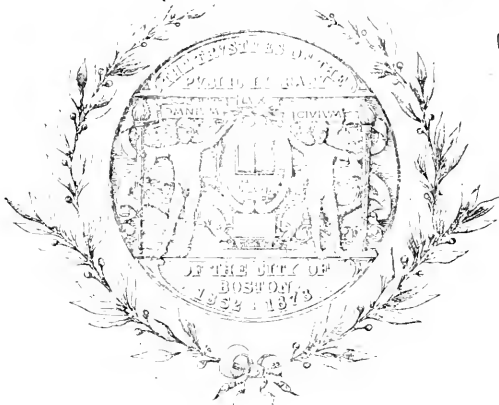


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COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE
EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION
ON
S. 1832
A BILL TO AMEND THE IMMIGRATION ACT OF
OCTOBER 16, 1918, AS AMENDED

PART 1

MAY 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, JUNE 1, 8, 9, 18, JULY 15, 16, 27, 28,
AUGUST 10, 11, 12, 1949

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



Judiciary

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COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

TUESDAY, MAY 10, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Pat McCarran, chairman, presiding.
Present: Senators McCarran, Eastland, and McGrath.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee, Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

These hearings are conducted under Senate bill 1694¹ to amend the Immigration Act of October 16, 1918. The bill will be inserted in the record at this point.

[S. 1694, 81st Cong., 1st sess.]

A BILL To amend the Immigration Act of October 16, 1918

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That the Act of October 16, 1918, as amended (40 Stat. 1012; 41 Stat. 1008-1009; 54 Stat. 673; 8 U. S. C. 137), is further amended by adding a new section at the end thereof to be designated as "Section 3" and to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, Executive order, agreement, or treaty, no visa shall be issued to any alien for admission into the United States who the visa-issuing officer knows, or has reason to believe, seeks to enter the United States with a purpose of: (1) obtaining or transmitting information respecting the national defense with the intent or reason to believe that the information to be obtained or transmitted is to be used to the injury of the United States, or (2) engaging in any activity a purpose or aim of which is the control by force or overthrow of the Government of the United States, or (3) organizing, aiding, joining, or associating with any association, society, or group in the United States which shall be publicly designated by the Attorney General as Communist controlled or dominated or otherwise subversive. The Attorney General shall exclude from the United States any alien who the Attorney General knows or has reason to believe seeks to enter the United States with a purpose of engaging in any of the activities enumerated in (1), (2), or (3) of this section. The Attorney General is hereby authorized and directed to publish, at least once every calendar year, a list containing the name of every association, society, or group in the United States which the Attorney General deems to be Communist controlled or dominated or otherwise subversive. Pending the publication of the first such list after the enactment of this section, any association, society, or group which has, prior to the enactment of this section, been designated by the Attorney General as subversive pursuant to Ex-

¹ Senate bill 1694 was superseded on May 11, 1949, by Senate bill 1832, introduced by Senator McCarran.

Senator McCarran's statement in the Senate, accompanying the introduction of S. 1694, is contained in appendix I, p. A1.

Executive Order 9835 of March 21, 1947, shall be deemed to be a subversive organization within the meaning of this section. The Attorney General shall take into custody and deport any alien who shall at any time, within the United States, engage in any of the activities enumerated in (1), (2), or (3) of this section: *Provided, however,* That the Attorney General may suspend deportation of any alien deportable under category (3) of this section (a) if such alien shall publicly disassociate himself within thirty days after the publication by the Attorney General of the name of the association, society, or group in the United States which the Attorney General deems to be Communist controlled or dominated or otherwise subversive, which such alien shall have organized, aided, joined, or associated with, and in addition, (b) if the Attorney General knows, or has reason to believe, that such alien did not know, or have reason to believe, at the time such alien organized, aided, joined, or associated with such association, society, or group in the United States that such association, society, or group in the United States was Communist controlled or dominated, or otherwise subversive; except that the foregoing proviso shall not be applicable to any alien who has engaged in any of the activities under category (3) of this section with reference to any association, society, or group which has, prior to the enactment of this section, been designated by the Attorney General as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 9835 of March 21, 1947. The power and duty to enforce the exclusion and deportation provisions of this section shall be vested exclusively in the Attorney General and the prior approval of no other official, organization, or person shall be requested or required as a prerequisite to the discharge of this duty. All Acts or parts of Acts inconsistent with this section are hereby repealed."

(Senate bill 1694 was superseded on May 11, 1949, by Senate bill 1832 introduced by Senator Pat McCarran. By direction of the chairman, Senate bill 1832 is inserted in the record at this point.)

[S. 1832, 81st Cong., 1st sess.]

A BILL To amend the Immigration Act of October 16, 1918, as amended

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That existing section 3 of the Act of October 16, 1918, as amended (40 Stat. 1012, 41 Stat. 1008, 54 Stat. 673; 8 U. S. C. 137 (h)), is hereby designated as section 6 of the said Act.

SEC. 2. The said Act of October 16, 1918, as amended, is hereby further amended by adding the following new sections:

"Sec. 3. (a) No visa or other travel document shall be issued to any alien who the issuing officer knows, or has reason to believe, seeks to enter the United States for the purpose or a purpose of (1) obtaining or transmitting information, not available to the public generally, respecting the national security, or (2) engaging in any activity a purpose of which is the control or overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence, or (3) organizing, aiding in any manner whatsoever, joining, associating with, or participating in the activities of, any association, society, or group, which shall be publicly designated by the Attorney General as provided in subsection (b) of this section as subversive to the national security. The case of an alien within any of the foregoing categories shall not be defined as an emergency case within the meaning of section 30 of the Alien Registration Act of 1940 (54 Stat. 673; 8 U. S. C. 451).

"(b) The Attorney General is hereby authorized and directed to publish in the Federal Register, at least once in every calendar year, a list containing the name of every association, society, or group, which the Attorney General deems, on the basis of evidence or information satisfactory to him, to be subversive to the national security. He shall from time to time, by publication in the Federal Register, add to or delete from the list of organizations such as he deems are subversive or are no longer of such character.

"(c) The Attorney General shall exclude and deport from the United States any alien who applies for admission if the Attorney General knows or believes that said alien seeks to enter the United States with the purpose of engaging in any of the activities set forth in categories (1), (2), or (3) of subsection (a) of this section.

"(d) The Attorney General shall, in like manner as provided in section 2, take into custody and deport from the United States any alien who at any time, whether before or after the effective date of this section, shall engage, shall have engaged, or shall have the purpose or a purpose to engage, in any of the activities

set forth in categories (1), (2), or (3) of subsection (a) of this section: *Provided, however,* That the Attorney General in his discretion may temporarily suspend or cancel deportation proceedings against any alien within category (3) if the Attorney General knows or believes that such alien did not know or have reason to believe at the time such alien organized, aided in any manner whatsoever, joined, associated with, or participated in the activities of the association, society, or group (and did not thereafter and prior to the publication of the name of such organization as provided in subsection (b) acquire such knowledge or belief) that such association, society, or group was subversive to the national security. Determination of the deportability of any alien under this section shall be vested exclusively in the Attorney General and the prior approval of no other official, organization, or person, shall be requested or required as a prerequisite to the discharge of this duty.

"SEC. 4. (a) Those provisions of sections 16 and 17 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, as amended (39 Stat. 885-887; 8 U. S. C. 152, 153), which relate to boards of special inquiry and to appeal from the decisions of such boards shall have no application to aliens whose cases fall within the purview of section 1 or 3 (c) of this Act.

"(b) The provisions of the seventh, ninth, and tenth provisos to section 3 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, as amended (39 Stat. 875; 8 U. S. C. 136), clauses (1) and (7) of section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1924, as amended (43 Stat. 154, 47 Stat. 607, 54 Stat. 711, 59 Stat. 672; 8 U. S. C. 203), and of any other statute or authority permitting the admission of aliens to the United States shall have no application to cases falling within the purview of section 3 (c) of this Act.

"(c) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law—

"(1) determinations of fact by the Attorney General under any provision of this Act shall not be reviewable by any court;

"(2) determinations of law by the Attorney General shall not be reviewable by any court in any case within the purview of section 1 or 3 (c) of this Act; and

"(3) determinations of law by the Attorney General in any case within the purview of section 2 or 3 (d) of this Act shall not be reviewable by any court except through the writ of habeas corpus.

"(d) No petition for naturalization by any alien shall be received and filed, nor heard and determined, nor shall any alien be naturalized by any court after the question of the alien's subjection to the provisions of this Act, as here amended, has arisen and remains undetermined in his favor.

"(e) Any statute or other authority or provision having the force or effect of law, to the extent that it is inconsistent with any of the provisions of this Act, is hereby expressly declared to be inapplicable to any alien whose case is within the purview of this Act. The citizens or subjects of any country, which country upon request declines or unduly delays acceptance of the return of any alien who was admitted to the United States upon the basis of documents issued by such country and representing such alien to be a citizen or subject thereof or entitled to return thereto may be denied all rights, privileges, or benefits under the immigration laws. If any provision of this Act or the application of such provision to any person or circumstances shall be held invalid, the validity of the remainder of this Act, and the applicability of such provision to other persons or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

"Sec. 5. The Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, with the approval of the Attorney General, shall prescribe all rules and regulations deemed necessary in aid of the administration and enforcement of this Act."

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Arens, you may proceed to call your witnesses and interrogate them.

MR. ARENS. With the permission of the subcommittee, I should like to suggest the following procedure:

First, I should like to make reference to certain provisions of the present immigration law.

Second, I should like to submit for the record a list of organizations and groups which have been thus far declared to be subversive by the Attorney General.

Third, we should like to interrogate Gen. Izydor Modelski this morning.

Fourth, we should like for the subcommittee to go into executive session, at which time we should desire to present excerpts from confidential records taken from the security files of Government agencies with reference to certain persons who will be named in the testimony of the witness this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, Mr. Arens, you may proceed.

Mr. ARENS. With reference to the immigration law, I should like to invite the attention of the subcommittee to section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917, particularly that part which excludes from admission to the United States—

polygamists, or persons who practice polygamy or believe in or advocate the practice of polygamy; anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or of all forms of law, or who disbelieve in or are opposed to organized government, or who advocate the assassination of public officials, or who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; persons who are members of or affiliated with any organization entertaining and teaching disbelief in or opposition to organized government, or who advocate or teach the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the Government of the United States or of any other organized government, because of his or their official character or who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; * * *

May I observe that this section is the general exclusion section applicable to subversives, but in that section are two provisos to which I would invite the attention of the subcommittee. The first is known as the ninth proviso, which reads as follows:

That the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization with the approval of the Attorney General shall issue rules and prescribe conditions, including exactions of such bonds as may be necessary, to control and regulate the admission and return of otherwise inadmissible aliens applying for temporary admission: * * *"

I should like also to invite the attention of the subcommittee to the tenth proviso, which reads as follows:

That nothing in this Act shall be construed to apply to accredited officials of foreign governments, nor to their suites, families, or guests.

I should like now to invite the attention of the subcommittee to section 33 of the Immigration Act of 1917, with reference to the landing of seamen, and I invite the attention of the subcommittee particularly to the proviso which I shall read:

Provided, That in case any such alien intends to reship on board any other vessel bound to any foreign port or place, he shall be allowed to land for the purpose of so reshipping, under such regulations as the Attorney General may prescribe to prevent aliens not admissible under any law, convention, or treaty from remaining permanently in the United States, * * *.

I may comment at this point with reference to that section that I believe the testimony and the evidence which will be adduced in this series of hearings will show that there apparently is a conduit here through which couriers of information subversive to the best interests of this country are allowed to enter the United States.

I should like also to invite the attention of the subcommittee to the International Organizations Immunities Act of December 29, 1945, section 7 (a) of which reads as follows:

Persons designated by foreign governments to serve as their representatives in or to international organizations and the officers and employees of such organizations, and members of the immediate families of such representatives, officers, and employees residing with them, other than nationals of the United

States, shall, insofar as concerns laws regulating entry into and departure from the United States, alien registration and fingerprinting, and the registration of foreign agents, be entitled to the same privileges, exemptions, and immunities as are accorded under similar circumstances to officers and employees, respectively, of foreign governments, and members of their families.

I should also like to invite the attention of the subcommittee to the provisions of Public Law 357 of the Eightieth Congress, which is the law authorizing the UN headquarters site agreement. Section 11 reads as follows:

The Federal, State or local authorities of the United States shall not impose any impediments to transit to or from the headquarters district of (1) representatives of Members or officials of the United Nations, or of specialized agencies as defined in article 57, paragraph 2, of the Charter, or the families of such representatives or officials; (2) experts performing missions for the United Nations or for such specialized agencies; (3) representatives of the press, or of radio, film or other information agencies, who have been accredited by the United Nations (or by such a specialized agency) in its discretion after consultation with the United States; (4) representatives of nongovernmental organizations recognized by the United Nations for the purpose of consultation under article 71 of the Charter; or (5) other persons invited to the headquarters district by the United Nations or by such specialized agency on official business. The appropriate American authorities shall afford any necessary protection to such persons while in transit to or from the headquarters district.

Then I should like to invite the attention of the subcommittee to an excerpt from section 13 of Public Law 357:

When visas are required for persons referred to in that section—

and I may interpose here a comment that in that this refers to section 11—

they shall be granted without charge and as promptly as possible.

Subsection (b) of section 13 reads as follows:

Laws and regulations in force in the United States regarding the residence of aliens shall not be applied in such manner as to interfere with the privileges referred to in section 11 and, specifically, shall not be applied in such manner as to require any such person to leave the United States on account of any activities performed by him in his official capacity. In case of abuse of such privileges of residence by any such person in activities in the United States outside his official capacity, it is understood that the privileges referred to in section 11 shall not be construed to grant him exemption from the laws and regulations of the United States regarding the continued residence of aliens: *Provided*, That (1) no proceeding shall be instituted under such laws or regulations to require any such person to leave the United States except with the prior approval of the Secretary of State of the United States. Such approval shall be given only after consultation with the appropriate Member in the case of a representative of a Member (or a member of his family) or with the Secretary-General or the principal executive officer of the appropriate specialized agency in the case of any other person referred to in Section 11; (2) a representative of the Member concerned, the Secretary-General, or the principal executive officer of the appropriate specialized agency, as the case may be, shall have the right to appear in any such proceeding on behalf of the person against whom they are instituted; (3) persons who are entitled to diplomatic privileges and immunities under section 15 or under the general convention shall not be required to leave the United States otherwise than in accordance with the customary procedure applicable to diplomatic envoys accredited to the United States.

Subsection (f) of section 13 reads as follows:

The United Nations shall, subject to the foregoing provisions of this section, have the exclusive right to authorize or prohibit entry of persons and property into the headquarters district and to prescribe the conditions under which persons may remain or reside there.

And finally, I should like to invite the attention of the subcommittee to an excerpt from section 6 of Annex 2 of Public Law 357 of the Eightieth Congress, which reads as follows:

Nothing in the agreement shall be construed as in any way diminishing, abridging, or weakening the right of the United States to safeguard its own security and completely to control the entrance of aliens into any territory of the United States other than the headquarters district and its immediate vicinity, as to be defined and fixed in a supplementary agreement between the Government of the United States and the United Nations in pursuance of section 13 (3) (e) of the agreement, and such areas as it is reasonably necessary to traverse in transit between the same and foreign countries.

If it meets the pleasure of the subcommittee, we should like to submit for the record a list which Mr. Dekom of the staff will designate. That is for insertion in the appendix of the record. It is a list of subversive organizations issued by the Attorney General.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you designate it as you offer it?

Mr. DEKOM. The list of Communist and other subversive organizations issued by the Attorney General of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be inserted in the record.¹

TESTIMONY OF GEN. IZYDOR MODELSKI, FORMER MILITARY ATTACHÉ OF POLAND²

Mr. ARENS. I would like to have the chairman swear the witness, General Modelski.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

General MODELSKI. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly state your full name?

General MODELSKI. Lt. Gen. Izydor Modelski.

Mr. ARENS. You have answered a subpoena to appear before the subcommittee to testify concerning facts which were indicated in the subpoena?

General MODELSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a statement which you would care to read at this time?

General MODELSKI. Yes, sir.

I was born in Lwow, now under Russia, on the 10th of May 1888. I received a degree of doctor of philosophy from the University of Lwow. Afterward, I took part in World War I with Marshal Pilsudski and General Haller,³ commander in chief of the Polish Army in France. After the end of the war I fought against the coup d'état of Marshal Pilsudski in Warsaw. I was dismissed afterward from the army.

When the Second World War broke out, I went with General Sikorski to France as Under Secretary of War there. After the collapse of France, I went—as the one who evacuated Polish forces from France—over to England. In England, I was Under Secretary of

¹ The list of subversive organizations designated by the Attorney General will be found in appendix II, p. A7.

² Mr. Jonathan Thurstz and Miss Evelyn Romer acted as translators for the subcommittee.

³ General Jozef Haller, commander of the Polish Army in France during World War I, Jozef Pilsudski, commander of brigade of the Polish Legion during World War I, later commander in chief of the Polish Army and President of Poland.

War to General Sikorski,¹ and, after his death, to the Prime Minister of the Polish Government in Exile, Mr. Stanislaw Mikolajczyk.

In 1945, I returned to Poland, and I was sent back to London as the head of the Polish military mission there. Soon, I was recalled to Warsaw, and later I was appointed military attaché to Washington.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you serve as military attaché here in Washington?

General MODELSKI. For 27 months, from May 29, 1946, to the 15th of August 1948.

Mr. ARENS. What happened at that time, the 15th of August 1948?

General MODELSKI. They gave me illness leave and called me back to Poland. I refused to go back, and I sent a letter to General Marshall, then Secretary of State, asking for permission to stay here with my family. On the 19th of November of last year, I received a permanent visa for myself to stay here.

Mr. ARENS. What is your occupation or vocation now?

General MODELSKI. I am writing a book on Russia's espionage here.

Mr. ARENS. Are you employed in any way by any person or firm?

General MODELSKI. No; not yet.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly proceed to read your statement?

General MODELSKI. Yes.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I appear here as a Pole and as the son of a nation which has for many centuries fought for freedom. I have been active in the democratic Polish movement for many years. I refused to go along with the coup d'état of 1926 by Marshal Pilsudski and was, therefore, driven from the army. I was active in the Polish underground before the First World War, and I had fought against the Czarist armies under Pilsudski himself. I also later participated in the Warsaw uprising against the Germans. I worked closely in cooperation with General Sikorski and with General Haller, who led the Polish troops in France.

After being dismissed from the army for refusing to go along with the Pilsudski dictatorship, I was elected president of the Polish veterans who had served in France. I was reelected until 1939, when the war with Nazi Germany broke out. During all this time, I devoted myself to the cause of democracy.

After the outbreak of World War II, I escaped to France, where General Sikorski formed another Polish army in exile. I held the rank of general and Under Secretary of War. After the fall of France, we were evacuated to England, where we worked for the restitution of our country.

The agreements of Tehran and Yalta were a great shock to me, but I decided to work to save what could be saved of my country. When the war was finally over, I returned to Poland in July 1945. I was connected with the democratic Poles, including Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, who is also in exile here in the United States. I myself had been the vice president of the Christian Democratic Party since before the war.

In Warsaw, I made contact with the Polish anti-Communist underground. I realized, however, that they could not succeed without help from the west. I was also in contact with Ambassadors Arthur Bliss Lane, of the United States, and Victor Cavendish-Bentick, of Great Britain.

¹ General Wladyslaw Sikorski, commander in chief of Polish Army in World War II and Prime Minister of the Polish Government in exile.

When it was decided that I should be sent to Washington as military attaché, Ambassador Lane was well satisfied and even gave me a letter of introduction to General Eisenhower. Since I wanted to stay at home and fight alongside my people, I consulted with Mr. Mikolajczyk, who was the Vice Premier, about this matter. He told me that I would be used to serve as a human screen behind which my deputy, Colonel Alef,¹ using the assumed name of Bolkowiak, would engage in espionage and subversive activity. I thought the matter over and consulted with my wife. After that, I finally decided to accept the post in the hope that I could thereby serve the cause of democracy and assist the United States in its struggle against espionage and subversive activity.

On the eve of my departure from Warsaw, I received a set of three sealed instructions, the originals of which I have here with me and would like to present in evidence.

Mr. ARENS. May I interrupt at this time to ask Mr. Thursz to read or translate into the record the sealed instructions which you received?

Mr. THURSZ. I found that the translations as made before another committee are not quite right technically. I would suggest that these translations should be done by technicians who know military terms; and perhaps, if the chairman wanted a summary as the introduction to each document, we could give you that.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Thursz, will you proceed?

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed to give the translation.

Mr. THURSZ. The first document is from the Polish Army Chief Command, General Staff, Division II, in Warsaw, to the military attaché in Washington.

[Translation]

Secret Copy No. 1

Polish Army, Chief Command, Division II, No. 0334, 14 March 1946

INSTRUCTION FOR THE MILITARY ATTACHÉ AT THE EMBASSY OF THE POLISH
REPUBLIC IN WASHINGTON²

POLISH COLONY IN THE UNITED STATES

1. To ascertain and observe the activity of Polish organizations in the United States. Through your "residents," to observe particularly Polish reactionary organizations, to determine their connections with similar circles in London, to ascertain their links with Poland, such as means of assigning agents and saboteurs.

