to the difficulties faced by congressional committees charged with the duty of exposing this conspiracy. Mr. Hoover testified:

* * * * *

The security measures which the Communist Party has taken in order to thwart the efforts of the FBI have been many and detailed in character. No longer are Communist Party membership cards issued; maintenance of membership records are forbidden; contacts of rank-and-file members are limited from 3 to 5—the basic club unit. Most of the local headquarters have been discontinued and party records have been destroyed. No evening meetings are permitted in headquarters without staff members present. Conventions and large meetings are held to the absolute minimum. The use of the telephone and telegraph are avoided.

No contact is had with families or friends; contacts between functionaries are arranged through frequently changed intermediaries; false drivers' licenses have been obtained; assumed names have been adopted; modification of physical appearance has been effected, such as dyeing hair and eyebrows, as was done by a member of the national committee who was apprehended by agents of the FBI in a hideout in the high Sierras in California last August.

They have removed conspicuous means of personal identification such as moles; they have affected a new manner of walking, have changed their dress standards, have avoided old habits and even have avoided old vices, and have avoided appearance in public places where their recognition would be probable.

They communicate through couriers and avoid the use of written communications. They have instituted loyalty tests for all prospective underground personnel. They rotate the underground personnel to avoid detection. The underground staff is usually recruited from trusted Communist Party members, having at least 10 or 12 years' experience.

They appear outside of hideouts only at night.

They use different automobiles, and the cars frequently are registered in fictitious names and not names of party members; the license plates are frequently changed.

They have used extreme precautions in regard to surveillance, making rapid and frequent changes of conveyances, entering and leaving subways and buses just before the doors close, and doubling back on their course.

I cite these various security measures not only because they are of interest to the committee but to show the stealth of the American Communists. It again shows the increased difficulty with which we are faced in trying to handle these investigations.

* * * * *

During the course of investigations and hearings conducted by the Committee on Un-American Activities in recent years, the committee has uncovered an increasing number of young men and women, most possessing some college education and many possessing degrees, employed in minor positions in the basic industries. Only in a few instances was the committee able to document the fact that these individuals were sent into the basic industries by the Communist Party. However, during the committee's investigation and hearings in the State of Michigan, we were able to produce documentation as to the fraud and deceit with which these people operate.

In Flint, Mich., the committee subpoenaed before it one Howard Ira Falk. Falk was employed by the Buick motor division of General Motors Corp. According to the application for employment which Falk executed on September 14, 1949, he had attended City College of New York during the school year 1944-45 as a student in the school of engineering. He further set forth in his application that he had been an enlisted man in the United States Navy from June 1945, to August 1946, and was employed by a firm in Long Island, N. Y., from 1946 until August of 1949.

Beatrice Churchill, a former undercover agent within the Communist Party working for the FBI, testified before the committee, as did other witnesses, that Howard Falk was sent into the city of Flint as a colonizer for the Communist Party. When Falk testified, he was asked to set forth his educational background. Under oath, faced with the penalties of perjury, Falk told the truth about his education, namely, that he had received a bachelor of electrical engineering degree on September 1, 1949. He further testified that he had no employment extending continuously over a period of almost 3 years with a firm in Long Island, N. Y., as he had set forth in his application for employment. Confronted with the false statements contained in his application for employment, Falk refused to answer, cloaking himself with the protection granted by the fifth amendment to the Constitution, together with other amendments which he invoked at will.

In September of 1949 there was a pronounced shortage of electrical engineers. Anyone possessing a bachelor of electrical engineering degree could have obtained an executive position in many industries throughout the United States, yet Falk, under the direction of the Communist Party, chose to seek only an assembly-line position in the Buick factory in order that he could place himself, a member of the Communist Party, in a position of influence within a basic industry.