2. Through the aid of people devoted to the democratic idea, to maintain contact with Polish democratic organizations, to support their struggle against reaction, aiming at creating a democratic bloc of all those of Polish origin in the United States. Information and propaganda activity should unmask the policy of the emigrant clique, in whose hands the Poles of the United States are objects of a political game against the Government of National Unity. Of special importance in winning over the Poles of the United States to our side is the commemoration of Tadeusz Kosciuszko. The 200th anniversary of the birth of the Polish and American hero occurs this year.

3. To observe the activity of such Polish organizations as the P. C. K.³ and various welfare funds. To define their relationship to Poland and to emigrant circles. To what end and by what means funds are distributed.

4. To ascertain the intentions of the international organizations—UNRRA and YMCA—in relation to Poland.

¹ Colonel Gustav Bolkowiak Alef (Aleksiej Frumkin), assistant military and air attaché of Poland in the United States.

² For notes on persons named and terms used, see appendix III, p. A11.

³ Polish Red Cross (Polski Czerwony Krzyz).

5. To ascertain the relationship of the United States and various political groups to Polish organizations, democratic and reactionary. The degree and form of support given by them to Polish reactionary activities.

6. The connection of Polish reactionary organizations in the United States with the military clique of Anders and the activities of the information bureau of Matuszewski.

7. To define and observe the relationship of American capital to the Polish colony in the United States and the Nation.

8. To arouse the public opinion of Americans and Poles of the United States against appeasement by American occupation authorities in Germany. A large percentage of the authorities are former German emigrants. Under their cover, the German press in the American Zone of Occupation is conducting a definite anti-Polish campaign.

9. Taking as a basis the Note of the Polish Government of February 14, 1946, to conduct a campaign against the creation by American authorities of Polish guard companies or other Polish military units. Specifically it should be stressed that it is inadmissible that anyone in these units should wear insignia and merit badge distinctions of the Polish Army.

10. To secure the receipt of confidential political publications, especially those published by the Polish colony in the United States.

With the aim of obtaining information relative to the above matters, to organize a suitable information network among emigrant groups and in the offices of Polish organizations. In the first place, the following democratic organizations should be exploited:

a. Polish American Labor Council, whose president, Leo Krzycki, is a member of the Socialist Party.

b. Polonia Society, affiliated with the International Workers Order, president, Boleslaw Gebert.

c. "Kosciuszko League," with headquarters in Detroit, Michigan.

d. American Slav Congress.

The above-mentioned organizations do not exhaust the list of democratic organizations which conform loyally to the Government of National Unity.¹ In order to become fully enlightened on the activities of emigrant-reactionary circles, it is necessary to have our own informers in organizations such as:

a. Polish National Alliance, which has contact with "Sanacja" reactionary elements in Poland.

b. Polish Roman Catholic Union.

c. Other organizations which profit from the support of the influential segments of the Polish colony in America.

In order to infiltrate influential American societies and to interest specific groups in the Polish problem, it is necessary to exploit all oppositional elements in relation to the present President. To obtain extensive information, the Military Attaché will organize a network of "residents," on whom he will place the responsibility of selecting agents. The Military Attaché does not come in direct contact with the agents.

19, III, 1946. [19 March 1946.]

Minister of National Defense

MICHAEL ZYMIERSKI, *Marshal of Poland.*

[Seal of the Ministry of National Defense]

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Drawn up 13, 3, 46 [13 March 1946]

KS

Mr. ARENS. Do you have another instruction there?

General MODELSKI. Yes; detailed instructions about the Western Hemisphere on how to carry out spying work and subversive activity.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed with the second one.

Mr. THURSZ. This is from the Polish Army Chief Command, General Division 2, instructions on the scope and range of activities of the military attaché assigned to the Polish Embassy in Washington.

¹The designation "Government of National Unity" was applied to the postwar coalition government of Poland which was formed around the so-called Lublin government of the Communists.

[Translation]

Polish Army, Chief Command, General Staff Division II, No. 0333, 14 March 1946

Secret Copy No. 1

INSTRUCTION ON THE COMPETENCE AND SCOPE OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE MILITARY ATTACHÉ AT THE POLISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON

1. The Military Attaché at the Polish Embassy in Washington is under the Ambassador of Poland in matters of representation and political appearances.

2. The Military Attaché directs the over-all activities in the sphere of military representation in the United States. Through his first deputy, he makes preparations for establishing contact with Canada, Argentina, and Brazil—where Military Attachés will be assigned.

3. The Military Attaché resolves any difficulties which may hinder direct communications between Attaché's offices of specific North and South American countries and Poland.

4. Through his first deputy, the Military Attaché accomplishes the following tasks:

- Controls the work of the Military Attaché in Mexico;
- Supplies that office with required materials from the homeland;
- Collects and transmits the correspondence of that office.

5. All diplomatic personnel assigned to North and South America will travel through Washington when reporting to their posts. The Military Attaché himself:

Will establish contact with the Military Attaché assigned to these missions; Through his deputy:

He will give tactical instructions to the respective Attachés, based on experience gained in the preparatory work done in these countries prior to setting up the offices of the Attachés;

He will decide on the method of controlling the work;

He will decide on the method of correspondence.

6. The Military Attaché in Washington will cooperate as closely as possible with his first deputy, so that in the event of the Military Attaché's absence the latter shall be in a position to replace him.

[Seal of the Minister of National Defense]

MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENSE,
MICHAEL ZYMERSKI, *Marshal of Poland*.

14, III, 1946 [14 March 1946]

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Drawn up 13, III, 1946 [13 March 1946]

AL

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly translate the third instruction?

The CHAIRMAN. Are we going to have access to the originals of these later on? Will they be made available to us?

Mr. DEKOM. We will submit translations of the originals.

The CHAIRMAN. He might then give a résumé, if that is satisfactory to the committee.

Mr. THURSZ. These contain directives for intelligence work and indicate the basic matters on which information should be given to the G-2; that is, the Polish G-2. It also indicates some of the matters and procedures to be used in carrying out intelligence work in the United States. These matters and procedures are stated to be conditional on the internal situation in the country and on the personal qualifications of the agent.

General MODELSKI. These instructions asked that a network of spying and subversive activity be set up all over the United States of America. That ring consists of secret agents, subservient to so-called

"residents."¹ The latter depend on so-called directors; that is, persons directing spy and subversive networks.

It is signed by Komar,² General of the Army. He was then a colonel. He is the head of intelligence in Poland; no Pole, he is a Russian.

[Translation]

Top Secret Copy No. 1

Polish Army, Chief Command, General Staff Division II, No. 0382, 22 March 1946

INSTRUCTION (DETAILED) FOR THE MILITARY ATTACHÉ AT THE POLISH EMBASSY
IN WASHINGTON

The (detailed) instruction issued to the Military Attaché in the United States embodies direction for intelligence work and indicates the basic problems upon which Division II of the General Staff of the Polish Army should be kept informed. Methods and form of activities of the Military Attaché will be subject to the work conditions, internal situation of the country, and the personal prerequisites of the informant.

INTERNAL CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Armed forces of the United States

A. Aviation

1. Total number of aircraft formations and their distribution, combat and numerical strength of the formations (manpower and equipment): (a) according to statute, (b) actual status.

2. Types of planes held in reserve for arming aircraft formations and their characteristics: (a) construction, (b) combat. Number of planes in the first and second lines.

3. Potentialities for development of aircraft formations: (a) manpower, (b) production of aircraft equipment. Quantities and destination of exports of airplanes.

4. Distribution of base and alternate airfields, their technical equipment and characteristics.

5. Methods of recruitment of personnel and registration in aviation schools, the curriculum and period of study.

6. Civilian aviation.

7. New types of planes.

8. Recent technical inventions in the field of aviation, carrier- and land based planes in detail, technical data, extent of the application of radar, radio direction from the ground of pilotless planes either singly or in squadrons.

9. Combat manuals and joint operation between aviation and other branches of service.

B. Ground troops

1. *Infantry*: Numerical strength, distribution, organization, combat manuals, firing power, training status, equipment, morale, and combat status, officers' corps. The role and significance of the infantry in the armed forces in general. Is there a tendency to increase this role and the numerical strength of the infantry, or the opposite, or to maintain status quo?

2. *Artillery and armored troops*: Organization, distribution, training status, combat manuals, equipment data (technical, combat, characteristic, etc.). Extent of production and application of "V-2."³ The role and significance of the artillery and armored troops in the armed forces as a whole. Is there a tendency to give greater weight and significance to this branch as compared to others, to do the opposite, or to maintain status quo?

3. *Engineer troops and Signal Corps*: Organization, training status, technical equipment, characteristic of equipment. Is there a tendency to expand or reduce the role and numbers of these troops in the armed forces in general?

¹ Designation used for the heads of district espionage units. Residents are in direct contact with heads of foreign espionage units of satellite diplomatic missions.

² General Waclaw Komar, Head of Polish Military Intelligence.

³ The German rockets employed in the latter stages of the war against England.

4. *Medical Service*: Organization, new methods of treatment, etc.

C. *Navy*

1. General description of the naval units (surface and subsurface).
2. Tonnage of the fleet for the current year. Losses sustained during the war.
3. Number of combat units according to categories—displacement, name, and class of ships.
4. Organization of naval units.
5. Principal naval bases and characteristics.
6. Shipyards—technical equipment, number of docks, their capacity.
7. Construction plans of new naval units.

D. *Chemical units*

1. Organization and distribution of chemical units.
2. Types of equipment used and its unannounced combat characteristics.
3. Recent inventions in chemical warfare, their characteristics and influence on war of the future.

E. *Paramilitary training*

1. Military training in schools and other institutions. Curriculum, importance ascribed to military training in the general curriculum of the school.
2. Youth circles and organizations of military character; age of the members and membership of said organizations.

F. *Territorial Army*

1. Methods of recruiting according to status, age, length of service.
2. Distribution and identification marks of units.
3. Equipment and level of combat training.

Organization and administration

1. Political organization (state authorities).
2. Chief legislative and executive body.
3. Election law.
4. Administrative division.
5. Number of Members in the Congress (House of Representatives and Senate).
6. Description of duties of the Secretary of State, the Supreme Court, and Congress.
7. Relation of various population groups of the National Government.
8. Names of the most important representatives in Government service.
9. Political rights of the people.

Interval situation

1. Laws regulating the life of citizens.
2. Reaction of people to the announcements of laws and statutes.
3. Attitude and political views of various population groups.
4. Commerce, monetary system, speculation.
5. Market and commercial prices.
6. Strikes, demonstrations, incidents, and the reaction of the Government to them.
7. Political parties, form of political contests, influence of political parties on the people.

Economic condition

1. Natural resources, stockpiles, annual extraction, location of natural resources.
2. Raw materials of military value.
3. Development of various branches of industry and yearly production.
4. Agricultural, arable land, yield, total farm income, distribution of land.
5. Annual budget and its subdivisions.

Industry

1. Principal branches of industry, especially war industry; total production of various enterprises and branches of industry.
2. Location of industry, especially war industry.
3. Role of public and private capital in the various branches of industry.
4. Status of various firms and associations (trusts, cartels), their productive capacity, type of production, number of employed workers.

5. Role of foreign capital in industry: Name of firm, size, branches of enterprise.
6. Construction of new industrial plants (especially war plants).
7. Technical improvements in industry.
8. Work of engineers, research institutions, and laboratories.

Loans

1. Announcements of national loans: purpose, terms, period, and amount.
2. Method of selling bonds to the public.
3. Reaction of the public to announcements of Government loans.
4. Lotteries, payable in goods or cash.

Level of civilization, habits, and customs

1. Average ability to read and to write. Educational system: schools, size of attendance.
2. Publications: political views in literature, music, and films.
3. Standard of living.
4. Social conventions in private life and public places.
5. Creeds, marriage contracts, divorces. Family life and the jurisdiction of courts in this sphere.

Freedom of movement within the country

1. Regulations and laws governing movements within the country (especially in the frontier zones).
2. Documents required for traveling within the country and in the event of traveling abroad.
3. Method of acquiring documents for travel (e. g., tickets) and their prices.
4. Control of railway administration and of shipping lines. Timetables of passenger trains on the most important lines.
5. Baggage-checking facilities, porters, restaurants, hotels. Customary procedures.
6. Customary procedure in use of mails, telegraph, telephone, etc.

Regulations governing the sojourn of foreigners

1. Total number of foreigners.
2. Attitude and measures of authorities in relation to foreigners, their political rights. Occupations engaged in most frequently by foreigners.
3. Relationship of authorities and the public to particular nationalities.
4. Identification documents and those authorizing residence. Method of obtaining them.
5. Possibilities of assuring living quarters and employment for foreigners.
6. Method of obtaining entrance and exit visas for foreigners.

Possibility of setting up enterprises, stores, workshops, etc.

1. Possibility of and procedures for setting up the above-mentioned businesses for citizens and foreigners.

Radio subscriptions

1. Conditions for acquiring and using radios.
2. Number of radio subscribers, methods and terms of registration, conditions for receiving and transmitting on private sets.
3. Number of radio schools, duration of courses, kinds of specialists trained. Entrance requirements for citizens and foreigners.

Foreign policy

1. Trends in international politics and orientation of individual politicians.
2. International agreements (open and secret) of a political, military, and economic character.
3. Amount of public interest in foreign policy manifested by specific groups.
4. Influence of and dependence on the foreign policy of other countries (England, U. S. S. R., etc.).
5. Colonial policy.

6. Accreditation of representatives of foreign missions, press, conferences.
7. Credits of economic or military significance extended to other nations—amount, duration, and terms of repayment.

Formation of residencies

In setting up information networks, it is important to observe that they be composed of separate residencies not connected with one another, and that each has its own informants. Special attention should be paid to the selection of residents and to the organization of an apparatus that will be mobile, operational, and have the possibility of supplying pertinent information in accordance with the requirements.

The details of organizing information posts should be delegated to the residents. There should be a minimum number of residencies, and the information network should not be extended at the expense of the number of informers. Overextension of the information network may point to its origin, may cause superfluous immobility, and ultimately facilitate its discovery.

For intelligence work, only people in high places with wide social connections, in a position to deliver intelligence material, should be engaged.

The selection of a resident should be preceded by a thorough and extensive investigation of his activities, social standing, political convictions, as well as the positive and negative traits of his character.

Investigation of the individual may be carried out as follows:

(a) by personal observation in the course of service contacts and in casual social meetings;

(b) by study of his reputation and his political activities.

The creation of residencies should be accomplished in relationship with the prescribed aims and previously established requirements.

One should not engage for intelligence work people whom one meets casually and does not investigate properly.

Haste in recruiting may lead to unfortunate results. It should be remembered that successful intelligence work depends on the proper selection of cadres.

Organization of the communication system

1. Within the residencies (outposts): Communications within the residencies are maintained only from the top down. Each member of a residency knows only his immediate superior and the individual with whom he has contacts in his work (liaison man, administrator of underground local), depending on conditions.

Horizontal communications between various informers or members of residencies are forbidden. The resident directs the work of his post through: personal instructions, liaison men, post-office box.

Selection of the method of maintaining contacts in each individual case will depend on the character of the agent and local conditions.

Unless professional or friendship ties exist, frequent contacts between residents and informants should be avoided.

2. *Contacts of the Military Attaché with residents:* The Military Attaché directs the work of the residents by personal contact or through trusted persons. The other members of the residency should not know their "boss" (Attaché).

The Military Attaché should avoid frequent meetings with the residents in public places and on occasions which have nothing to do with the official appearances of the Military Attaché. Meetings in places at which the Military Attaché does not appear on official business should be delegated to trusted persons, after working out details of the meeting beforehand. Special care must be taken in the selection of the place for the meeting and in determining the password. The meeting should be adapted to local conditions. Rash meetings, not carefully prepared, must not be permitted.

Conspiracy of work

The diplomatic passport and conditions surrounding the official presence of the Military Attaché facilitate in part the conduct of the intelligence work and create a certain "cover" for unofficial intelligence activity. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that the Attaché will find himself under the constant and close observation of the counterintelligence and of the reactionary circles of the Polish emigration (former agency of the London Government). For this reason the Attaché should control his activity in accordance with intelligence instructions. Persons who are not associated with the intelligence work should have no knowledge of the work, either directly or indirectly.

Special attention should be paid to the recruitment of people for intelligence service. The final hiring should be delayed; i. e., until after a thorough examination of the given individual and trial period, during which he should receive unrelated assignments, devoid of intelligence significance.

Experience shows that some of our official representatives organized intelligence work carelessly and did not give enough serious thought to the problem of recruiting, arranging meetings, etc. Disclosures of their activities were made in the presence of the Embassy staff members who had nothing in common with our work, and the result of such activity came to the knowledge of unsolicited persons.

Such a worker becomes compromised and should leave his diplomatic post. The Attaché should therefore approach his activity from the conspirational point of view, and on this premise must work out his plan of action. He must constantly supervise and control the activities of those to whom he assigned the execution of operational tasks. Only constant vigilance in connection with his own activities and the constant check of his subordinates will enable the Military Attaché to perform good intelligence work without compromising himself.

[Seal of The Polish Army Chief Staff, Intelligence Department.]

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22, III, 1946 [22 March 1946] I. B. No. 52.

(Signature) W. KOMAR (Col.).

Mr. ARENS. Reference was made in the first instruction to contacts with the Polish Labor Council, the International Workers Order, and the American Slav Congress.

General MODELSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Could you in a word tell us about those organizations in the United States?

General MODELSKI. I did not approach those organizations at all, because my job was quite another, about which I shall refer to later in my statement.

All those organizations mentioned in my instructions as "democratic" are, of course, Communist organizations. No one supports Communist organizations abroad without some purpose. Therefore, I was very much concerned, for instance, with the so-called Kosciusko League in Detroit, Mich. Being in Detroit late in the spring of 1947 I decided to call upon Professor Car, one of the prominent leaders of that organization. I was told that he was not a Communist but completely loyal to the United States. We talked over the matter openly and frankly and came to an understanding.

Mr. Car stated that he was anti-Communist and that his main aim was to help the Polish people, not the Red regime in Poland. And when I insisted then upon having his organization disaffiliate as a Communist front, he answered that it would probably not be necessary because the organization, once very powerful, was then dying away by itself. Immigrants of Polish descent had abandoned this organization *en masse* and this process was still going on. Furthermore, he added that the Michigan State Senate was preparing an anti-Communist bill demanding registration of all Communist organizations as agencies of a foreign power, which would kill the Kosciusko League.

As to the American Slav Congress, it is a pure Communist organization and a means by which Russia, under the pretended cover of defending common Slav interests here, wants to get a stronghold for her propaganda, spying, and undermining aims in this country. There are no common Slav interests here, as there are none even in Europe.

I wish that all Slav people in Europe could become united and cherish the same rights of freedom as Americans of all descent do here. The American Slav Congress in your country is a Russian tool in performing Communist tasks here.

As to my knowledge, and I am only speaking about Americans of Polish extraction, who may be connected with the Communist American Slav Congress, the number—as we saw in Kosciusko League—must not be considerable, because Americans of Polish descent are, for the most part, anti-Communist. About Leo Krzycki and Boleslaw Gebert, as president and member of the American Slav Congress, respectively, I will say more later.

Now, I would like to call your attention to the book *While They Fought*, by Helen Lombard, issued at the end of 1947. There you will find discussed the close connection between Krzycki and Moscow. Mr. Krzycki, although an American of Polish descent, did not look for contact with democratic Poles in exile nor in Poland, but went directly to Moscow to discuss Polish problems with the Communists. If the American Slav Congress is not a Communist organization, then may I ask why only prominent Communists from abroad came here in 1946 to take part in that Slav Congress meeting? Why and for what reason did Russia send here prominent members of the NKVD and military generals to head the "Polish" delegation? (A Russian general and a prominent international Communist, General Walter Swierczewski.) Is it likely that they met on cultural problems? They came here to do their Communist jobs, to undermine your splendid unity, and so on.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you one more question, then? I observed in the instruction which was read by the translator a reference to stores and shops which it was proposed be established here. Would you kindly address yourself to that subject?

General MODELSKI. Yes. They are using all means to do their spying or subversive job.

Mr. ARENS. Were these stores and shops to be used as a screen?

General MODELSKI. Yes, yes.

Mr. ARENS. For dissemination or Communist propaganda?

General MODELSKI. Naturally, yes; that was the way that they are using them.

Mr. ARENS. And for espionage?

General MODELSKI. Every means by which they can find cover to do their underground job.

The CHAIRMAN. The instructions came to you to establish stores and shops?

General MODELSKI. To examine the possibilities.

The CHAIRMAN. But there is a mention there of establishing stores and shops.

General MODELSKI. You are right, Mr. Chairman. They wanted to build up the whole apparatus under various titles to support subversive activities and spying work; to get unsuspected places in which to meet one another, to get or give further orders for agents, to collect information, secret mail and packages, and so on. With such places, easy contact would be had between agents of Russia and satellite Embassies.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to make one other inquiry to clarify the record on one thing. The instructions refer to the "democratic" parties. By democratic parties, the instructions do not embrace the Democratic Party in this country, as such?

General MODELSKI. No.

Mr. DEKOM. When they say democratic organizations, they mean Communist organizations?

General MODELSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. When they say reactionary organizations, they mean American?

General MODELSKI. Yes. In Communist language, "democratic" party means Communist Party. Therefore, they asked me to find all foes of the President, to unite with them and form a "people's democratic party" here.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to make one comment for the benefit of the subcommittee, and that is that those groups, the American Polish Labor Council, International Workers Order, and American Slav Congress, are among the organizations which the Attorney General of the United States has listed as Communist and subversive. The list is already in the record.¹

The CHAIRMAN. All right. General, I think you may proceed with your statement.

General MODELSKI. Some of the instructions may appear strange to you, because they ask for information which is quite public. You must understand that these instructions were written by Soviet officials in order to have all secret agents sent here from abroad better informed and more familiar with all the details of your way of life than perhaps even your own citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. These instructions, you say, were written by the Russians?

General MODELSKI. Yes, sir. These instructions were written by Soviet officers, because the wording is the same as that issued by the Russians. At the end of this set of special instructions, you will find some paragraphs that show very clearly that they were written by Russians. It reads, for example, "our experience shows that many blunders were committed by our attachés," although at that time there were no Polish attachés and, consequently, no such experience. They were obviously talking about Soviet attachés.

The CHAIRMAN. These were then translated into Polish and transmitted through the Polish Government to its personnel?

General MODELSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Why were they interested in so many details, and in information which is not secret in the United States?

General MODELSKI. In Russia, everything is secret, and they believe that these things are also secret in the United States. Furthermore, it is important that every agent sent to a foreign country must know everything that is happening and be completely familiar with the customs and your way of life. It is important, for example, for an agent to purchase any type of transportation ticket, so that he will never have to ask any questions and, therefore, not have to attract any attention. They are instructed to ask no details of anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you information on the activities of Communist agents in this country?

General MODELSKI. Yes. The principal spy and subversive agent with whom I am familiar was my deputy, Colonel Alef, who worked under the assumed name of Bolkowiak. He is one of the most im-

¹Appendix II, p. A7.

portant Communist agents and an officer of the NKVD, which is the Russian secret police.

To better understand the job that the Russians and her satellites are trying to do here, I would like to tell you the philosophy which guides them. When Colonel Alef came to the United States from London, he told me that this country is standing on the brink of collapse; that it not only has an economic depression, but grave labor difficulties. He said the labor unions were well prepared for revolution, and he reported that the Communists had more than 400 organizations here.

Mr. ARENS. That is in the United States?

General MODELSKI. That is in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask a question right there, General? When you referred to the 400 Communist organizations in the United States, could you give the subcommittee a word as to whether or not these Communist organizations are local products, or whether or not they have international connections and are directed from Moscow?

General MODELSKI. Yes. In my opinion, the most of them have international connections even if they are local products. It was very easy to establish here in your country many international and so-called democratic establishments during the war. As I remember, the United States began diplomatic relations with the Russians in 1933. They have had much time to do that, and most of their work here was done during the war, when they went to war with Hitler, as your allies. Yes; they have had many opportunities to build organizations for "democratic" purposes. Colonel Alef did not tell me exactly which ones, but he told me that here in your country there are more than 400 undercover organizations of international and local scope, under various titles.

During the coal strike of John L. Lewis, Colonel Alef said that this was the beginning of the revolution. I was always forced to contradict Colonel Alef because I could see with my own eyes that this was not true.

The CHAIRMAN. Which Lewis coal strike was that?

Mr. DEKOM. What year?

General MODELSKI. As I remember, it was 1946 and you are still safe. Only a small group of people here were following the Communists. I sent that information to Warsaw, referring to that small group as fifth columnists. I was blamed afterward for that. At that time Colonel Alef said to me:

There will be a revolution. There will be a revolution. There will be a depression. There will be a depression.

To show you how the Communists operate, I would like to tell you of one more experience which happened to me before I came to this country. I was sent to London as head of a military mission to work out the repatriation of the Polish Army there. I had orders to reach an agreement to bring back the Polish troops. I was able to work out such an agreement with the British Government, but before it could be signed, I was called back. I had with me, as my deputy, Col. Viktor Grosz, a Communist agent. He had instructions which were contradictory to mine. He was ordered to try to get the army to disband and try to incite riots. They did not want these men to return because they would have been an obstacle to the Communists.

When it became clear that I had worked out an agreement, he telegraphed to Warsaw and I was recalled before anything could be accomplished.

Mr. ARENS. Has Col. Viktor Grosz, who was with you on this mission, ever been in the United States?

General MODELSKI. Yes; he was to come to the United Nations.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

General MODELSKI. I don't know, but perhaps he was sent as one to take part in the Polish delegation for some meeting of the United Nations.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know any other activities of Col. Viktor Grosz, other than those which you have thus far related, insofar as activities in the United States are concerned?

General MODELSKI. In the United States? No. He is in Poland and is now a general in charge of overseas propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he leave the United States, if you know?

General MODELSKI. Mr. Chairman, he came here in about 1947, when he came to take part at the United Nations Assembly.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did he remain?

General MODELSKI. I think for 1 month, perhaps, or longer.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it your opinion, on the basis of your knowledge of his activities, that he was engaged in subversive activities in the United States?

General MODELSKI. In my knowledge and opinion, no one from the Communist block is coming here for pure diplomatic purposes. Everyone has to have another secret assignment. Communists don't waste time in their endeavors to kindle up world revolution, even if they perform their usual formal diplomatic missions or jobs. No one is permitted to leave from behind the iron curtain to go over to the United States and return, if he is not a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. If he does not have a Communist mission?

General MODELSKI. Yes, sir, a Communist mission.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed.

General MODELSKI. When I came to the United States, I approached the Army Intelligence Service at once. It wasn't as easy as you think. I had to overcome many obstacles to get rid of suspicion. I handed them the instructions which were given to me and gave them all the evidence which I had. I kept them informed of all that happened in my office. I told them, for example, that Colonel Alef was going to Canada, Mexico, Florida, Texas, California, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and many other places. I would like to state here that Colonel Alef was very much afraid about making contact with the non-Communist Americans of Polish descent, because they would have nothing to do with him. That was supposed to be my job.

Colonel Alef was also the chief agent of the Polish Communists for all the American continent. I believe he was deeply involved with the rioting at Bogotá during the Inter-American Conference. He went to Mexico 6 or 8 weeks before the event, where his contact man was a colonel who was disguised as the secretary to Mr. Drohojowski,¹ Ambassador in Mexico. His name was Colonel Welker.²

One day after Colonel Alef left his room, I went in and found some scraps of paper on the floor. I picked them up. It was a letter

¹ Jan Drohojowski, Polish Minister to Mexico.

² Colonel Jozef Welker, First Secretary of the Polish Legation in Mexico.

from Colonel Welker, his agent in Mexico. He had written to Alef. I do not remember exactly, but he probably wrote this way:

Don't come to see me this time because I am awaiting instructions from Warsaw about Colombia, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba.

From this letter I understood that Colonel Welker had received instructions for some sort of activity in Bogotá, which is very unusual, because Poland had nothing to do with the Inter-American Conference. I believe that they were active in the Communist riots which occurred there.

Colonel Alef was always telling me about the "stupid FBI" and the "stupid American Intelligence Service." But one day he confessed to me, "There is something strange. I fear there is someone at my heels." I said to him, "I don't think so, because you told me that they were so stupid." Of course, they were able to follow him because I always informed the American authorities of his movements in advance.

Mr. ARENS. May I clarify the record at this point? Is it your testimony that you were informing the American authorities?

General MODELSKI. All the while.

Mr. ARENS. Of what was going on?

General MODELSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. The Army Intelligence?

General MODELSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you yourself ever a Communist?

General MODELSKI. What?

Mr. ARENS. Were you yourself ever a Communist or member of the Communist Party?

General MODELSKI. I?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

General MODELSKI. Never. I fought and I fight them.

Mr. ARENS. Would you proceed, please?

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, General.

General MODELSKI. Colonel Alef's specialty was labor unions. Moscow was very much interested in the CIO, and they always asked questions about them. They wanted to know about the people and their leanings. I received many requests about this matter. Colonel Alef was very angry with John L. Lewis, William Green, and David Dubinsky because they would not go along with the Communists.

Another important job of Colonel Alef was to infiltrate the Polish organizations, particularly by means of the American Slav Congress, which is a Communist organization. It is unfortunate that the president of the Slav Congress is of Polish origin. He is Leo Krzycki.

There is one more thing I want to tell you about Krzycki. When my wife and I were visiting in New York, we were invited to the home of the Stanczyk's. I asked Jan Stanczyk¹ whether Krzycki is a Communist. He did not reply directly, but he said:

General, one day I was asked to dinner with Mr. Green of the AFL and with Mr. Murray from CIO,² and I desired that Mr. Krzycki, a friend of mine, be invited to that dinner, too. Both presidents of the unions answered, "We will never sit with that Communist at any dinner."

¹ Jan Stanczyk was the Polish delegate to the Labor Commission of the United Nations. He had also served as the Minister of Labor and Social Welfare in the present Polish Government.

² William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Phil Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

There was another important Communist in the American Slav Congress, Boleslaw Gebert, who was a leader in the International Workers Order as well. Gebert has returned to Poland where he is now a Communist official.

Since I had consistently refused to follow instructions about getting in contact with the Polish communities here, both Colonel Alef and the Government kept asking me when I would begin to do this job. Marshal Zymierski, the minister of war and commander in chief of the Polish Army, kept writing to me to work among the left wingers and the Communists. I would like to submit in evidence some of this correspondence.

MR. ARENS. MR. THURSZ, would you give a résumé and then translate the original document in the record, if that meets with the approval of the committee?

THE CHAIRMAN. That is very well.

MR. THURSZ. This is an instruction from the G-2 division of the Polish Army to the military attaché. The text of this is as follows:

Please send the following information concerning the American Navy: (a) The detailed organization of naval units on the lower levels, (b) detailed organization of the naval air force, (c) organization and exploitation of underwater craft, (d) nature and methods of training of naval personnel.

Signed "General of Brigade Komar, chief of the G-2 section of the Polish Army." This is dated the 24th of March 1947 and is marked "Secret."

Another "secret" memorandum, dated the 24th of February, 1947, is as follows:

From the G-2 Division of the Polish Army addressed to the military attaché, General Modelski, the contents of which are as follows:

In connection with the fact that the unification of the armed forces of the United States of America has been accomplished, please prepare a report on the organization of the Department of National Defense, the Departments of the Army and Air Forces and Navy.

Another instruction is dated the 24th of February 1947, addressed to the military attaché, the Embassy, Washington, General Modelski. The text is as follows:

Top secret. Please send detailed list of your informants showing: First, name and surname of informer; second, age; third, address; fourth, method of contacting him; fifth, his previous work; sixth, remuneration; seventh, reputation. After reading this, please destroy.

Signed "General of Brigade Komar, chief of Second Division of Polish Army, Polish Army General Staff."

Secret document dated the 31st of May:

Evaluation of the material from the period of 1st of February to the 30th of April 1947.

It is from the Polish Army Second Division, addressed to General Modelski.

Almost all material received from you with the exception of German question based on the press has no informative value. We have until now received no material on the subjects: Organization of artillery, organization of armed forces, organization of aviation, the strength of the Army, of the Navy, and of the Air Force. Study matters. Want evidence on important units: on large military units, division, Army, and so on; radio, industry, commerce; the financing of the occupational zone in Germany, capital and its penetration into

Germany, Import-Export Bank, International Fund; military, industrial, air communication and transport; the working out of these important data. Please consider this as very urgent, as the first duty of attaché's office.

Signed, "Komar, General of Brigade, Second Division of the Polish General Staff."

The CHAIRMAN. Were these instructions transmitted to you?

General MODELSKI. Yes.

Mr. THURZ. This is a letter of instructions of January 2, 1947, concerning the evaluation of the military attaché's reports during the months of October, November, and December, 1946, expressing dissatisfaction in the reporting of the military attaché, and stating, concerning the evaluation of the position of President Truman as the leader who has behind him the entire American population, that—

It seems to us, also, that the evaluation of the position of President Truman as a providential leader who has behind him the entire American population is, according to our opinion, false. It seems to us, also, that Truman did not gain in authority after the speeches of Mr. Wallace, but, on the contrary, lost a lot of his prestige. The role of the trade-unions is mistakenly interpreted, and the name of fifth column does not withstand criticism.

The statement that the activity of the labor unions meets with decided reaction of "a healthy society" brings up the question as to what part of society you consider healthy.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that from? Who signed that?

General MODELSKI. That one is signed by General Komar, the head of G-2, a Russian officer.

Mr. ARENS. I wonder if the general could give in his own language, now, a résumé of the others. Apparently they have a great number of those there, forty-some-odd documents. I wonder if the general could give a word summary to the committee of the contents of the other instructions.

General MODELSKI. There are many instructions here. There is much correspondence which contains new instructions to me, too. There are 48 altogether, instructions and orders, or evaluation of my activity here.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be practicable, General, and Mr. Thursz, if the translator would translate the contents of those documents and submit the translations to the subcommittee for inclusion in the record?

General MODELSKI. Yes. I think that the better way would be if I submit to your subcommittee the whole for translation. I am ready to help, because there are some military terms not to be understood even by an American of Polish descent.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is a good course to pursue. You are submitting them to us in the original language?

General MODELSKI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have them officially translated. As they are translated they will go in the record in their order.¹

You might go ahead there, General.

General MODELSKI. As you can see from this and the other evidence which I have, the Polish Embassy here in Washington is the center of a spying apparatus and subversive activities directed against the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. These were orders received by you?

¹Translations of the documents submitted by General Modelski will be found in appendix III, p. A11.

General MODELSKI. Directly from Warsaw.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were in the Polish Embassy?

General MODELSKI. While I was an attaché to the Polish Embassy here.

Mr. ARENS. When you say it was the center, you are not precluding the possibility of other centers in other embassies.

General MODELSKI. Oh, no; because there are more than one branch working against the United States. There are as many as there are iron curtain embassies, consulates, and so on. They work together here at top levels.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be fair to say from your knowledge, your intimate knowledge of the whole affair, that the Embassy of each of the so-called satellite countries is also a nerve center of Communist activity?

General MODELSKI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. For the dissemination of Communist doctrine from Moscow?

General MODELSKI. Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, proceed.

General MODELSKI. In 1948 Warsaw sent a telegram to establish in the Western Hemisphere a radio transmitting and receiving station. Colonel Alef was ordered to go throughout the country and obtain information on American production, particularly military production. However, before Colonel Alef was able to accomplish his task I wrote to Warsaw and demanded that he be recalled because I could not work with him. He was extremely shocked when the orders came for him to go back in March 1948.

The CHAIRMAN. Why could you not work with him?

General MODELSKI. First, I wanted the United States to be rid of a dangerous Communist agent; second, it was impossible to work with him as a man, as a human being. He pressed me always to do my assignments, and Warsaw ordered me to submit my reports to and get my orders from him. I refused to do that. I wrote, "Either he will be recalled or I, because I am the chief here, and I am responsible for all that is happening here." Colonel Alef should have submitted his reports to me, which had never happened up to that time.

One day my second deputy, Major Olkiewicz¹ received instructions to go to Canada without me. He was to follow through on the instruction to set up the secret radio station.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date of that?

General MODELSKI. It was about March of 1948. It was decided by that time that Canada would be a better place than the United States or South America. Although the second deputy had already received a visa to Canada, he did not leave. After he made many excuses, I kept prodding him, and one day I told him: "Major Olkiewicz, go to Canada. You have your orders." But he replied: "General, there is such a terrible situation in the United States. We are being trailed everywhere by the FBI. I am afraid to go there. I have diplomatic immunity in the United States but not there in Canada. I am afraid of being arrested there."

Mr. ARENS. Just what did you interpret his comment to mean when he said he has diplomatic immunity in the United States but not in Canada?

¹ Major Alfons Olkiewicz, Assistant Military and Air Attaché of Poland in Washington.

General MODELSKI. Because he only has immunity here. He has no diplomatic immunity in the other country. Therefore, he was afraid to go there, to be arrested there perhaps.

Mr. DEKOM. In other words, he would not dare do the things he was doing except behind the screen of diplomatic immunity.

General MODELSKI. Yes.

I knew, however, that the Russians would not give up that easily and that they would take care of the situation in another way. One day, I came to my office and I saw there a man who was a code clerk. He had returned to Poland and was now back here as a specialist. When I saw him, I wondered what he was doing back here from Warsaw. He answered, "I came here to see Major Olkiewicz."

The CHAIRMAN. Who was this man that you saw here in Washington again?

General MODELSKI. That was a former code clerk at the Polish Embassy here. He came here to see my second deputy, Major Olkiewicz. The major remained here after I left the Embassy. Since my first deputy, Colonel Alef, had been recalled at my demand, Major Olkiewicz became acting military attaché in my place. He is now awaiting the arrival of a man to replace me. The new military attaché is a pure and prominent Communist, with the assumed name of Torunczyk.¹ He has been indoctrinated in Moscow for many years. I was told that Moscow had bestowed upon him the highest Communist medal, the Order of Lenin.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his real name?

General MODELSKI. I don't know. He changed his name before the war. He was a Communist before the war, too. He was arrested many times in Poland.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it in your testimony that after Colonel Alef left, Major Olkiewicz assumed his job as espionage and subversive agent?

General MODELSKI. Yes; it must be so, because spying never dies.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

General MODELSKI. That man who came from Warsaw as a specialist, accosted suddenly by me in my office, confessed to me, "I have been in Canada to inspect the job of the Polish code clerk there." It is my opinion that he was sent to Canada with special diplomatic immunity to accomplish the job in connection with the secret radio station there.

Communist activity was not confined to the United States. They had one branch in Canada and one in Mexico. I have already discussed with you the activities of Colonel Welker in Mexico. Colonel Alef visited Canada many times, and at one time he traveled in his own car to meet someone there.

The Slav Congress is one of the centers of activity in this country and I would, therefore, like to tell you about the so-called Panslav movement. This movement is like the Pan-German movement. It is one of the means which Russia uses for her imperialistic purposes. Panslavism was used before World War I by the czars and is used now by the Communists. Panslavism was opposed by the Polish people while they were in bondage to the czars, and it is opposed by the people today when we are in bondage to the Communists.

¹Henryk Torunczyk.

Colonel Alef was always telling me that there is no United States. It will all be destroyed. They hope to use the various nationalities here, particularly the Slavs, to bring about this destruction. He believed that there was no unity here, and said to me once, "It is a fairly easy job to undermine United States production. There will be a revolution." They expect to break up the United States into small groups; they propose to establish a Negro nation, a Polish nation, a Yugoslav nation, a German nation, and so forth.

Mr. ARENS. Is the American Slav Congress listed by the Attorney General as a subversive organization?

General MODELSKI. I know that the Attorney General listed it as a Communist organization.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know how many members there are of the American Slav Congress?

General MODELSKI. I am unable to estimate it, but in my opinion there is only a small number who are of Polish descent.

This is part of the means by which they are preparing a revolution, preparing for strikes, riots, and other ways in which to destroy American war production. They are preparing to steal secret weapons and armaments, and if the economic situation will permit, there will be war. One day in May 1947 Soviet Admiral Glinkov¹, who came as a new naval attaché here told me that the Russians will decide when war should come with the United States.

The same opinion was expressed by many other prominent Communists. Russia was convinced that the United States was on the brink of an economic depression, an internal political split, facing labor union movements against the Government and so forth. Directly or indirectly, in my reports I strongly opposed these false opinions, and very early in 1947 I predicted the victory of Mr. Truman, and I predicted the complete defeat of Communists in peace or war. I warned the Reds that to count on America's disunity and weakness was merely wishful thinking. Especially, I stressed that Americans of Polish descent were true and loyal citizens and would give their whole support to the United States in its defense. Red Warsaw didn't agree with me and demanded that my reports be approved by Colonel Alef.

In 1946, the Polish Government sent a General Swierczewski as the chief delegate to the American Slav Congress in New York. He was a very prominent Communist and Under Secretary of War in the Communist government. Before that, he was a commander of the International Brigade in Spain. Warsaw wanted to use him for its activity here, but they hoped to find a means to make his visit here seem for an entirely different purpose. They told me that I should ask the United States Army to invite General Swierczewski to West Point so that he could present West Point cadets with a banner in honor of General Kosciuszko. I told the United States Army about this and suggested that they refuse. They agreed with me and refused. So, the general had to come here without any invitation.

When he came here, he read all my reports and accused me of being under the influence of the "Pentagon clique" and "Wall Street," and that I did not understand the situation in the United States, nor what was happening among the masses of the people. Then, I answered

¹ Rear Adm. Evgeni Georgievich Glinkov, naval attaché, Soviet Embassy, Washington, D. C.

that I had written realistically about America and told him, "I warn you that you do not properly evaluate the power of the United States." I told him that although America does not want war, she is not afraid to fight if war should come.

While General Swierczewski was here, Mr. Litauer,¹ who was chargé d'affaires in the absence of the Ambassador, called the Polish consuls from throughout the entire country for a conference. The general told me that I was to go all over the country and visit Polish communities with him and speak with them. I told him that I would not go, because I was a general who was sent here for military purposes and not for political purposes. And, I told him that it was not proper for a military attaché to do a political job. He immediately stopped the conversation and asked me to see him later in his office. When I did see him, he handed me a letter from Marshal Zymierski, who was Minister of War. The letter instructed me to comply with all the orders of General Swierczewski. I handed him back the letter and told him I could not comply with that. I informed Military Intelligence, and, through the State Department, he was refused permission to engage in any activities here unless he registered as the agent of a foreign power. This he refused to do, and made some visits privately rather than in his official capacity.

I would like to tell you now about couriers who are sent here with diplomatic immunity from Warsaw. One of these men was a man by the name of Winter,² who sometimes handed me an unimportant note, but generally brought things to Colonel Alef. He had some relatives here in the United States. He stayed here for several months, and then he disappeared and nobody knew where he was. Therefore, it is obvious that beside his courier job, he was doing something else. He would come to the United States, stay here for a long time, and then go to Mexico, Canada, or other places.