Another witness subpoenaed before the committee was Marvin M. Engel. Engel, who had also been identified as a colonizer of the Communist Party sent into Flint, Mich., testified that in June of 1949 he had received from the City College of New York a bachelor's degree in social science. Engel, like Falk, withheld this knowledge from his application for employment. As a matter of fact, on July 12, 1949, when Engel sought employment with the Chevrolet Motors branch of General Motors Corp., he failed to note any college training on his part. Engel, like Falk, also listed a false employment record, but exceeded Falk in that he had apparently arranged through the Communist Party for his occupational reference. Engel, on his application for employment, set forth that he had been employed by the Universal Fence Co., Detroit, Mich., from January 1947 to June of 1949, a period of 30 months. Chevrolet personnel, in attempting to verify this previous employment, sent a form questionnaire to the Universal Fence Co. On July 21, 1949, Sidney Linn, signing himself as co-owner of the Universal Fence Co., responded by confirming that Engel had been an employee from 1947 to 1949. In rating Engel, Linn checked his quality of work as "Excellent," his quantity of work as "Excellent," his attendance "Excellent," his cooperation with others "Excellent," his safety habits "Excellent," and his personal habits "Excellent." But what did Engel testify to under oath so far as his occupational background was concerned? His testimony reads:

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your employment has been since you returned from the Armed Forces of the United States?

Mr. ENGEL. I do not recollect any employment, either part time or full time, during any of the time that I was attending school.

Mr. TAVENNER. That would be from January of 1945 until June 1949, excluding the period you were in the service?

Mr. ENGEL. Yes, I believe so. I am not sure, but I believe that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What began your employment upon the completion of your course at City College?

Mr. ENGEL. My—I have only had one job, and that is the job that I presently hold.

Why had Sidney Linn, the coowner of the Universal Fence Co. certified that Engel was an employee of his for some 30 months when, according to Engel's sworn testimony he had never worked for Linn for as much as 1 minute? During the investigation, this point concerned the committee. However, it became evident during the hearings when Mrs. Bereniece Baldwin identified Sidney Linn as a member of the Detroit section of the Communist Party.

Other colonizers were subpoenaed before the committee in Flint, others who had concealed educational backgrounds, and some who, while having no college degree, gave false information on previous employment which they under oath affirmed.

With the limited resources available to the Committee on Un-American Activities, 27 colonizers were uncovered in Flint, Mich. The committee's investigation in Michigan points strongly to the fact that close to 100 colonizers were sent into the State of Michigan by the Communist Party. Those which the committee positively identified were found to be holding positions of influence in the auto industry. Several of the colonizers active in Detroit were subpoenaed. Bernard Bellinson, who appeared in Detroit, was shown to have obtained an elective position within Local 600 in less than 2 years after he first obtained employment. Alfred Millstein, who was under subpoena but who was not reached, was identified by Mrs. Baldwin as a member of the Communist Party. Millstein is editor of the union newspaper published by his local.

The investigations of the Committee on Un-American Activities are geared today toward the propaganda activities of Communist colonizers and other members of the underground apparatus of the Communist Party. The fact that this is the proper field of investigation is set forth by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in his testimony before the House Committee on Appropriations in December of 1953 and the findings of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Industry and the trade unions of the United States are faced with the necessity of assisting congressional committees and the FBI in the interest of their own security, as well as the security of all citizens of the United States. To expose the propaganda activity of the underground apparatus of the Communist Party, including the colonizers, is as much a responsibility of labor and industry as it is of the Committee on Un-American Activities. The committee stands ever ready to assist both labor and industry in this task. The problem of colonizers, it seems to the committee, calls for educational institutions to reexamine their curricula and staff to see if they are not in some way responsible for either making or developing this underground apparatus of the Communist Party. For a student to devote years in the halls of institutions of higher learning, to receive an academic degree and in some instances either a master's or doctor of philosophy degree, and be willing to cast this entire education aside in subservience to the orders and directives of the Communist Party

evidently points to a failure on the part of the institution somewhere along the line. If educational institutions would teach the actual meaning of communism so that students would learn the truth about this international conspiracy, it would not seem that so many of them would dedicate themselves to the role of international communism.

If educational institutions were as successful in educating its students to the evils of communism as the trade-union movement has been to educating the workers, the Communist Party would not have the intellectual backlog which it now has to colonize the basic industries of America.



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