I remember one thing when Mr. Winter disappeared. I went, as I had many times previously, into Colonel Alef's office, and I found a letter there on which there was no postage stamp. I looked at it and found it was addressed to someone here in Washington. Another time Winter told me, when I asked him where he was going, that he was leaving for Chicago to stay with his mother. But nobody could find him in Chicago. When couriers for the United States are screened in Warsaw they are very anxious to use those who have friends or relatives in this country, because they are able to get around more easily and have better excuses for visiting cities than those without relatives.

I would now like to tell you something about Ambassador Winiewicz.³ He is a very cunning man. He is very clever. He knows which way to turn, when to approach someone or to make a contact. I think his wife is also important, and I was told that she is a member of the NKVD, which is, of course, the secret police.

Mr. DEKOM. That is the secret police of Russia?

General MODELSKI. It is the same as Polish. They are conducted by Russian officers. It is the same line.

Winiewicz is extremely shrewd. He uses cultural parties in order to make contact with officials and other persons. He arranges artistic and musical events behind which he operates. I would like to cite an

¹ Stefan Litauer, minister plenipotentiary.

² Leon Winter, diplomatic courier (now a UN official).

³ Josef Winiewicz.

instance which might be of interest to the committee. I once asked the Ambassador if he thought there would be a war. He said to me, "General, I assure you that there will be no war, because I have spoken to many influential people, and that is their opinion."

He referred particularly to a man who was to have dinner with Secretary Royall¹ of the Army, and said this unnamed man would be in a position to prevent war. I do not know who this man was, but it would seem to me from this information that the Ambassador is trying to force himself into circles with important people. Ambassador Winiewicz tried to make contact with the American Poles in Detroit, and he asked Bishop Woznicki² for an interview. The bishop, who was active for relief of Poland, said that he would receive him. But that was not enough for the Ambassador; he wanted to meet other people and expected the bishop to acquaint him with them. This the bishop refused to do.

The CHAIRMAN. What bishop is this?

General MODELSKI. The Catholic bishop in Detroit. I know him very well.

Winiewicz was, however, able to make close contact with the American Slav Congress. And I have a particular incident to illustrate this. One day he ordered a great celebration held in the Embassy in honor of Boleslaw Gebert. Gebert was to be awarded the order of Polonia Restituta, second class. That is a very high rank. In addressing Gebert, during the awarding of the decoration, the Ambassador said, among other things, the following:

My dear Boleslaw, you have delivered a great service to Poland. You have given us very important information of highest significance. Today, there exists the new Poland, for which you dreamed all your life. You have helped us with the very important information which you have given us.

From this you can see that Gebert was an important agent for the Embassy here. The Ambassador expressed the greatest gratitude for the job which Gebert had done.

Mr. ARENS. Would you give the subcommittee your opinion on the bill under consideration.

In my opinion, because I have become familiar with Communist tactics, the bill which Senator McCarran has introduced is a good one. It will place a great obstacle in the entry of alien Communists to America, and it will make the activity of the Communists more difficult. It will also discourage many people from contact with the Communists if they expect to be deported. I consider your bill, although I am for more drastic rules, to be one of the best ways to stop them.

In this connection, I would like to give you a specific example. It is concerning Ignacy Zlotowski. During World War II, he was in France with Joliot-Curie, the head of the French Atomic Commission and a prominent member of the French Communist Party. After the collapse of France, Zlotowski came to the United States to become a professor. He worked here as a scientist for 4 years. Zlotowski was a prominent Communist, and I have heard that he was a great scientist. In 1946, Zlotowski returned to Poland, after teaching at four universities. He subsequently returned to the United States as Polish representative in the United Nations and as deputy to the Polish Ambassa-

¹ Kenneth C. Royall.

² Most Rev. Stephen Woznicki, D. D., Auxiliary Bishop of the Detroit Archdiocese.

dor, first Dr. Oskar Lange, and then Winiewicz. He returned again about 1948 to Poland. It was the job of Zlotowski, whose real name was either Goldberg or Goldman, to do espionage in the atom bomb field, because he was a physical scientist and specialist in this field. My instructions never contained any reference to atomic questions, because I am not a scientist and would not know anything about it. But Zlotowski was the man who handled this phase of the operation.

One of the ways I found out about his activity here was this. There was a man in the embassy whose name was rather similar to Zlotowski, and I told him that the United States intelligence agencies were going to investigate his activities as a Communist. He was greatly disturbed and told me, "I am not the man, it is Zlotowski who is over here doing a job."

Soviet Russia and the satellites send here many trade missions which have freedom of movement around the country. This is another way for agents to get in, and I think that this bill would stop them.

I would like now to tell you just a word about the reasons for my action. I came to this country in the hope that I could expose the activities of Colonel Alef and his espionage work. When this work was thoroughly done, and when I could no longer refuse their insistent demands that I return to Poland, I resigned. Gentlemen, I fought against the Communist armies that invaded my country in 1920; I am determined to fight against them today.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you familiar with the newspaper *Glos Ludowy*?

General MODELSKI. Yes. That is a communist newspaper.

Mr. DEKOM. That is published in Detroit; is it not?

General MODELSKI. In Detroit, yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you describe the nature of the American Slav Congress here; is it a Communist organization?

General MODELSKI. Oh, I am sure of that; for what other reason do they send here only Communists—a Russian general so-called Polish general, Swierczewski, and so on—to speak with those people if they were not Communists? Why do they ask me to meet with this organization to do a Communist job?

Mr. DEKOM. Would you consider it a fifth-column organization in this country?

General MODELSKI. Yes; I would. I even wrote to Warsaw that some people working among your labor unions are a fifth column.

Mr. ARENS. Nothing further of this witness, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much, General.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, General. You will be excused from subpoena.

(Thereupon, at 3:15 p. m., the subcommittee proceeded to executive session.)

SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT OF GENERAL IZDOR MODELSKI

In order to better understand the way in which Russia moves in espionage activities in the United States, you must know that the work is controlled by Marshal Beria¹ in Moscow, the head of the secret police. As Security Minister of the Soviet Union, he is the dictator of the so-called security activities in Russia, in the satellite countries and abroad. His men are stationed in the Communist-controlled countries, including Poland. His representative is a Russian general, probably General Malinov, who receives instructions from Moscow

¹ Marshal L. P. Beria, member, Soviet Politburo, head of Soviet secret police.

and transmits them to the other Russian officers who are in charge of the Polish secret police. The Soviet Military Intelligence is headed by General Komar, a Russian general masquerading behind a Polish uniform.

The hub of all Communist espionage is in Russia; the other espionage units are merely the spokes. When Colonel Alef arrived in Washington in Washington to serve in the Polish Embassy, he, as well as the other officers attached to my staff in the Embassy, were frequent visitors at the Soviet Embassy and were also in contact with the military attachés of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

All diplomatic mail must be sent by one channel or another to Moscow. The complete dependence of the satellite secret police and espionage systems on Soviet Russia is illustrated by the following experience which I had: One day in 1948, I told the Polish Ambassador, Joseph Winiewicz, that I had had enough of the reproaches which were sent to me by the Communists in Warsaw, and that I had decided to send strong protests to them in code about their attitude toward me. The Ambassador then urged me not to do that. He confessed, "All your reports have to be submitted to Lebedev,¹ the Russian Ambassador in Warsaw, just as I am required to submit important matters to Ambassador Panyushkin² in Washington, to have him agree upon them."

Another example of the contacts between the satellites and Russia came to my attention at the beginning of 1947. Colonel Alef came to my office one day greatly disturbed, and asked that Major Olkiewicz and, especially, Major Kierys,³ be instructed not to go directly to the Soviet Embassy because the FBI was trailing everybody going there. He informed them, "The best place to meet Russians is at the Czech and, even better, at the Yugoslav embassy." I know that most of these meetings were held at the Yugoslav Embassy. Meetings later on took place among Russian, Czech, and Yugoslav officials in my own office. These were attended by Colonel Alef and Major Olkiewicz.

While the meeting of the American Slay Congress was being held in New York in 1946, there was a meeting held of the International Congress of Women, which is a Communist-front organization. Among the delegates sent by the Communist government of Poland was Mrs. Malinowska, the mother of Colonel Alef's wife. (Malinowska is not her real name.) She came here on a diplomatic visa and stayed in the United States until March 1948, when Colonel Alef departed with his family for Poland. During her stay she was actively engaged in activities among Jewish-American organizations, a task which had also been assigned to Colonel Alef.

After my arrival in Washington, Colonel Alef, who had come here earlier, introduced me to members of the Soviet Embassy during a party held on the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. At my request, he introduced me to Soviet Ambassador Novikov.⁴ Afterward he took me aside and told me very confidentially that the most important man at the Embassy is not the Ambassador but the First Secretary, who is chief of the Soviet secret police in the United States.

In my testimony before the committee, I mentioned my discussion with Soviet Admiral Glinkov. I would like to amplify further on my discussion with him. He said to me that the Soviet Union has no intention of capitulating to the demands of a "capitalist world." He expressed his confidence that the world is on the threshold of significant changes, and he outlined the steps which, in his opinion, would lead to an entirely new world for which the "Soviet Union has opened the door." He added, "The Soviet Union is determined not only to defend what she has gained thus far, but is equally determined to continue expansion of its domain." He continued, "The progress of world revolution may take a long time, but is nevertheless inevitable, and the new world can arise only out of the ruins of capitalism."

EXECUTIVE SESSION

The subcommittee met in executive session at 3:15 p. m., in the District Committee room, the Capitol, Senator Pat McCarran (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senator McCarran (chairman).

¹ Viktor Lebedev.

² Alexander S. Panyushkin, Soviet Ambassador to the United States.

³ Major Edward Kierys, liaison officer, Office of the Military Attaché, Polish Embassy, Washington, D. C.

⁴ Nikolai V. Novikov, former Soviet Ambassador to the United States.

Also present: Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee; Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is your next witness?

Mr. ARENS. The next witness will be Mrs. Ruth Fischer.¹ Will you remain standing while you are sworn as a witness.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. RUTH FISCHER, NEW YORK, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before the committee of the Senate will be the truth the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. FISCHER. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly identify yourself?

Mrs. FISCHER. My name is Ruth Fischer. I am a writer living in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in New York City?

Mrs. FISCHER. Since 1941.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what country are you a native?

Mrs. FISCHER. I am a native of Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in this country?

Mrs. FISCHER. Since April 1941.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a citizen of this country?

Mrs. FISCHER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you married or single?

Mrs. FISCHER. I am a widow.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your line of business at the present time, if any?

Mrs. FISCHER. I have written a large study, Stalin and German Communism, published by the Harvard University Press, and I am working under the auspices of Widener Library of Harvard University on a second study on European communism.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been to Moscow?

Mrs. FISCHER. I have been in Moscow 14 times.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever indoctrinated or trained in Moscow?

Mrs. FISCHER. I was a German Communist, and an Austrian Communist from the very beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you become a Communist?

Mrs. FISCHER. In 1917.

The CHAIRMAN. As a Communist, were you taken to or did you go to Moscow?

Mrs. FISCHER. I was a member of the central committee of the German Communist Party and general secretary of the Communist organization of Berlin, and I went there as an elected delegate of my Communist organization to represent this organization at Comintern meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that, what date?

Mrs. FISCHER. Between 1922 and 1926.

The CHAIRMAN. You were an accredited delegate from the Communist Party in Germany to the meeting, the Comintern at Moscow?

Mrs. FISCHER. Yes; and I was elected delegate to the Fourth and Fifth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, in 1922

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

and 1924. In this capacity, I was elected to the executive committee of the Communist International and to its presidium, in which function I served until I was expelled from the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. On your many visits to Moscow, what was done in the way of training you or indoctrinating you in communism?

Mrs. FISCHER. In these years I was personally not easy to indoctrinate because I was an oppositionist Communist, so what was done with me personally was cooperation in the style of the first 10 years of the Russian Revolution, consultations with the leading Russian Communists. I saw Stalin quite a number of times in the closed sessions of the Comintern. I had the privilege of meeting Lenin in 1922, and I met Trotsky and all of the big leaders of the first generation during the formative years of the Comintern. As I stayed there for 10 months in one stretch, I had, of course, ample opportunity to get some inside knowledge as a leading Communist about the various techniques of Communist organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Madam, you realize that you are under oath now?

Mrs. FISCHER. Yes; I realize that.

The CHAIRMAN. You fully realize the nature of an oath?

Mrs. FISCHER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first come to the United States?

Mrs. FISCHER. I came to the United States in April 1941.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you come to the United States?

Mrs. FISCHER. Because I was persecuted by both the secret police of Russia and Germany, by the GPU and by the Gestapo. I had been a member of the German Reichstag from 1924 to 1928 and was put on the first list of people to be exterminated by the Nazi Government in August 1933. In addition, I was on the extermination list of the NKVD or the GPU. I was in danger of my life and could only save my life by getting out of Europe. I was in constant opposition to both totalitarian groups, against Stalin's and Hitler's.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you take that turn of mind of being against Stalin?

Mrs. FISCHER. In 1926.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you living then?

Mrs. FISCHER. I was living partially in Moscow, until June of 1926, when I managed to escape back to Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what nationality, of what blood, are you?

Mrs. FISCHER. I am of German origin.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there anything about your nationality, your religion, or your blood that caused you to be apprehensive of your safety in Germany.

Mrs. FISCHER. I was a leading German Communist, and known all over the country, so, for mere political reasons of the old times and about my opposition against the Nazi Government, it was obvious that I was not in safety. In evidence, in addition, my apartment was raided by the SS and my young son was taken as a hostage, and the Gauleitung of Berlin was looking for me all over the place. So, the evidence was that I was not quite safe in Berlin at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you any relation to Gerhart or Hanns Eisler?

Mrs. FISCHER. They are my brothers.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. You may proceed. Do you have a prepared statement?

Mrs. FISCHER. Yes. I have entitled my statement, "Communist Agents and United States Immigration Policy."

The United States has been a subject of major interest of the Russian Communist Party for decades. The economic achievements of this country and also, to a large extent, the social achievements have been the envy of Russian Communists. As a result, the information services concentrated a good deal of their attention here, particularly on industry and technology. After Hitler came to power in the period preceding the Second World War, this surveillance was heightened. Any evaluation of the techniques of the Russian secret services in this country, therefore, must be based on the fact that for at least 20 years the Russian Communist Party has had an uninterrupted chain of agents here. As one of his principal jobs, each agent sent back information that would improve the training of his successors; and, increasingly, the more important agents have been good American types who could fit anywhere in this society.

Despite the rather small membership of the American Communist Party, because of its strategic position it has always been regarded as high in the Comintern hierarchy. Not only is the United States of prime importance in itself, but this is an excellent coordinating point for work in Latin America and the colonies. For example, the American Communist Party was given the specific task—which it carried out very well—of spreading propaganda on the "agrarian reformist" character of the Chinese Communists.

To an even higher degree than elsewhere, the personnel of the various Soviet delegations, Embassy, consulates, Amtorg,¹ Tass,² etc., in this country have been composed in part of Soviet intelligence agents. Hidden in each of these bureaus, ostensibly performing some routine function, are MVD men whose real job is to report on various phases of American society to Moscow headquarters. Recently, this corps has been reinforced by the UN delegations of Russia and her satellites. A small group of these MVD agents, say three to five men, directs the work of the whole network in this part of the world; it filters the information that comes in and, making use of the diplomatic pouches, passes on what is new and useful to Moscow.

The enormous growth of Communist parties abroad, plus the large number and variety of Communist fronts in this country, has made possible a system by which agents chosen for their suitability and ease of cover can be sent in through any one of several channels. For really dangerous and important jobs, such as sabotage in war time, the Moscow agent is the antithesis of the popular conception of the Communist. He is selected from among British or Swedish or Canadian—if not native-born Americans—and he is carefully insulated from open contact with the party or any of its front organizations. His job is to get into a strategic place and wait until he is needed.

Security measures against Communists can be effective only if they are based on a thorough knowledge, continuously renewed, of the principles of Communist organization and the details of Communist history. In contrast to Soviet methods, by which a detailed record is

¹ Russian Trading Corporation, incorporated under the laws of the State of New York.

² Official Soviet news agency.

kept over the years of all persons—not to say organizations and parties—of importance to the regime, the immigration officers of the United States are in general reduced to judging each case on its apparent merits, based on hearsay evidence collected only in this country at the moment it is needed. Over a period of several weeks, the same officer is called upon to pass on the applications of a Frenchman, a Chinese student, an Italian, a Czech. He does not, and he cannot, know the languages of all these people, or anything of their culture, or specifically anything of the Communist parties and their fronts in the countries involved; and there is no central advisory committee of experts to which he can apply for information. In general, so far as I know, there is not even the practice of allowing the officers to specialize in applicants from one country, so that in the course of their work they might pick up at least a rudimentary familiarity with the facts they are called upon to judge.

The result of this system has been that during the past decades, some thousands of persons, many of them well known as Communists to informed persons in their native countries, have been freely admitted to the United States, honored, given fat jobs, and freely allowed to depart when they were finished with their assignments. On the other hand, some hundreds of others, ex-Communists or non-Communist Socialists, have been banned from admittance even though an American officer competent to judge on their cases would have passed them. In my view, the immigration law should have two aspects: every effort should be made to keep out—and if they slip in, to deport—the actual agents of a foreign power, or those closely and knowingly associated with them over a period; contrariwise, ex-Communists and their like, once they have demonstrated fully that they have broken completely and definitely, should be given the possibility of entering this country. I say this not for sentimental reasons, or because the lives of these people may be in danger, or for any other reason connected only with them, but because in my view the United States needs such people badly. No matter what happens in the world, it is certain that a sound American policy must be based on an accurate and detailed knowledge of Communist parties and organizations, and on friendly cooperation with those who have learned from their personal experience that Stalinism is the most reactionary power in the world and want to fight it. To summarize:

(1) The United States is a prime point of interest for Soviet Russia, and many of the best Moscow agents are concentrated here.

(2) A change of procedure is certainly required to make it more difficult for agents to get into this country, but a mere change of procedure cannot of itself work wonders; it has to be supplemented by an organized means of furnishing the immigration officers with accurate, detailed information on the Communist movement all over the world.

(3) In my view, the optimum immigration policy should be flexible enough to make allowance for innocent dupes of Communist fronts, and particularly for ex-Communists and anti-Communist Socialists.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you cite specific cases?

Mrs. FISCHER. Hermann Budzislawski, never a member of the Communist Party but a useful instrument of the Moscow apparatus, left Germany in 1933 and went to Prague. There the organ of the Ger-

man pacifist Carl von Ossietzki, *Die Weltbühne*, was published by his widow and Mrs. Jacobsohn, and edited by Willi Schlaun, an anti-Stalinist. Behind the scenes, Moscow agents arranged for the purchase of the magazine and installed Budzislawski as editor. From 1934 to 1938 he wrote pro-Soviet editorials. In 1938, he fled to Paris, and became one of the urgent cases to be admitted to this country. Here he became the research assistant of Dorothy Thompson and helped organize a Communist front, the Council for a Democratic Germany, through which Gerhart Eisler dictated the Communist Party line on Germany. Budzislawski is now back in Germany, a professor of sociology at the University of Leipzig. Gerhart Eisler was also named a professor at Leipzig and is there now. If I go to Europe, I will have to explain again that Eisler was not in the cellars of the American Gestapo in chains and half starved, because people really believe this type of Communist propaganda. In the very first issue of my periodical, *The Network*, January 1944, I mentioned Budzislawski as one of the Soviet agents in New York, and several issues later I gave a full account of his background. Several weeks ago, Dorothy Thompson wrote an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* telling how she had been duped by Budzislawski, and in the December 7, 1948, issue of *Die Weltbühne*, Budzislawski wrote an article entitled, "I Was America's Best Known Woman." He almost got American citizenship; he was in the last phase; he had his second papers, and I think they filled all requirements.

Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, general secretary of the Women's International Democratic Federation, 37 rue Jouvenet, Paris, JASmin 85-05, has been granted a visa to attend the constitutional convention of the Congress of American Women as WIDF representative. The WIDF, which claims to have 53 national affiliates and 80,000,000 members, is the principal Stalinist front in the women's field. Its officers, apart from Vaillant-Couturier, include Mme. Eugenie Cotton, a member of every Stalinist front since the thirties; Mme. Irene Joliot-Curie; Jeanette Vermeersch, the wife of Maurice Thorez, secretary of the French Communist Party; Madeline Brown, a long-time Communist journalist. In the United States the WIDF has links to not only its affiliate, the Congress of American Women, but the Progressive Youth of America—formerly American Youth for Democracy, and before that, Young Communist League. Among its other national affiliates are the Union of Democratic German Women, headed by Louise Dornemann; the Norwegian Federation of Democratic Women, headed by Mimi Sverdrup Lunden, who is now in the United States. Its propaganda everywhere has been an echo of the Moscow line against the Marshall plan, against the Atlantic Pact, for peace on Soviet terms, and so forth. In spite of this very clear and open record, Trygve Lie has granted the WIDF a B status, meaning that it is a consultative organization in the UN; and Mme. Vaillant-Couturier is in this country, having just attended the convention of its American Communist affiliate in New York.

I have a few other cases. I would like to report on them only if one of the gentlemen would like to ask about them.

Mr. ARENS. Would you summarize the cases that you have in mind, then?

Mrs. FISCHER. Just before I went to Washington I was called up by one of the immigration officers, who told me that Miss Erika Mann¹ has applied for citizenship and asked what did I think about it. I give you that as a current example. I was so surprised that I said, "I would advise her to apply for citizenship in the Soviet Union, about which she has made many laudatory statements, and not to apply for citizenship here."

I have just read in the German newspapers and magazines I get regularly from Germany, that both Thomas Mann and Heinrich Mann² are saints of the Communist family. I have a great admiration for Thomas Mann as an artist, but as a politician he has always sided with the Communists. Heinrich Mann, his brother, was a kingpin in the fellow-traveling front of the German anti-fascist refugees in this country. I believe he might well become the president of a pro-Communist Germany.

His daughter, Erika Mann, has been, I must even say, an agent for it. She traveled freely in this country during the war, coming from England. I had the opportunity to observe her, and to a lesser degree, her brother. Both have been intimately connected with the Communist apparatus. I do not know if she has a membership card. I have no personal acquaintance with her. I only observed her from the side, and when I was called up yesterday—not 2 years ago, but yesterday—by your immigration office, I was told she is just in the last phase of getting her citizenship.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mrs. FISCHER. In New York City. It is really surprising, the impudence of this type of well-known Soviet fellow-travelers, who really bank on the ignorance, if I may say so, of the minor American officials.

Another example, about which you may have heard—and believe me, I give you only the high lights. During the civil war in Spain, there was an agent of the GPU, a liaison officer for the International Brigade, named Alfred Kantorowicz. Now, Mr. Kantorowicz was not only in this country here 6 years and went about freely as a prominent anti-Nazi refugee, but he has gone back to Germany and now he issues a magazine called East and West, which is Russian-licensed in Berlin and peddles the Communist line in the usual fellow-traveler style.

I have here another recent German publication called Die Weltbühne to which Eisler sent his article so he could print "Written in New York" in Berlin. In the same issue there is an article of Hermann Budzislawski, with that nice title, "I Was America's Best Known Woman." This most famous woman to whom Mr. Budzislawski refers is Miss Dorothy Thompson.

When I was in Lisbon in 1941, I saw hundreds of agents whom I had known during my 20 years of fight against Stalin—from Warsaw, from Vienna, from Prague, from Paris, from Berlin, from the Balkans, from any country in Europe—getting their first entrance permits to this country under the title of persecuted refugees. They should have all gone to Russia and fought the battle of Stalingrad. Instead, they got jobs in OWI and OSS, and similar organizations; and, if I

¹ The list of Communist-front organizations with which Erika Mann has been associated appears in appendix V, p. A77.

² The lists of Communist-front organizations with which Thomas Mann has been associated appear in Appendix V, p. A75.

may say so, these things are far from being finished. I cannot go into this, because it is not my business, but still people who are absolutely untrustworthy are getting key positions in new organizations.

Going back to Mr. Budzislawski, he went to America from Lisbon at the beginning of 1941. As a particularly prominent anti-Fascist, he had to be saved by special action of the immigration authorities. In a little magazine I published at this time, called *The Network*, I printed a profile of Mr. Budzislawski. As I said then, he was never a member of the Communist Party. He was always a member of the Social Democrats, but he was hired by the GPU in 1934 to take over this magazine, *Die Weltbühne*, then published in exile, which was not a front organization, nevertheless one of the most valuable organizational points of the NKVD.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that magazine published?

Mrs. FISCHER. It was published in Prague. It was first published in Berlin, as an honest pacifist magazine. While Willi Schlamm was editor it had a good reputation. Then it was bought up before my eyes. An anti-Stalinist friend of mine who wrote for it wanted to get the magazine and made a bid for it, but it was bought from under his nose by Russian agents, who took it and installed Mr. Budzislawski. I knew it because I was present; I knew the thing from the inside.

So I wrote this profile of Mr. Budzislawski as an agent planted at Miss Dorothy Thompson's side to have a suitable cover for his activities. Miss Thompson was outraged. She wrote against me. Eugene Lyons called me in and said, "Ruth, you are a character assassin; you have assassinated Budzislawski's character."

I said, "All right, I'll prepare you a memorandum on it." I went to the very good public library in New York City, where there is a complete file of *Die Weltbühne*. I dug in it and made him a substantial memorandum about all of the people that have written for it, by which Budzislawski's role as a Communist agent was established. End of story. He got an exit from this country. I do not know how. He went back to western Germany. He sneaked into eastern Germany. Today he is professor of political science at the University of Leipzig, one of the key spots for Communist indoctrination. He broadcasts against America, and so on. He wrote an article on how happy he had been to meet that great American, Mr. Wallace. I got the article and sent it to Miss Thompson. She now sees that my memorandum was not an assassination of Mr. Budzislawski's character, and has written an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* on how she was fooled by Budzislawski. In the most impudent manner Budzislawski has written the article "I Was America's Best Known Woman", which was not only in his small publication but in *Neues Deutschland*, the Communist daily of the eastern zone, and broadcast all over Germany. He is really making the best of his stay in the United States.

If you want another recent example, there is Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, the widow of a French Communist. I want to speak about this case, if I may have your permission. She is the widow of the leading French Communist Vaillant-Couturier, whom I knew very well, and she is the general secretary of the Women's International Democratic Federation of Paris. She works with Joliot-Curie, and with Jeanette Vermeersch, the wife of Maurice Thorez, the leading

French Communist. This women's federation pretends to have 80,000,000 women organized. Its line is to arouse emotional opposition to wars by such propaganda as, "Your children will be torn to bits when the American imperialists throw the atom bomb." She has been in this country for 10 days, because her organization was recognized by Trygve Lie of the United Nations. She has made a deal with the authorities here not to speak in official public meetings, but only in small private meetings, which only makes her presence to the Communists more useful.

Mr. ARENS. I wonder if we could clarify this so there is no misinterpretation in it. Is it your testimony that the woman who is a leader in this Communist-front organization has recently, in the course of the last 10 days, gained admission to the United States as a visitor or invitee of the UN Organization?

Mrs. FISCHER. Yes; she applied for admission to this country on that basis. I would not have believed it if it were not for an American friend of mine who does not want to be named. Couturier is attending the first constitutional convention of the Congress of American Women, which is taking place right now.

Mr. DEKOM. The Congress of American Women is listed by the Attorney General as a Communist-front organization.¹

Mr. ARENS. What is the purpose of this woman's visit to the United States?

Mrs. FISCHER. Propaganda against the United States, and organization of Communist cells.

Mr. ARENS. What is the nature of the visa which she received to be admitted to this country in the course of the last 10 days?

Mrs. FISCHER. B status of the United Nations Organization. She came here, not on official diplomatic status, but semi-diplomatic status.

Mr. ARENS. As an invitee or guest of the United Nations?

Mrs. FISCHER. Yes; that is right. And when she goes back, she will be also very useful. Yet, she is only a minor case, there are so many more important things going on here. If I were to set up a table of Communist priorities, I would regard her as highly dangerous, but not No. 1. She is an interesting example of what can still be done by clever people in utilizing the various institutions of this country to infiltrate new people in here.

Mr. ARENS. Will you tell us some other examples? You intimated this was only one example of other cases of persons of subversive character who have gained admission into the United States as affiliates or invitees of an international organization for the purpose of engaging in subversive organization.

Mrs. FISCHER. I have not followed the UN activities here closely enough. So, I have only these cases to present to you. If I made a study out of it, which I do not want to do, I am sure I would find hundreds of similar cases in all of these affiliated organizations and various staffs which offer an infiltration route that is easily opened.

Mr. ARENS. May I refer back to a comment you made several minutes ago with respect to the infiltration into this country of refugees during the war periods? May I observe, as you probably know, that the statistics show that during the war years approximately 250,000 refugees from Europe were admitted into this country under our

¹ See appendix, p. AS.

immigration system? Would you again address yourself to that situation?

Mrs. FISCHER. I can speak of my own experience, and my experience has shown me that thousands of party-trained Communists and Communist agents of all nationalities were sent into this country under the cover of refugees.

Mr. ARENS. During what years?

Mrs. FISCHER. Since 1933, as long as the road was open. The flow was particularly intensive between 1939 and 1941.

Mr. ARENS. When was the last time you were in Europe?

Mrs. FISCHER. I have been in Europe twice since the war. I was there in 1947 and 1948, from this country.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any comment or appraisal to make with respect to the movement of subversive people, Communists, in the refugee or displaced-persons category to the United States?

Mrs. FISCHER. I can make the same comment: it is a convenient method for bringing people in here.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any comment to make respecting the degree of Communist infiltration, or the degree of acceptance of the Communist philosophy by those persons who are not technically displaced, but who were displaced after the termination of the war?

Mrs. FISCHER. After 1945?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mrs. FISCHER. I think these refugees are in the main composed of really honest people who want to have a refuge here, and who are the bitterest enemies of the Stalin system. They have suffered from it, and among them are very excellent elements. In this group, in the new group of 1945, there are people more decided to break with Stalinist methods of government than before, because after the war and during it they had experience with Communist governments. They learned more about it by the events in Czechoslovakia. The new group of refugees is better informed on Stalinism than before that, but the old method of smuggling in agents is far from having been abandoned. They are still using the same techniques to bring undercover people here, and I must stress at this point that this is only one of the techniques. They bring agents in not only in the guise of refugees but as the most respectable people, of such a status and behavior as would never lead one to suspect that they have anything to do with Communist organizations.

Mr. ARENS. Do you care to address yourself, Mrs. Fischer, to the situation in the trade commissions and similar organizations which are in the United States, such as Amtorg and Tass, and other international bodies, which are set up in the United States?

Mrs. FISCHER. In every Soviet organization in the United States there is a cell of the MVD, the Russian secret police. There is no Russian organization here which has not its secret cell, party cell, and police cell, which supervises the others. The man in charge is not always the top man from the outside. It may be that outsiders never see the man in charge; never hear his name, but there is not a single organization outside Soviet Russia without such a supervising secret police cell.

Mr. ARENS. Is communism in the United States a local product, or is it a plant or a weed, that is being engendered and developed from abroad?

Mrs. FISCHER. In the present situation, the American Communist Party has become increasingly a subsidiary branch of the Soviet Russian institutions. It does not work spontaneously; it does not move of itself, but is on orders from headquarters and is entirely controlled by a secret commission composed of Soviet agents who supervise its activities.

Mr. DEKOM. Soviet agents in the United States?

Mrs. FISCHER. In the United States. They may be of other nationalities. For instance, it was a surprise to me that Mr. Dennis¹ did not allow himself to be defended by lawyers; that he wanted to defend himself personally, without the help of a lawyer in the present trial. That must be an order from Moscow. Dennis will not profit by legal tricks of this sort, but he must now make a case for himself; build himself up as a leader who defends the doctrine of communism without any regard for his person. It was a break in the entire line. He first was together with the others in being defended by the same lawyers. After a certain period, Dennis came out with the statement that he would defend himself. An expert sees immediately he has a secret order to refuse to be defended by a lawyer and to make the defense himself.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mrs. FISCHER. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. When did you become a citizen of it?

Mrs. FISCHER. In the year 1947.

Mr. DEKOM. When did you break with the Communist Party?

Mrs. FISCHER. I was in opposition to Stalin from 1923 on, and broke definitely with the party in 1926.

Mr. DEKOM. How did you first gain admission to the United States?

Mrs. FISCHER. By immigration.

Mr. DEKOM. Were you a Communist at the time you received your immigration visa?

Mrs. FISCHER. No.

Mr. DEKOM. What is your objective or purpose of your forthcoming trip abroad.

Mrs. FISCHER. I have been twice in Europe in the last 2 years to gather material for my study on the Comintern in Europe. I am doing some work for Harvard University, and I intend to use these studies on Comintern activities.

Mr. DEKOM. Your analysis of the situation and your statements are based to a large extent, are they not, on your personal experience and personal work within the Comintern apparatus?

Mrs. FISCHER. In the Comintern. It is a complicated thing to explain, because it needs some detail which I do not want to take your time to relate. I was an oppositionist in German communism, a Titoist of this period, if you want to use a current expression. I was always at loggerheads with Moscow for many political reasons. I did not want Russian interference in German affairs. The Russians wanted to dominate the entire movement, to control it. I worked with Dmitri Manuilsky in Berlin, for instance, in 1925 and had terrible quarrels with him. One of the reasons I broke was that he interfered in everything that was going on. As a member of the Central Committee I had an intimate insight into the secret apparatus. I

¹ Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party in the United States.

had the Soviet agent sitting in Berlin under my nose. I have known the connections between those in the Soviet Embassy there and the Central Committee of the German Communist Party. I knew where the money came from, in which suitcase it was carried out from Unter den Linden to the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, and having been in Moscow so often for a lot of conferences and consultations, I could see the other end, too. My life interest, to fight this type of organization, has been especially intensified after the experiences of the last years. I have had very many contacts with ex-Communists, and my knowledge is constantly being renewed by the living evidence I get in conversations with people from all European countries.

Mr. ARENS. Do you care to comment on the embassies, whether or not, in your judgment, they are the focal points of Communist activity?

Mrs. FISCHER. I can only repeat that it would be naive to assume that there is not in every embassy a high officer of the NKVD, who, first, supervises the embassy and the embassy staff; and second, gathers information on America or whatever country for the headquarters in Moscow. It is the system which we have to understand and which we have to take the necessary measures against, the system which has to be really fully understood. The status of the Russian Communist Party is such that there is no group of men working under Russian Communist Party directions that has not been organized around the party cell, which has jurisdiction over all members of the cell, and of all affiliates to the cell. That is the strict statute of the Russian Communist Party, and all members of the Russian Communist Party in this country are, of course, under the discipline of their own party organization.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very grateful to you for coming before the committee. That is all for today. The witness is excused from the subpena.

The committee will be in recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 4:20 p. m., the committee recessed to reconvene Wednesday, May 11, 1949, at 10:30 a. m.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION
AND NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 11:45 a. m., in room 424 Senate Office Building, Senator Pat McCarran, chairman, presiding.

Present: Senator McCarran.

Also present: Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee, Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. We will continue with the hearing on S. 1694.¹

Mr. Arens, present your witnesses.

TESTIMONY OF BOGDAN RADITSA, FORMER CHIEF OF THE FOREIGN PRESS DEPARTMENT IN THE INFORMATION MINISTRY OF YUGOSLAVIA

Mr. ARENS. The first witness is Mr. Raditsa.²

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Raditsa, will you kindly stand and be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee of the Senate will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RADITSA. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You understand the nature of an oath?

Mr. RADITSA. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly identify yourself?

Mr. RADITSA. I am Bogdan Raditsa from Yugoslavia. I was born in Yugoslavia. I was chief of the foreign press department in the Tito Ministry of Information in Belgrade in 1945.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is advisable that you go further into your background and knowledge and experience and training, and into whatever offices you have held. Mr. Arens will interrogate you, and you will kindly state what your background is which gives you the authority to make the statements which you are going to make.

¹ Senate bill 1694 was superseded on May 11, 1949, by Senate bill 1832, introduced by Senator McCarran.

² The witness appeared under subpoena.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly identify yourself from the standpoint of background and experience that you have had, the official connections which you have had, upon which you base your statements.

Mr. RADITSA. I came to this country twice. The first time I came to this country was in October 1940, as chief of the Royal Yugoslav Legation Press Service in Washington, D. C. Before that time, I was in Geneva, with the Yugoslav League of Nations delegation.

In June of 1940, I was nominated as chief of the Yugoslav Press Service in Belgrade, where I went from Geneva. There in Yugoslavia I could not take over my duties, because the Italian Fascist Government and German Nazi Government opposed my nomination to the Royal Yugoslav Government. The reasons for the German and Italian position against me at that time were that I was closely linked with the Italian and European anti-Fascist circles in Geneva and in Europe; that I knew and was a personal friend to Carlo Sforza; and of course, that my father-in-law was Guglielmo Ferrero, one of the greatest Italian historians.

My wife and two children left Belgrade with me when I was nominated in Washington. I came for the first time in October 1940 to this country. I stayed in Washington from October 1940 until April 1942.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity did you serve?

Mr. RADITSA. Counselor for the press relations of the Yugoslav Government.

Then the Royal Yugoslav Information Center was formed in New York City, and I took over the press service. I stayed with the Royal Yugoslav Information Center and with the Royal Yugoslav Government until the end of 1943, when I resigned from the Royal Yugoslav Government to join Tito and the national liberation movement.

As you remember, during the war we Yugoslavs in exile were divided on the issue of Yugoslavia. I joined the democratic members of the Royal Yugoslav Government who believed that we should go together with Tito. The main reason that I joined Tito was the national issue. Yugoslavia, you know, Mr. Chairman, is composed mainly of three nations—Croatians, Slovenians, and Serbians. The Croats before the war in Yugoslavia had not an equal position with the Serbians. I am Croatian. The Croats and Slovenians are Roman Catholic. The Serbians are Greek Orthodox.

The reason why we joined Tito was that Tito, in 1942, promised the Croats in Yugoslavia their national rights and equality with the other peoples. We learned later that that was a Communist device. That is the reason why a great number of people during the war joined Tito and his Peoples' Front, and that was the reason why I and Dr. Ivan Subasich joined. After Teheran and Yalta, it was suggested by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill that Dr. Subasich join Tito and form a government of a kind of unity between the democratic forces and the Communists. I went back to Yugoslavia.

The CHAIRMAN. To which of the three races in Yugoslavia did Tito belong?

Mr. RADITSA. Tito belongs to Croatia. He is a Croatian by birth, but I, Dr. Subasich, and the majority of democrats who left the United States and Great Britain during the war and went back to Yugoslavia, saw that neither Tito nor any Communist in Yugoslavia was interested in giving to any of the nationalities of Yugoslavia their national rights and national equality. When Tito took over Yugo-

slavia the Communists took over and the people felt that we were betrayed. No national rights were given to any nationality except on paper, except in the Constitution. We have been taken over by one of the greatest centralisms which has been developed by the Communist Party. In a Communist state, federalism does not exist; it is only a means to fool the people. As soon as the Communists take over, they are no more interested in giving to the people national equality and their national rights because the state is then completely subjugated to the mightiest monolithic centralism by the Communist Party, controlled and supervised by the Soviet Union and by the secret police of not only the domestic Communists but also the Muscovite secret police.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Tito a Communist?

Mr. RADITSA. Tito was already a Communist after the First World War. During the First World War he fought with the Austrian and Hungarian Armies in Russia, and he took an active part in the Russian civil war. Then he was indoctrinated in the Soviet Union immediately after the war and sent to Yugoslavia to organize the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. When Tito took over the Government of Yugoslavia, were you then in the Government?

Mr. RADITSA. Yes; I was with the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you remain in the Government?

Mr. RADITSA. I remained with the Government until I succeeded in leaving the country.

The CHAIRMAN. During the time that you served in the Government under Tito, what offices did you hold under the Communist form of government?

Mr. RADITSA. I held my professional office, Chief of the Foreign Press Department in the Ministry of Information, but I was not a real chief, I was a puppet, because my real chiefs were two persons, or rather three persons, the chief of the secret police, in which only a Communist can be a member, and two others who were members of the Communist Party and who did the whole job. I could only appear such, but neither I nor my superior the Minister of Information, Sava Kosanovic, who is now Ambassador of Yugoslavia in Washington, was free to do anything. All of us were surrounded by the Communists, and everything was done by the Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have an opportunity, by reason of your position, to become familiar with the way the Communists worked?

Mr. RADITSA. Yes; I did, and I described extensively my experience under the Communists in my article which I published in the Readers' Digest when I came back in October 1946.

One thing I must stress is that when we came to Belgrade in the beginning of 1945, we met the first Russians who came there, Russian officers of the Red Army and others of the different political departments in Moscow who came there to supervise the formation of the Communist state. I was terribly impressed by their statements that war with the United States must come very soon, that America must be destroyed, and that the Red Army and the so-called new peoples' democracy are the vanguard of the world revolution which must destroy America. I was so impressed, Mr. Senator, because I had just left America where the popularity of the Russian people was, as you remember, unlimited and great, when nobody in America, nobody responsible, spoke about any possibility of war with the Soviet

Union. Those were people coming directly from Moscow; I mean they had not been mixed up with any western contacts.

So my opinion, and the opinion of many of us who were there—I cannot mention their names—was that we were very afraid to hear from the Russians coming from Russia that the first thing which they must do is destroy America as the greatest enemy of the so-called people's democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. What I wanted to get was the background upon which you are basing your statement. I think you have stated it sufficiently. You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. RADITSA. Communist diplomacy is nothing but legalized espionage and a subversive network spread all over the free world. To be a diplomatic representative of a Communist state, means to accomplish any kind of work which the Communist Party and the Cominform assign. There is no person holding an important or even a secondary position in connection with the economic, cultural, political, or military department of any Communist government, be it of the Soviet Union or any other satellite, who, when sent to the United States or to any other free country, does not have a special assignment as to the collection of secret data, information, and facts.

Each employee who is sent to a foreign country is first closely examined by the department which sends him, and he must also be approved by the secret police, which has the last word on the reliability of the man. In a Communist state, as was told to me in Belgrade by the Communist commissars, to be a spy is not derogatory, but the greatest sign of confidence and trust which can be awarded by the people's democracy to its best servants. As one of the Communist commissars put it in his instructions, as far back as 1945, to the diplomats sent abroad from Yugoslavia, the term "spy" is a sign of the greatest loyalty bestowed on any Communist follower by his superior.

But there is something more. I remember having attended one of the conferences in the Foreign Ministry in Belgrade when the Communist instructors and high officials of the party explained the idea upon which the new Soviet type of diplomacy was to be lined up. One of the commissars read a text written by the main Communist brain truster in Yugoslavia, the present foreign minister, Edvard Kardelj. He said:

International law does not exist in relation with the external world. The new peoples' and socialist democracies are radically opposed to the bourgeois meaning of international law. International law belongs to the past. All our adepts must bear it in mind and not be deceived by the verbiage of the decaying western and Anglo-American conception of international law, which is only used to hamper the people's revolution and to impose upon us the Anglo-American imperialism. The new Foreign Ministry is being purged of the old diplomatic cadres whose treacherous attitude in serving the Anglo-American imperialists must be eliminated from our new diplomatic staff. The new members of our diplomacy must be trained in the new spirit of our people's democracy under the leadership of our famous Communist Party. It is through its noble and salutary work that our people have received their freedom. We must have in our ranks fighters, convinced civil servants, who will be able to follow the great work of our Socialist revolution, together with the Soviet revolution, and help spread these ideals all over the world.

For the time being we must use in some historical temporary positions all facilities which international law gives us, but we must be on the alert not to become victims of the western powers who want to deceive us through their conception of international law. For us international law must be only a front through which we must work and fight for the victory of the world revolution everywhere.

To the Communists sent to the United States in 1946, the following instructions were given :

To fight and act for communism, the Red Army is not enough. To facilitate and make possible the victory of communism, we have to work hard in the non-Communist countries.

That work is multiform.

We must incite discontent, uneasiness in the capitalistic and bourgeois states. The greater is the discontent in each capitalist and bourgeois country, the more fertile is the ground for communism. In the United States and in Great Britain we are going to have unemployment. The capitalists will not be able to export. Later on, the industrial power of the Soviet Union and of the other friendly peoples' republics will compete with the industrial production of the capitalist countries. They will be threatened by your industrial production at their own home.

But we cannot simply wait for that day. Already now, we have to revolutionize the European and Asiatic Continents. Strikes, revolutionary impetus of the trade-unions and labor, weakening of capitalism through the demand for high wages so that they are not able to compete with the Soviet Union, obstruction of different reactionary governments in their anti-Communist policy, the incitement for nationalism everywhere, the hatred against the colonial empires, the uprising of trade-unions against their governments, the various helps to the Communist parties in the capitalist countries, propagandize the hatred against the reactionary in every country, and particularly develop in the United States the impression that the economic depression must be inevitable and try to convince more and more the people of Slavic descent to leave Canada and the United States and return to their countries of origin, bringing with them capital and machinery—this must be our main work in Canada and in the United States.

Everything is permitted that will bring us toward the victory of communism in the world.

Two worlds—

as Mr. Kardelj said to me—

the Communist and the capitalist, must irrevocably clash. We have to make certain concessions while stalling for time. We must consolidate our position before the external world in order to be ready to pass to the offensive when the hour strikes.

We cannot today foresee the future. In the postwar world the process of socialization, communization in other words, can develop so fast, that great complications may arise between the Socialist and capitalist worlds. The same process will take place everywhere in Europe and in Asia. We can consider that imperialism is broken and the proletarian revolution is on the march. That revolution is linked with the Soviet Union through agreements of mutual political and economic assistance and is creating, as Stalin says, the union of various focuses of the revolution in one system which will go into a frontal attack against the imperialistic system.

These instructions were sent out from Belgrade, January 1948, before the Cominform was transferred from Belgrade to Bucharest. They concern the activities of Communist agents among the displaced persons, political emigrants, and other refugees. They say :

Everyone knows what the existence of any organization or a free opposition means in the international political field. The countries of southeastern Europe have their political emigrants all over. We have to do our utmost to destroy their organizations completely, so as to hamper them from becoming any serious factor which could alter our political plans. We must convert the emigrants into a disorganized mass which nobody could take in consideration in any political combination. We have to send instructions to our Communist cells for action against the whole emigration from our countries.

The British and American commands continue not to give us back Soviet citizens. It seems to us that that question will never be solved to our satisfaction.

It is absolutely necessary to intensify all the pressure behind the Allies and to mobilize all possibilities for the full dispersion of the emigrants.

To arrive at this result, we have to exploit our official relations with the enemy nations (Great Britain and America). For our action, we have to win for us

German Communists, the Germans of Russian origin, the Poles, and the Baltic Germans, some black marketeers who can easily cross the borders and those who have their domicile in the allied zones. It is not forbidden to take in consideration even the Nazi who know the Russian or Ukrainian languages and who may be useful to us. It is categorically stressed that all our agents must have their families on our territory or in our zones.

The basic principle of action is as follows:

1. To check on and always incite the material and religious disagreements between the refugees. That which we have done so far is not enough. It is necessary to incite more and more the conflict between the West and the East, between the "old" and "young."

To transform the refugees into an instrument of our higher policy we must incite and inflame the antagonism between the different political groups of the refugees, to bring about a full divergence in their daily life, in their press and in their action. The masses must be drawn into this struggle.

We have to paralyze the cultural action among the refugees. For that we must employ people who have no ability and the people devoid of any talent, so that they will annoy the editorial boards of different magazines with valueless articles. In such a way they will disarm the action of the capable and important people who are dangerous to us.

On the other side, a struggle among the exiles has to be incited constantly, among the capable people particularly, among the politicians and leading personalities, the fight between the talented and the untalented.

We must work particularly among the people who are not intelligent but who think that they are very intelligent, in such a way to bring about hate, dissatisfaction, and apathy among the refugees.

2. It is necessary to raise scandals and conflicts among the refugees so that the foreign world will be convinced that the cultural value of the emigrants is equivalent to zero.

3. To foment the conflict between the Roman Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox churches and to bring about to an open conflict between the Catholics and Orthodox, not only outside but inside the churches themselves. We have to spread theories among the refugees in such a way as to take under our complete control all the refugees in the camps. We must do our utmost that the leadership of the camps is in our hands. We must have all over in the camps in leading places useful innocents or fools so that we can use them for our cause. It is of the utmost importance to incite dissatisfaction and despair among the refugees. We have to stress with particular attention that the conflicts between the refugees and the allied camps authorities should always be great. Incite particularly British and American policy against the DP's and refugees so that we always have serious conflicts. We have to do our utmost that every refugee hates the Allies, that every refugee considers every ally his enemy.

4. As far as the emigree press is concerned, we must do everything in our power that the political conflicts should be very frequent. We have to destroy every influence of the emigree press and everything that is published in exile must be made to lose all of its importance. Everyone whom we succeed in bringing back has to be used for the future fight against the western imperialism.

5. In all working groups, we have to infiltrate people who are capable to incite quarrels, fights, and constantly hamper all harmony. We must then inform the peasants that they should use the refugees for the hardest and most disgusting work. We must incite a deep divergence between the officers and lower ranks and particularly between the officers and soldiers. We must incite conflicts between the refugees and the employers who employ them.

6. Systematically destroy every influence of the refugee institutions and particularly their leadership. We must find out if some of the leaders are compromised so that the whole organization should be discredited. To do that we have to infiltrate elements who are capable of accomplishing this demoralization.

The CHAIRMAN. When you deal with the term "refugee," how far does that extend? Is it refugees, or is it those who are displaced?

Mr. RADITSA. Displaced persons; there are a great many of those who are not in the camps of displaced persons, who are living in Paris, Rome, or in German towns.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand your statement to be that one of the instructions given out was to create discontent and discord among the refugees, which included displaced persons.

Mr. RADITSA. Which included displaced persons, and which included the foreign element in this country, too.

Mr. DEKOM. When you refer to the "emigree press," you refer to the foreign language press in the United States?

Mr. RADITSA. That is right; which is also read in Europe among the exiled and displaced persons, and which at the same time is read by people in Yugoslavia, because all the Communist-dominated press is sent to Yugoslavia and sold publicly on the newsstands.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know how many Communist and pro-Communist Yugoslav papers there are in the United States?

Mr. RADITSA. Narodni Glasnik, Slobodna Rec, Zajednicar,¹ Enakopravnost, Edinost; those are the newspapers which are regularly sent to Yugoslavia. The line of those newspapers is the line of the Daily Worker, so that the ordinary Yugoslavian who is reading those newspapers in Yugoslavia receives only criticisms of the United States. This press has two objectives: to destroy every prestige of the United States of America, to give the impression to the people that the crisis is coming in America, economic crisis, that the people are living under very bad conditions; and at the same time to give praise of the Soviet Union and of the so-called new peoples democracies.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have an estimate as to the total circulation?

Mr. RADITSA. The biggest circulation is Zajednicar, which has around 100,000 copies weekly. The others are losing very much of their circulation now. Zajednicar is very important because it belongs to a fraternal union,² so every member of the fraternal union must receive it.

Following the instructions which I have read, Tito's high officials in the Yugoslav Embassies, consulates, and in the Secretariat of the United Nations have developed a systematic activity in behalf of the world revolution, which is not for a better understanding between the United States and Yugoslavia.

One of the Yugoslav members of the Juridical Department of the Secretariat of the United Nations, Dr. Alexander Franich, appointed in 1946, participated, for instance, in a meeting, in July 1946, of Yugoslav-Americans in Prospect Hall, Brooklyn, N. Y., where, as reported by the Communist newspaper Narodni Glasnik (People's Herakl) published in Pittsburgh, July 17, 1946, he declared the following:

As we in our bloody struggle with the enemy needed our free territory, so you too must have your free territory in this big city of yours, a free territory in your struggle with ignorance, superstition, and dishonesty. You need a free territory for the education of your children and your activities.

The term "free territory" means, in Communist language, a Communist-dominated people's front or a Communist cell. In other words, you must build in your midst a Communist cell which is going to work.

The CHAIRMAN. Referring there to what city?

Mr. RADITSA. That was in Brooklyn, N. Y. This was a speech made by Dr. Alexander Franich in New York, and I am quoting this part

¹ According to testimony subsequently presented to the subcommittee, the editorial policy of Zajednicar has undergone some change. See, for example, the testimony of Dr. Slobodan Draskovich, p. 613.

² Croatian Fraternal Union.

which was published by the Narodni Glasnik. Franich ended his speech: "Long live his majesty the working people!"

During the last 3 years, since I have been back in this country, I have assisted the General Assembly as a newspaper reporter to the General Assembly and the work of different committees in Lake Success and in Flushing Meadows. I was very amazed to see that, during the first day when the Assembly opened, all the Yugoslav delegation was present there, but afterward, during the 2 or 3 months of the discussions, the majority of the delegates were never in Lake Success or in Flushing Meadows. They were always going around the United States. In fact, they were not taking active part in the work of the different committees of the United Nations, except 10 of them, but 50 others or 30 others or 20 others were always going around through the United States making speeches, contacting people, giving them information, news, orders, instructions; but they were never in Lake Success where they should be if they came for this purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. By that you mean that they come to this country, using the United Nations as the reason for their coming, and then after coming here, they go around the country with Communist propaganda?

Mr. RADITSA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are they doing anything else besides disseminating Communist propaganda?

Mr. RADITSA. I suppose they are contacting people and giving them instructions, collecting data, economic, and political data about the activities in the United States.

It has impressed me very much not seeing them there to take active part in the work of the committees after they got their visas and diplomatic immunity, and they should do like the other delegations do, the same as the Americans or the western delegations do. The members of the western delegation are constantly there.

Mr. DEKOM. What type of people do they send to this country? In what field are these people experienced?

Mr. RADITSA. They are mostly experienced in Communist work, sabotage, subversive work, people who are very much up on the Communist techniques and machinery.

The members of the Yugoslav delegation to the United Nations General Assembly in New York, spent much of their time addressing Americans of Yugoslav descent.

Narodni Glasnik of October 7, 1947, published the following news:

The Serbian National Congress will be held on October 25 and 26. At this congress Vlada Simic, the Yugoslav delegate to the Assembly of the United Nations, will be the main speaker.

Vlada Simic is a member of the People's Front of Serbia. He was sent here to address Americans of Serbian descent.

Narodni Glasnik of October 14, 1947, said:

The Dalmatian Club "Mihovil" will hold a meeting on October 18, 1947, in the Yugoslav-American Home,¹ 405 West Forty-first Street, New York. The main speaker will be Josip Djerdja, Tito's delegate in the United Nations.

Mr. ARENS. What is the Yugoslav-American Home? What do you know about it?

¹ Known also as the Jugoslavenski-Americki Dom.

Mr. RADITSA. It is the center of Communist propaganda among Americans of Yugoslav descent.

Mr. ARENS. In New York City?

Mr. RADITSA. New York City is the main center. It was formed during the war. It was opened during the war, then afterward it followed the same activities.

The same newspaper, on October 14, 1947, announced that Dr. Joza Vilfan, Tito's first delegate in the United Nations, will hold a meeting of the Yugoslavs from Istria.

Dimitar Vlahov, while in the United States 2 years ago as a delegate to the United Nations, spent more time visiting Macedonians and Yugoslavs in the Middle West than in attending sessions with the Yugoslav delegation in the Assembly. You must know who Dimitar Vlahov is. He is an old-time Communist. Before the war he was living in Vienna, Austria, and he was one of the major agitators of communism in the Balkans. With Georgi Dimitrov (now dictator of Bulgaria) he was editor of the well known Communist newspaper called *La Fédéracion Balkanique*—the Balkan Federation—one of the most trustworthy men of Moscow. He came to this country as a member of the Yugoslav delegation to the United Nations.

Slobodna Rec of April 29, 1947, page 2, publishes an article of Vlahov's under the title "What Vlahov Says About the Immigrants in the United States":

* * * Americans of Slav origin represent a very considerable force, because they constitute 50 percent of all the workers in American heavy and war industries. * * * The progressive role of Americans of Slav origin is today a well-known fact. They exercise an important influence between the American people and the Slav nations.

* * * Until the attack of Hitler's Germany against the Soviet Union, Americans of Slav origin, whose number amounts to 15,000,000 people, had no special mutual links, but, as they came to understand what a menace fascism represents for the Slav nations, they organized themselves and formed special committees for an efficient struggle against fascism.

* * * They founded several very active committees, among which stand out the Committee for Yugoslav Relief, the Committee for Aid to Macedonia, the Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, the special committee for collecting funds for building a modern hospital in Dalmatia; further, committees for building hospitals in Macedonia and Hercegovina, as well as the committees of people from Lika and Hercegovina, for aid to those regions. * * *

After praising the work of the American Slav Congress, Vlahov ends his article by saying:

The great majority of our emigrants stand firmly by the Federative People's Republic Yugoslavia.

Such items are regularly published in the Communist newspapers, and it is easy to see that UN delegates, while in the United States, are traveling around the country addressing Americans of Yugoslav descent.

Dr. Joza Vilfan, the permanent Yugoslav Delegate to the United Nations, is a member of the Central Committee of the Slovenian Communist Party. Josip Djerdja and Dimitar Vlahov are members, respectively, of the Croatian and Macedonian Central Committees, while Vlada Simic is a member of the Communist-dominated Central Committee of the Serbian People's Front.

After the break between the Cominform and Tito, it was very interesting to notice that many of the Yugoslav foreign civil-service employees in the United States and Canada have left their embassies

and have joined the Cominform in Prague, in Moscow, in Bucharest, and other satellite countries. That means that they were sent here with the approval of the Soviet Union to do espionage work for the Soviet Union. They were accredited as Yugoslav members of the Yugoslav Federation.

Tito's main political agent in Washington, D. C., Slobodan Ivanovic, has become editor of the new anti-Tito and pro-Cominform newspaper in Prague called *Nova Borba* (the New Struggle). This fact easily explains the function of the Communist-accredited diplomats in foreign countries. Their main mission is not to develop diplomatic relations but to work for the Soviet Union and its plans in the United States or wherever they are; thus the world revolution must be prepared and propagated.

Another member of Tito's staff to follow Ivanovic was Pavle Lukin, first delegate to the United Nations. They followed the line taught them by their leaders, as stated in the words of Milentije Popovich (now Minister of Foreign Trade). These words were always repeated in Belgrade to all the employees of the Communist departments and ministries:

We Communists owe our loyalty only to the Soviet Union, as the sole fatherland of socialism in the world. We must always act in such a manner that her interests shall be furthered and strengthened, as she is the sole guarantor of the ultimate triumph of communism throughout the world. What do Yugoslav interests matter compared to that? Our only function is to be one of the shields and one of the spearheads of the Soviet Union.

During the present United Nations Assembly two well-known figures in the Communist world of the United States Slavs showed up in Tito's delegation. One is Srdjan Prica, and the other Steve Dedijer. They have both lived for long years in the United States. Before and during the war they were editors of the Serbian Communist weekly, *Slobodna Rec* (Free Expression). They were closely associated with Communist activities in the United States among Americans of Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian descent. With Mirko Markovich, who is now in Belgrade, they were the brain trust of the American-Yugoslav section of the Communist movement in the United States.

Srdjan Prica left the States at the end of the war and went back to Yugoslavia, where he became the director of the American Department of the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry. He has now become director of the school for the training of the new Communist civil servants for foreign service. The main accent of the school is on the indoctrination of the students for their work in the United States and elsewhere in the free countries. Steve Dedijer, who had been brought up in this country, went to Germany with the American Army and then joined Tito's partisans. I do not know, but I have heard that he deserted the American Army, that he was not officially released from his duties in the American Army, but I do not have proof for this specific information. Anyway, as soon as he left the American Army in Germany, he got a very important position in the Communist Government in Belgrade. He is now a delegate to the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations. While in Yugoslavia, he was the main contact between the Yugoslav Communist Party and the foreign newspapermen and other personalities visiting Yugoslavia, especially the Anglo-

American. He was the official interpreter and guide to the 7 Protestant ministers who, 3 years ago, visited Tito's Yugoslavia and declared that in Yugoslavia there was freedom of worship, at the moment when the Croatian Primate, Archbishop Stepinac¹ was shamefully tried and put in jail. During all the trip of the ministers, Dedijer never left them.

There is no doubt that Prica and Dedijer came here to get in touch with the Americans of southern Slav descent and with the American press. As it is well known, the majority of the American Communists of Yugoslav descent has taken sides with the Cominform against Tito. Once Prica's and Dedijer's followers in this country, they have now turned against Tito, thus remaining loyal to Stalin. It is easy to understand that Prica and Dedijer have come now to the United States to tell their former associates that Tito has not betrayed the Communist cause and the postulate of the world revolution—still their only aim. As they badly need any material help from the United States to save the terrible collapse of Yugoslav economy provoked by the Communist imposition of the 5-year plan, they would like to have American Yugoslavs help the country in need and in distress.

It is very pertinent to this matter to stress the fact that the Communist newspaper, Narodni Glasnik, once the staunchest of Tito's mouthpieces in this country, is now attacking Tito's United Nations delegates visiting Americans of Yugoslav descent, charging that they "abuse American hospitality and foment trouble among the American people." This Communist newspaper seeks to have the American Yugoslavs remain loyal to the Cominform and fight Tito on American soil.

During the last war, Prica and Dedijer were very active in promoting pro-Soviet propaganda in this country among the American Yugoslavs. Their closest associate was Tito's present Ambassador in Washington, Sava Kosanovic, a frequent contributor of the Communist newspaper Slobodna Rec and the main speaker at all pro-Communist rallies organized by Prica, Dedijer, and Markovich. Already at that time, Kosanovic, though being a member of the Royal Yugoslav Government in Exile, was taking instructions from Dedijer, Prica, and Markovich and was their puppet.

Here I am not so sure if Toma Babin is an American citizen, but he has been residing in the United States for a long, long time. After the war, Tito's official in the Yugoslav consulate general in New York was Toma Babin. His main work was the control of the Yugoslav seamen who, during the last war, were in this country. As I learned after, in Yugoslavia, he was entitled to prepare the curriculum for every Yugoslav seaman who decided to go back to Yugoslavia and take part in the merchant marine. Many seamen, after the war, when they arrived in Yugoslavia, were liquidated upon Babin's instructions. The situation and the attitude, the work and activities of the New York harbor longshoremen of Yugoslav descent were in Babin's hands.

A typical example of the Communist infiltration in this country is the case of two brothers: One, Dr. Lujo Goranin-Weissman,² and the architect, E. Weissman. Both of them immigrated to this country

¹Archbishop Aloys Stepinac, Primate of Yugoslavia.

²The person named by the witness is registered with the Department of Justice as an agent of a foreign government under the name of Goranin. In his registration statement, he reports that his name "at birth" was Weissman. For additional material, see testimony of William H. Smyth, p. 57, as well as appendix IV, p. A43.

under the Yugoslav quota just before the last war. Not only did they not have any trouble immigrating to this country, but the United States Government was very nice to them to give them jobs in the official United States Government agencies. During the war, Dr. Lujo Goranin-Weissman was working at the Office of War Information, as radio announcer for Yugoslavia. The architect Weissmann was in UNRRA under the American quota.

Immediately after the war, Dr. Lujo Goranin-Weissmann became the chief of the Yugoslav official news agency Tanjug,¹ in New York, while E. Weissmann, on the recommendation of the Yugoslav Government, became a high official in the Secretariat of the United Nations. Both of them are under the control of Dr. Joza Vilfan, the Yugoslav delegate to the UN, who as a former public prosecutor in Yugoslavia sent to their deaths hundreds of thousands of innocent Yugoslavs and is now developing the secret-police network from his luxurious house on Fifth Avenue in New York City: too luxurious for a country like Yugoslavia, where people are satisfied if they can get dry bread to eat.

Mr. ARENS. May I just ask a question there? I would like to know whether I interpreted correctly to my own mind what you have just said. Is it your testimony that a particular individual whom you have just named is the center of a New York secret police network in New York City?

Mr. RADITSA. Joza Vilfan was the public prosecutor in Yugoslavia before coming here. Now in the Communist state the position of the public prosecutor, as you may know, is the most important position; he decides about everything. The public prosecutor in a Communist state is the chief of the secret police at the same time, and everything is in his hands.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Mr. RADITSA. He is now in New York, the top delegate of Yugoslavia to the United Nations.

Mr. ARENS. What is your testimony as to his activities at the present time in addition to his official connection as the delegate from Yugoslavia?

Mr. RADITSA. My opinion is that he is the main, the top man, for the espionage in this country concerning the Yugoslavs: that he is controlling all the Yugoslavs engaged here in any kind of propaganda or espionage work.

Mr. ARENS. Upon what do you base the conclusion?

Mr. RADITSA. Upon his position in the country. He is a member of the central committee of the Slovene Communist Party and he was the public prosecutor of the country.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. RADITSA. To get the exact picture of the kind of work which Dr. L. Goranin-Weissman is perpetrating now in his capacity of chief of the Communist main propaganda office, the Tanjug news agency, I am going to quote some of his news as printed or commented on in the Yugoslav Communist press.

¹Abbreviation for Telegrafaska Agencija Nova Jugoslavija (Telegraphic Agency, New Yugoslavia). For additional information on this organization see appendix IV, p. A43.

The newspaper Politika, published in Belgrade, on April 8, 1949, carried the following item sent by the Tanjug outfit in New York:

The progressive New York press, commenting on the last official statistical figures about the number of unemployed in the United States, emphasizes that the number of unemployed is far greater than is recorded by the official data given by the United States Government.

In publishing the figures concerning each labor union, the progressive press says that the number of absolutely unemployed workers has already exceeded 5,000,000 men and women.

From the information sent by the New York outfit of the Tanjug news agency, all Communist newspapers in Yugoslavia are daily publishing articles distorting the conditions of life in the United States. A series of such articles was recently published by some Communist newspapers under the title "The Collapse of the Legend of the Postwar Boom in the United States." I have in my possession these articles as published by the newspaper Slobodna Dalmacija (Free Dalmatia), December 1948. The following items may be read:

Misery, exhaustion, and lack of education, such is the destiny of farmers in the United States.

The policy of an irrepressible foreign expansionism spread by the American monopolistic capitalism is followed by a rapid increase of militarism. * * * To explain their new race in armaments as the only safe way out for American economy, the American warmongers assert that armaments stimulate labor development. This race of armament leads the country toward economic catastrophe. * * * The real fact of America may be viewed in the deterioration of its standard of living, unemployment, destruction and pauperization of the farmers, increase of militarism, general economic insecurity, and a weak faith in tomorrow.

All that is sent by the Tanjug News Agency in New York to Yugoslavia.

In the newspaper Vjesnik we may find the following items (issue No. 1166):

The American Attorney General, Tom Clark, declared that many millions of boys and girls who are required to go to schools in the United States don't frequent any school. Two million children frequent schools which can only be called by such a name. Ten million Americans don't know how to read and write.

Tom Clark does not reveal the reasons of such a situation. This fact is to a certain extent explained by the Women's Press, which is asking, "Why don't all children go to school?" and answers, "If all the children would go to school, they wouldn't work, and when they don't work the capitalistic profit would fall."

This is how the meaning for social obligations is interpreted by the American authorities. They don't ask the parents to intervene in favor of their children's education and to encourage the law for the prohibition of the child labor.

In issue No. 1130:

The American magazine Fortune, which is in the service of the American warmongers, writes in one article: "If we want more guns, we must to a certain extent deprive ourselves of butter." The American warmongers have gone so far that shamelessly, word by word, they apply the Hitlerite methods without even thinking of Hitler's destiny.

The regular visits of Communist agents to the United States under the protection of diplomatic immunity has another goal. While the Communist visitors are here to collect information about economic, financial, military, and other matters, they are at the same time spreading defeatism and demoralization among the Slav Americans, trying to destroy in them faith in America's democracy.

For more than 2 years, for instance, Sime Balen was the chief of the press service in the Yugoslav Embassy. He was usually contact-

ing people of Serb and Croatian descent in this country. He was, of course, delivering speeches at different rallies sponsored by Communist-front organizations.

Sime Balen was telling his audiences, both privately and publicly, the following:

The victory of the new democratic revolution in the world led by the Soviet Union and other new democratic people's republics is inevitable and imminent. Western Europe is already in process of being communized. There will be no necessity for a shooting war. After conquering Europe and Asia by internal upheaval of the masses, we shall force the United States to surrender. The United States will be captured by internal disintegration, racial strife, and civil wars. An economic crisis will inevitably sap American might. An Anglo-American war will break out because of the two countries' economic rivalry. Everywhere in the United States we have allies who are going to do the work for us. We shall be here before you think so. It is better for you to leave sooner and to help us in this struggle. The Slavs are the most dynamic element in this movement. We must be all united in this work.

While back home, Balen, Dedijer, and many others usually give public speeches and write articles and even booklets in which the United States is presented on one side as the exploiter of the working masses, on the other side as the giant whose legs are crumbling under the weight of the imminent people's rebellion.

In his book, *Notes on America*, Dedijer says that there is no free press in the United States. As an example he gives the fact that labor in America does not have liberty to publish any newspaper, with the exception of the *Daily Worker*, because there is no freedom of press in the land of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln.

I must mention the fact that the notes about American life were taken by Mr. Dedijer while he was in San Francisco at the UNO Conference. He is the man who, with his brother now in the United States, has taken active part in the Anti-Fascist Youth Congresses held last year in India, where he was spreading Communist propaganda.

It must be stressed that the attitude of Yugoslav Communist delegates in the United Nations is exactly, word by word, similar to the stand which the Soviet and other satellite delegates usually do take. They always vote with the Soviet Union and other satellite delegates.

I would like to conclude that, in the case of the Communist diplomats and other Communist emissaries, we are faced with the organized Communist threat to our way of life. Through them, the fifth column, the Trojan horse, the dupes and innocents among the fellow travelers in our midst, are fed and equipped with means and ideological material.

In this connection, everyone should know in the free world that we are engaged in a fight with a sectarian movement which is, at the same time, militaristic, imperialistic, and anti-religious, whose only goal is the conquest of power everywhere by all means and using our democratic freedoms. Our duty is to react against such schemes plotted by the Communist conspiracy with all our means as freemen. Every individual engaged in any kind of diplomatic, commercial, and cultural activity belonging to a Communist state must be considered as the enemy to the fundamental rights of mankind and a conscious foe to our free society.

We must not only consider him as such, but treat him as such. Stalin and every other Communist deny all the Christian and liberal

values upon which our civilization has been built and improved. We must fight all of those who, under different ways, come to this free society with only one purpose, to destroy it.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, if it meets with your approval, I should like to read into the record an excerpt from the Foreign Agents' Registration Act and then submit into the record a list of organizations and persons who have registered pursuant to the Foreign Agents' Registration Act, which will include the names of certain organizations and persons referred to by the witness in his testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. ARENS. I just want to read, if I may, the first part of the Foreign Agents Registration Act:

The following organizations shall be required to register with the Attorney General:

Every organization subject to foreign control which engages in political activities.

Every organization which engages in both civilian military activity and in political activity.

Every organization subject to foreign control which engages in civilian military activity; and

Every organization, the purpose or aim of which, or one of the aims or purposes of which, is the establishment, control, conduct, seizure, or overthrow of a government or subdivision thereof by the use of force, violence, military measures, or threats of any one or more of the foregoing.¹

Now Mr. Dekom would like to identify certain documents and place them into the record.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Chairman, the witness has made reference to the Tanjug News Agency which is the official news agency of the Government of Yugoslavia. The witness identified it as a propaganda group in this country. We have obtained from the Department of Justice photostatic copies of their registrations. I would like to call attention of the committee particularly to the registration dated October 2, 1948, in which one of the functions of the organization is outlined as follows:

Press releases on material transmitted from Tanjug, Belgrade, for United States press institutions, organizations, and the individuals in United States of America.

I would like further to call the attention of the committee to the personal registration of Louis Goranin, who was identified by the witness as a Yugoslav Communist propagandist.

Under question 1 (a) name of registrant, he gives the name "Louis Goranin." Under question 1 (b) which requires him to list "all other names ever used by registrant and when used," he states as follows:

Louis Weissman, which was name at birth and which is now used only by members of family.

I offer that in evidence in support of the statement made by the witness.²

Mr. DEKOM. I would further like to call attention of the committee to some of the mailing addresses which have been submitted by the Tanjug Agency to the Department of Justice. The following on the list are Communist or Communist-controlled newspapers or organizations: The Daily Worker, which is the official organ of the Communist Party of the United States; the news letter In Fact, which is published

¹ 18 U. S. C., sec. 2386 (supp. I).

² The material referred to appears in appendix III, p. A43.

by George Seldes. Then there is the newspaper Narodni Glasnik, which is a Communist Croatian newspaper, published at 1916 East Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Narodna Volya, a Bulgarian-language Communist paper published in Detroit, Mich.; Nova Doba, a Czechoslovak Communist newspaper, published in Chicago; Slobodna Rec, a Communist Serbian newspaper, published in Pittsburgh, and many others.¹

I would also like to call the attention of the committee to the first person on this list: Louis Adamic, of Milford, N. J., about whom we will present additional testimony in the future.

Mr. Chairman, I would also like to ask the witness for any comments which he may have on Louis Adamic.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Raditsa, you may do so. Who is he, what is he, where did he come from, and what is he doing now?

Mr. RADITSA. He comes from Slovenia. He came to this country when he was a 12-year-old boy. He was the main brain trust of the American-Slav movement in the country. He is now in Belgrade with Marshal Tito. He was received 1 month ago by Marshal Tito and the main newspaper, Politika, published the picture.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he connected with any Communist organization?

Mr. RADITSA. Yes; he is in all the Slav-Communist movements; he was one of the officers of the American Slav Congress, and he was the chairman of the United Committee of South Slavic-Americans.

The CHAIRMAN. When was he over in this country?

Mr. RADITSA. I think that he left this country in December of last year.

The CHAIRMAN. What was he doing while he was here?

Mr. RADITSA. Writing.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he connected with any other organization?

Mr. RADITSA. Yes; he was connected with all of the left-wing American organizations of Slav descent.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Chairman, with your permission I would like to state that the staff has made an investigation of the connections of Louis Adamic. He has the longest record of Communist-front affiliations of any persons we have studied so far. Those are affiliations with more than 50 Communist fronts, and we will submit their sum total for the record with the permission of the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. I think they should be submitted.²

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any comment to make, Mr. Raditsa, on the activities of Sava Kosanovic, the Yugoslav Ambassador in Washington?

Mr. RADITSA. Mr. Sava Kosanovic, during the war, as I stated in my statement, was closely linked with the Communists in this country, the Yugoslav Communists. Since he became Ambassador, he has continued to visit the Communist front and pro-Communist organizations of Americans of Yugoslav and Slav descent.

The CHAIRMAN. What evidence have you to give us that he was an active Communist or that he is?

Mr. RADITSA. I don't think that Mr. Kosanovic is a party member, but during the war he was associated with a group of the American Communists of Serbian descent. This group was editing and publishing Slobodna Rec, the Communist weekly printed in Pittsburgh.

¹ The mailing lists of the Tanjug Agency, as submitted to the Department of Justice in compliance with the Foreign Agents Registration Act, appears in appendix III, p. A58.

² The Communist-front connections of Louis Adamic will be found in appendix V, p. A73.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any other activity of his in connection with communism? I am speaking now of the Yugoslav Ambassador.

Mr. RADITSA. Yes. I think he is still very active, because whenever there is any rally or any meeting or any affair by the American Slav Congress or given by the Yugoslav American pro-Communist-front organization, he is always very anxious to get in touch with them, talk to them, and I am sure that he is still in contact with them, sending and giving them information and instructions as to how to proceed.

The CHAIRMAN. He is representing a Communist form of government?

Mr. RADITSA. Of course he is representing a Communist form of government and a Communist state. His attitude in Yugoslavia, when he joined Tito, was very favorable to the Communists. He joined Tito against the will and decision of the Independent Democratic Party of Yugoslavia.

By the way, at that time the Democratic Party of Yugoslavia published a communiqué which condemned Kosanovic for joining Tito's government and Tito's People's Front. The majority of the leaders of the Independent Democratic Party remained outside of Tito's front.

Mr. DEKOM. Thank you very much for appearing here today, Mr. Raditsa.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM H. SMYTH, ENGINEER, 44 WEST FORTY-FOURTH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Our next witness will be Mr. Smyth.¹

Mr. Smyth, will you kindly come forward and be sworn?

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand, please. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give before this Senate committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SMYTH. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Smyth, would you kindly identify yourself both as to name and address, and as to background and experience?

Mr. SMYTH. My name is William H. Smyth and I live at 44 West Forty-fourth Street, New York, N. Y. My background is given in the beginning of my statement.

Mr. ARENS. Under those circumstances I suggest, if it is agreeable with the chairman, that you read the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. SMYTH. You have called me here, I assume, to hear my opinion as to whether conditions existing in this country of ours call for legislation such as Senate bill 1694² of the first session, Eighty-first Congress, introduced by Senator Pat McCarran.

My remarks will be based principally on conditions, as they appear to me, in the Yugoslav group in the United States. In order to enable you to judge my qualifications and trustworthiness to speak of these

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

² Senate bill 1694 was superseded on May 11, 1949, by Senate bill 1832, introduced by Senator McCarran.

matters, I would like to give you the following information about my background and life:

I was born of American Methodist missionary parents, May 23, 1890, in Foochow, China; came to America in 1899; was graduated from Berkeley High School, California, and later in 1912, from the University of California as a civil engineer. I worked 5 years in my profession in San Francisco, then entered the United States Army in May 1917; served as captain, Field Artillery, with duty in France, in the army of occupation in Germany, and with the American mission in Vienna until my demobilization in September 1919, in Paris.

I worked for an American export-import company in Turkey, Persia, the Causasus, and Yugoslavia until early 1921, then founded and operated, from 1921 until 1941—20 years—my own company in Yugoslavia, W. H. Smyth, Belgrade and Zagreb, my principal business being the importation of American motorcars, trucks, tractors, tires, oil, and so forth, and the export of Yugoslav products. I was elected a member of the Yugoslav Society of Engineers and Architects.

In July 1941, when the American consulates were closed in Yugoslavia, I closed my business and left the country. My wife and I were in Hungary from then until January 1942, when we left with the American Foreign Service personnel and other Americans for Lisbon. After 5 weeks there, we reached New York March 1, 1942. During 1942 and 1943, I spent a good deal of time helping the Army and other governmental organizations in such ways as I could through supplying data on the Balkans and the Danube Valley countries. I became a member of the American Legion and the American Society of Civil Engineers.

Since 1945, I have devoted considerable time to the Threadmiller Corp., a small company a friend and I founded to produce and sell tools for cutting thread on lathes. However, during the entire 8 years I have been home in America, I have constantly tried to keep track of Communist activities, especially in the Yugoslav group, which I know best, and in general, in other foreign-language groups.

I spent this time in following Communist activities, because I hoped that some day the information obtained might be helpful in keeping my country a free republic. You must know, gentlemen, that I have a very special interest in this matter. In the spring of 1920, I lost practically everything I had to the Russian Communists in Baku, the Caspian Sea oil town. When the Germans invaded Yugoslavia in April 1941, I lost my business built up through 20 years of hard work. Now, I am starting again and I do not want to lose out a third time through the working of any foreign "ism" in my own country.

Senate bill 1694 has my hearty approval. My long acquaintance with Communists and with various foreign-language groups makes me believe that every foreign-language group in the United States has its own highly organized national section of the American Communist Party, each one with its own political bureau, national and State committees, local committees and cells reaching down to and directing the work of individual members and fellow travelers in their work as spies, agitators, organizers, propagandists, and so forth. Further, I feel sure this work is all controlled by Moscow, through agents sent here directly or indirectly as Moscow directs.

The large majority in all foreign-language groups is composed of good, loyal Americans. However, like most Americans, they are too tolerant to believe that anyone would work against the United States, the country they really love. This tolerance or incredulity appears to make many of them an easy prey to the constant and subtle propaganda fed to them by well-trained Communist workers.

In support of my belief that Senate bill 1694 should be passed, I call your attention to the work of certain organizations and persons in the Yugoslav foreign-language group. Others, I feel sure, could give you corresponding information about organizations and persons in other foreign-language groups. Obviously, organizations do not usually call themselves "Communist" organizations, nor do most individuals show their party card. Thus, one can say only that this organization or that person must be a Communist, or is reported to be one, judging by the company he keeps and by the work of the groups or units to which he belongs.

Mr. ARENS. Before you get started, were you handed a list of Yugoslav officials in this country by representatives of the subcommittee staff, persons in whom we were particularly interested, and asked to compile whatever information you might have on those persons?

Mr. SMYTH. Sometime ago I received such a list and I looked over the names, but on this list of mine there is no use of giving you everybody, because it would take too long. I brought in a number of the ones whom I consider the most important and who offer the most striking examples. There will be a couple of Yugoslavs who have become American citizens. They have come to our country and do not behave like good guests. They seem to forget they have changed their place of residence and they keep working for their previous home.

Mr. ARENS. You may proceed.

First, I want to call your attention to the Yugoslav-American Home ¹ at 405 West Forty-first Street, New York City. This building was purchased a few years ago by a group of Yugoslav Communists and sympathizers to have a central point for their activities. It has various meeting rooms, restaurant, bar, theater; is very well run, and appears to be, without any doubt, the center of Yugoslav Communist activities on the eastern coast, and is also used, as occasion demands, by the organizations considered to be Communist in several other foreign-language groups, as Bulgar, Greek, Italian, Czech, and Polish.

According to the best information obtainable, Yugoslav Communist groups, Communist sympathizers hold open and secret meetings in this home. Important Communists appear at meetings, and there is a constant and well-planned series of concerts and other entertainment, all apparently directed to attracting as many Yugoslavs as possible for their gradual inoculation with the Communist virus.

The president of this home is Harry Justiz, a New York lawyer of Yugoslav origin. The manager and bookkeeper is Vinko Ujichich, until a few months ago the cashier of the Yugoslav consulate general in New York. Justiz was the lawyer for the consulate.

Mr. ARENS. May I interrupt to ask you, Is Mr. Justiz the man who is presently under contempt for failure to answer questions?

Mr. SMYTH. He is.

¹ Also known as the Jugoslavenski-Americki Dom.

As they declared for the Cominform in the Tito-Cominform split, they were obliged to relinquish those posts. The home is now in the hands of Cominform people. However, it is interesting to note that next Friday, May 13, the Friends of New Yugoslavia, a pro-Tito organization, will give a banquet in the home in honor of the Yugoslav delegation to the United Nations and will show a Yugoslav film, *Slavica*. This would seem to indicate that, in spite of newspaper reports and wishful thinking, some connection exists between Tito and the Cominform.

A number of organizations called clubs—as longshoremen, actors, partisans, veterans, and so forth—hold their meetings in this home. While they are called clubs, it is hard to believe that they are not “cells” in the organization of the Yugoslav national section of the American Communist Party.

With regard to the various individuals I am naming, a brief description is as follows:

1. General Ljubo Ilic, one of Tito's generals, a well-known Communist; served in the Spanish civil war; later completed Communist political school course in Moscow; was one of principal Cominform agents in Paris; arrived in America with a Yugoslav diplomatic passport in 1947. Generally understood, his purpose was to control the work of the Yugoslav national section of the CPUSA¹ and then to organize Communist activity in Yugoslav colonies in the Argentine, Brazil, Chile, and Ecuador. General Ilic spoke both at open and secret meetings at the Yugoslav home. His talks, according to report, called on the workers in America to unite and to take over the power as they have done in other lands.

2. Josip Mavra, said to have been arrested in the Argentine as a Communist and to have served a prison term accordingly. As he had been compromised in that country, it appears that the party sent Mavra to this country as a seaman. I understand he arrived with the usual seaman's papers, good for a 29-day visit, but was quickly admitted to the Yugoslav section of the CPUSA and was given a job as floorman and waiter at the Permanent Delegation to the United Nations of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, 854 Fifth Avenue, New York City. (Incidentally, that is the building referred to by the previous witness as the home or place of residence of Joza Vilfan.) It was believed Mavra was the Cominform controller of the work of that delegation. Somehow, he secured a social-security card and now works as a longshoreman. Mavra is considered an excellent organizer, and one hears he is liaison between Yugoslav Communists of North and South America. I doubt that he has a visa to remain in the United States.

3. Louis Weissman, called Lujo Goranin, American citizen of Yugoslav origin.² Correspondent of Tanjug, the Yugoslav Government press agency, which would seem to bear out the belief many hold that Goranin is a member of the Yugoslav national section of the American Communist Party. Goranin organized and directed the Jedinstvo chorus, a mixed group which appears at numerous meetings, concerts, etc., at the Yugoslav-American Home. He left the chorus when some months ago he declared for Tito, his reason being given that he was not in good health. He seems to be today one of the principal distributors of Tito propaganda in this country.

¹ Communist Party of the United States of America.

² See also p. 51 and appendix IV, p. A43.

4. Captain Theodore Tijan, registered as Third Secretary of the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington, D. C., apparently acts as attaché for the Yugoslav merchant marine and is almost constantly in New York at the merchant-marine offices, 8-10 Bridge Street. It is believed that the entire Yugoslav Communist courier service goes through Tijan. Yugoslav seamen, arriving in New York on ships of any flag, are said to report to his office to deliver and receive messages. Captain Tijan is a member of the Yugoslav Communist Party in Yugoslavia. It is said that he was the first Yugoslav to hoist the Communist flag on his ship. According to report, he appears and speaks at both open and at secret meetings of the Yugoslav Communists in New York. I understand he calls on the workers to take over the United States Government as their brothers took over the government in Yugoslavia.

5. Miodrag Markovic, Yugoslav consul general in New York. Appears at most meetings in the Yugoslav-American Home in New York. In his talks, he is said to have regularly attacked the Marshall plan, the American capitalist system, and he bewails the lack of freedom possessed by American workers.

6. Krista Djordjevic, Serb woman, married to Dr. Djura Djordjevic, professor in the Belgrade Medical School, known both in Belgrade and Zagreb as a Communist. Her home was searched several times by the police, and I believe that, at least once, she was arrested as a result. Her husband was not a Communist but gave her the money with which she helped leftist-minded students. She worked hard for partisans during the war. She came to U. S. A. in 1946, as representative of Yugoslav Red Cross with UN; lived in New York and Washington, and visited many Yugoslav colonies in this country, making Communist propaganda. She was said to appear regularly at open and secret Yugoslav Communist meetings. Now president of Yugoslav Red Cross in Belgrade, she is reported to maintain contact with leading Yugoslav Communists here.

7. Mima Dedijer, came here about May 1947, to replace Krista Djordjevic as Yugoslav Red Cross representative with UN and to be representative for the Children's Organization. Presumably, she carried on the same work as Krista in organizing Yugoslav women for communism. She regularly visited Yugoslav-American Home in New York and maintained contact with Yugoslav Communists here. She was a relative of Stevan Dedijer, a well-known Yugoslav Communist, who was attached for a short time to the UN Yugoslav delegation, and who now has a high position with Tito. He is the man that Mr. Raditsa said had been out in India.¹

8. Marija Govorusic (Miss), came here as secretary to Mima Dedijer in May 1947. As I remember, she was known to the police in Belgrade as a Communist before World War II. Visited Yugoslav Communist meetings at various points in this country.

Gentlemen, I have presented to you the above material as sifted out from sources I believe to be reliable. It seems to me, we have Government organizations which should be able to check and verify this information, should you so desire.

I consider the United States to be the home for each true American. It seems to me that we should exercise as much care in permitting guests to enter and dwell in our country as we would in permitting

¹ See p. 54.

them to enter and live in our private homes. That is why I hope that Congress will adopt this law so that the guardians of our American home may keep it clean for us and for our children.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any information respecting Louis Adamic?

Mr. SMYTH. I met him only once, and that was in January 1935, at the time and on an occasion when he spoke before the Public Affairs Society—I think that is what it was called—in Chicago. It was in the same hotel, the Palmer House, at which I was living. I happened to be in Chicago with my wife, back on a trip from Yugoslavia, and I attended that meeting. I could not attend the lunch because that was private, but the public was admitted afterward. I paid 50 cents, and I certainly had 50 cents' worth in listening to Louis Adamic tell the most untruthful stories about Yugoslavia.

Afterward, the chairman stated that, while they did not allow anyone to make speeches, anyone who desired to could get up and ask questions. I asked him a number of questions which seemed to prove to everybody that he had been definitely slanting his talk. That is the only time that I met him personally. You see, Louis Adamic came here as a boy, I should say, when he was 12 or 14 years old. I believe he worked his way through college, and he is entitled to full credit for that. He is technically a good writer and a hard worker, but he got off on this Communist line. He was sent to Yugoslavia on some fellowship, Guggenheim or otherwise, back in 1933. The story in Belgrade, as they used to say—things are talked about in cafes, and I speak good Serbian and knew the place well—Adamic came to Belgrade expecting that he would be received with open arms by King Alexander as a great man. He was kept waiting a bit, and his reception was not too warm. The general talk around Belgrade was that, if King Alexander had pinned what we call a decoration on Adamic's breast, probably he would have come back to America and written glowing accounts about the country. That is what they called cafe talk over there.

Adamic had one great fortune, which was that his book, *The Native's Return*, appeared just after King Alexander was murdered in Marseille. I think it was October 1934. Here the King was murdered. It was a sensational story, and right then and there a book came out on Yugoslavia. Of course, that made it a best seller, and then he was around on lecture trips, and he built himself up a whole lot.

During this war, it is my firm opinion that Adamic has been one of the two or three top Tito men in this country. Right from the beginning, even when they had the Royal Yugoslav Government, he was a Tito man.

I would like to add one thing. He could not be in Yugoslavia today unless Tito was sure of him, because the Tito government does not give visas to people unless they know they are members of the party.

Mr. ARENS. On the basis of your experience and study of the Communist and subversive activity in the United States, do you have any appraisal to make as to the point of attack on the problem from the standpoint of trying to cut off the conduit or pipe line into this country?

Mr. SMYTH. One of the most important things we can do is to make a law whereby we can keep out people who have no business being here,

and, secondly, that we can throw them out right on their necks as soon as we catch them.

One great loophole is this business of seamen. A foreign seaman comes in here with an international document giving him the right to spend 29 days in this country. He does not have to have a regular passport as an ordinary visitor is required to have. This seaman, if he knows the right people, and the Communist organizations seem to be full of them, gets a social-security card. You see, you go around to the social-security office and, what I have heard, there is no trouble in getting a card. One of these men takes you in there, and you state your name and you get your social-security card. From then on, you are free, you can go and get a job anywhere.

This man I referred to, Joseph Mavra, people tell me has a social-security card, and without it he certainly could not work as a long-shoreman in the union, because they are pretty careful on that. However, there he is covered. When he arrived here, as I believe I said, his first job was with the United Nations delegation, and then he got his social-security card. Now he can circulate around anywhere.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Smyth, do you know of any country behind the iron curtain where our seamen get reciprocal treatment?

Mr. SMYTH. I am quite sure that there are none.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you, Mr. Smyth.

(Thereupon, at 5:30 p. m., the subcommittee recessed.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

THURSDAY, MAY 12, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION
AND NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 4 p. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Pat McCarran (chairman) presiding.
Present: Senator McCarran.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee; Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.
You may proceed, Mr. Arens.

TESTIMONY OF KIRILL MIKHAILOVICH ALEXEEV, FORMER COMMERCIAL AIR ATTACHÉ, SOVIET EMBASSY, MEXICO¹

MR. ARENS. Will the witness please stand and be sworn? I ask, also, that the interpreter will be sworn to give a true interpretation of the witness' answers.

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand, Mr. Alexeev.¹

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before the Senate committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. ALEXEEV. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You do solemnly swear that you will interpret truly and correctly from the language used by the witness to the English language and vice versa, so help you God?

MR. PROKOFIEFF. I do.

MR. ARENS. Would you kindly identify yourself by name, occupation, and background.

MR. PROKOFIEFF. Kirill Mikhailovich Alexeev. He was formerly commercial attaché, Soviet Embassy, in Mexico City.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. How long was he commercial attaché in the embassy at Mexico City?

MR. PROKOFIEFF. Two and one-half years.

The CHAIRMAN. How old is he?

MR. PROKOFIEFF. Forty.

The CHAIRMAN. Married or single?

¹ Mr. Vladimir Prokofieff, research analyst, Department of State, acted as interpreter for the subcommittee.

² The witness appeared under subpoena.

Mr. ALEXEEV. Married.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in the United States?

Mr. ALEXEEV. About 2 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. ALEXEEV. In Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of Russia?

Mr. ALEXEEV. Central part of Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. ARENS. What was the occasion upon which he severed his affiliation with the Russian Government in Mexico?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. On the 26th of November 1946 he left Mexico City. He left the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. Because he does not approve of Soviet policy and he no longer wants to be a citizen of the U. S. S. R.

Mr. ARENS. Ask him if he is familiar with the international intelligence organization of the Soviet Government.

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He is familiar with the international spying activities of the U. S. S. R. just as every other responsible worker of the U. S. S. R. is acquainted.

Mr. ARENS. Before he proceeds with his prepared statement, would you ask him if he is acquainted with persons in the United States who are engaged in intelligence activities on behalf of the Soviet Government?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states he knows the system of espionage, Soviet system of espionage in the United States, but says that the Senate is better acquainted with the individuals engaged in this espionage than he is.

Mr. ARENS. Ask him if he knows the military attaché of the Russian Embassy in Washington¹ and his activities in the intelligence work on behalf of the Soviet Government.

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He says that he was acquainted with the Soviet military attaché, but at the moment he cannot recall his name.

Mr. ARENS. Does he speak of the present Soviet military attaché in Washington, the man who is the present Soviet military attaché?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He is speaking about the present attaché.

Mr. ALEXEEV. The present attaché.

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He says that he can describe in general the activities of the present attaché, and he is acquainted with the present attaché. He has heard things about him when he was in the U. S. S. R.

Mr. ARENS. Would you ask him to give his description of the activities, of which he has knowledge, of the present military attaché of the Soviet Government in the United States, particularly with reference to intelligence activities of this individual.

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He has described in general the activities of the service attachés in the various Soviet embassies. He states that the service attachés are divided into three: the military, the naval, the air attachés. Each works within his field, but actually their activities are all coordinated by the NKVD in Moscow.

The CHAIRMAN. What do the letters NKVD stand for?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

¹ Major General Ivan A. Bolshakov, Military Attaché.

Mr. ARENS. Ask him to describe what these men do in the Russian Embassy in Washington, from the standpoint of the intelligence work, spying, in other words.

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. The military attaché carries on spying activities in respect to strategic points in the United States; he also carries on spying activities in respect to military industry, supply of the Army, the armament of the Army, in respect to the Air Force, everything in respect to the United States airports, the type and quantity of ships, the Air Force, information concerning other military information, and of course, in respect to the atomic bomb.

Mr. ARENS. What do you mean by spy activities? How does the individual in question get the information and where does he get the information?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He says that it is very simple for the attachés to get information.

Mr. ARENS. Where does he get it?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. The first main source, of course, are the Communist organizations in the United States of America. The second source of information are the hired informers, paid informers. The third source are the fellow travelers who ordinarily surround the Soviet embassies.

Mr. ARENS. Ask him what connection there is between the Communist-front organizations in the United States, if any, and the officials, technical officials of the Government of Russia or of the iron curtain countries, who are here in the United States.

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. One of the front organizations, he says, is the Institute for Cultural Relations. In addition to this organization, the Embassy has contact with other organizations. He claims that all the fellow-traveler organizations have direct contact with members of the Soviet Embassy. He says not only do they have contact with members of the Soviet Embassy, but actually do not take one step without order from the Soviet Embassy. He states that contact between fellow-traveler organizations and the Soviet Embassy is generally in the hands of the first secretaries of the Embassy. He states that usually there are two secretaries in a Soviet Embassy.

Mr. ARENS. When he speaks of Soviet Embassy, does he confine himself exclusively in this pattern to the Embassy of Soviet Russia or does he also include embassies and consulates of other iron-curtain countries?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states that the satellite embassies are merely parts of the Soviet Embassy. He states that he is certain that satellite embassies do not even have their own codes for the purpose of sending secret messages. If the satellite embassies do have such codes, then they are in the hands of the Soviet Embassy.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent are the attachés and affiliates of the embassies and consulates of the Soviet Government or of iron-curtain governments in the United States active in the United States in the formation of Communist cells?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states that the local Communist Party has contact with the first secretary of the local Soviet Embassy, reports to him on its activities, and these reports are sent to Moscow. In Moscow, the foreign section of the central committee of the Communist Party sends directives to the first secretary as to where Communist organizations should be established within the United States. The first secre-

tary of the Soviet Embassy then issues the instructions to the heads of the local Communist Party, who in turn fulfill the directives. He states that one of the first secretaries has the responsibility for carrying on, for organizing all of the spying activities of the Soviet Embassy.

Mr. ARENS. Ask him how extensive these spying activities are in the United States, either by the affiliates of the foreign government or by the Communist-front organizations in this country.

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He says spy activities are developed very highly in the United States of America; spy activities by the Soviet Embassy, by their sympathizers, by Soviet satellite embassies, are developed very highly in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. How extensive is it?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He says what can I compare it with? He states that only 5 percent of the spy activities are actually carried on by members of the local of the United States of America Communist Party. The rest, 95 percent is carried on by representatives of the U. S. S. R.

Mr. ARENS. In the United States?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. In the United States. He states that all of the spy lines lead into the Soviet Embassy, despite the fact that different agents are used to do the spying. He states that in addition to the Embassy spy activities that are carried on, other units are used to spy.

Mr. ARENS. To what other units does he refer?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. Some of these agents in addition to members of the Soviet Embassy can be, he says, businessmen.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to get the latter part of his last answer there. He gave you one special expression right after you interpreted. What did he say? You said businessmen. Now what?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. They can be bankers, as well.

Mr. ARENS. Are these bankers that he refers to people who are sent here by the Soviets as agents?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He says they are sent here by the Soviet Government and carry on their affairs by means of money provided by the Soviet Government.

Mr. ARENS. Ask him if he would kindly express himself with reference to the spying activities, if any, by persons who are in this country as affiliates of international organizations or as members or employees or affiliates of trading organizations, such as Amtorg or news associations such as Tass, who presently enjoy certain immunity.

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states that Amtorg is not only a trading organization but also a spying organization. Amtorg, he says, depends for its source of information upon sympathizers or members of the local Communist Party, and he says that Amtorg depends upon the acquisition of information from such of its employees as chauffeurs.

The CHAIRMAN. As what?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. Chauffeurs, beginning with chauffeurs.

The CHAIRMAN. From there up or from there down?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He says from bottom up, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Ask him if he knows what money or things of value are sent into this country by couriers of the Soviets for the purpose of aiding Communist-front organizations or for the purpose of purchasing propaganda to be disseminated among groups in the United States.

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states that the ways of sending money or things of value to this country are varied and many, but, of course, he says, the Soviets are not so naive as to send over a ton of gold or a box filled with currency.

Mr. ARENS. What do they do?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states that, of course, the Soviet Union has commercial relations with various firms in the United States and during business contacts, business relations with a particular firm, they are able to keep some of the money that they receive from a business here in the States for the purpose of passing on to sympathetic organizations for propaganda purposes. He states that the principle which guides the Soviet Union in making expenditures here is to make these expenditures at the expense of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. What is the objective of the Soviet espionage and propaganda activity and organizational activities in the United States, which he has testified is directed and controlled by the Soviet officials in this country.

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states that the first objective of the Soviets, Soviet spying activities, is, of course, to learn as much about their enemy as is possible.

Mr. DEKOM. Who is their enemy?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states that the United States, of course, without question, is their enemy. He states that, for example, knowledge concerning the United States, such as a detailed biography of the present Senators, can be had in Moscow from the very beginning of his life until the present moment.

Mr. ARENS. How about the employees of the Senators?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He is convinced of this. He states that he himself read and he knows there exists in Moscow such detailed information that we in the United States do not have.

Mr. ARENS. How many of these key persons that he has alluded to, who are in the United States directing the activities of the Soviet espionage organizational work in this country, enjoy diplomatic immunity under our present law?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states that every representative of the U. S. S. R. who has a diplomatic passport has a spy responsibility, and he says not less than 50 percent of those who come here without diplomatic passports have spy responsibility.

Mr. ARENS. Come here from where?

Mr. ALEXEEV. From Russia.

Mr. ARENS. Would he include also the satellite countries?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states that the satellites are nothing more than sections led and organized by the U. S. S. R.

Mr. ARENS. How many persons were accredited to the Soviet Embassy in Mexico where you served?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He says there were at least 15 individuals in the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City.

Mr. ARENS. Ask him if he has received any contacts or communications from the officials of satellite countries or from Soviet Russia or from Communists in the United States since he severed his relationships with the Soviet Embassy in Mexico.

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He says, since he left the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City, he has had one contact with a member of the American Communist Party, apparently some woman.

Mr. ARENS. What was the nature of that contact?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. She came to find out from him whether he was not going to give out information concerning the U. S. S. R.; information, of course, that would be useful to the intelligence services, and whether he would write about the U. S. S. R.

Mr. ARENS. Has he received any approaches or anything in the nature of a threat since he has been served with a subpoena to appear before this committee?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states that he did not inform anybody that he was going to appear before the Senate Judiciary Committee and consequently no one knows about it, and he hopes that nobody from our side has informed anyone of the fact that he was going to be present.

The CHAIRMAN. You know now this is an open public hearing. Does he realize that?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He realizes that this is a public meeting and, therefore, he is a bit constrained; he is constrained, and he is unable to speak freely.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly ask the witness if he has a prepared statement, a statement which he has prepared, expressing his additional testimony in a public session which can be incorporated in the record?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. Yes; he has such a statement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, may that be received in the record as the additional statement of this witness?

The CHAIRMAN. It will be inserted in the record.

(The information is as follows:)

[Translation]

ORGANIZATION OF SPYING IN SOVIET EMBASSIES ABROAD

METHODS OF SOVIET SPYING ABROAD

All responsible workers of a Soviet Embassy are members of the secret intelligence service of the Soviet Government, operating in the fields corresponding to the positions they hold. Of these, the main individuals are (a) military attaché, (b) naval attaché, (c) air attaché, (d) press attaché, (e) commercial attaché, (f) the first and second secretaries of the embassies (everyone spies in the field corresponding with the duties he performs), (g) the Ambassador, (h) the correspondent of Tass.

The most important person who has the right of controlling the above-listed individuals is the highest representative of the NKVD. He usually has the position and the title of the first secretary of the Embassy. The remaining members of a Soviet Embassy can work only at the order of the first secretary, the representative of the NKVD.

The military, naval, and air attachés carry on spying within their fields of specialization. Every one of them begins his activities by gaining the trust of responsible people occupying important positions in the military system of a given country. This way, they have the possibility of getting information through more or less legal means: By personal contact with official persons, conversations with them, visits to plants, to military barracks and units, and strategic military points. After each conversation with an official person, the attaché must prepare a report and immediately send it to Moscow. The report is prepared about all the details of the conversation, which often do not have any direct relationship with the problem of interest to the spy at the given moment.

In Moscow, all of these reports are systematized and, according to them, detailed characterizations are made of all persons occupying responsible governmental positions in a given country. Often it is possible to find in Moscow detailed biographies of persons occupying governmental positions in various coun-

tries, about their way of life, habits and predilections and everything that concerns their character and personal life. All of these materials are classified and can be used only by persons specifically permitted to look at them. This is a colossal archive.

When the attaché goes over to direct spying work, he recruits agents. Usually, agents are recruited from among Communists and sympathizers, regardless of their national affiliation (in most instances people not born in the given country are included in the group of Soviet informers). The most desirable informers are people having contact with governmental institutions. Some of them are on pay rolls, but more often they receive remuneration for individual assignments. Very often they serve even without pay and merely because of ideological motives.

If a country presents no interest from the point of view of naval or air questions, then in the organization of the Soviet Embassy of the given country there may not be a naval or an air attaché. For example, in Mexico at the present time there probably is only the military attaché. All the military attachés are subordinate to and responsible to one boss—the NKVD. It has sections dealing with the various types of troops. All of these sections are unified in the Administration for Foreign Counterintelligence of the NKVD.

The press attaché gathers information from all sources connected with the press of a given country. He has informers among journalists and is the specialist on the political aspect of life in a given country. He is subordinate to Tass, which, in its turn, is an organ subordinate to the press section of the Foreign Administration of the NKVD.

The commercial attaché carries on wide activities in establishing business contacts among the commercial and industrial circles in a given country. This worker does not have any difficulty recruiting informers even from among the most well-to-do part of the population. Many, only from the desire to become one of the trade clients of the U. S. S. R., bring full information about the economic status of a country, about the banks, governmental industrial enterprises, etc.

Besides these, paid informers work for the Soviet commercial representative. Many foreign employees of Soviet commercial organizations are informers for them.

The Embassy secretaries.—Every secretary in an embassy carries on his work. For example, the secretary of the so-called Society for Cultural Relations Abroad carries on and organizes pro-Soviet propaganda on one side and spy work on another. This secretary has a colossal number of informers among fellow travelers and Communists. He has connections in the culturally higher strata of the population and gathers information of the broadest and most varied character without any difficulty.

The secretary responsible for consular questions knows the former Russians, and usually recommends to all desiring to return to the fatherland that to deserve this possibility they must fulfill specific spying assignments.

The first secretary—the representative of the NKVD—is the most important and the most responsible organizer of spying in an Embassy abroad. He watches and controls all the other organizers of spying and immediately reports directly to the NKVD. He organizes spying through special agents working outside of the Embassy, controls them, and gives the assignments. He is responsible for the fulfillment of the most serious assignments, both of a political and economic character (atomic secrets, etc.). He looks after the spying done by foreigners, and by businessmen who have opened their enterprises with money especially assigned for this by the Soviet Government. He also controls the work of Communist organizations.¹

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. That statement is of a very general character.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you a question or two, please. Where did he receive his training for diplomatic service?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states that he has an engineer's degree. He completed a course at the Machine Construction Institute in mining engineering.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. ALEXEEV. In Moscow.

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states that he has a doctorate of technical sciences.

¹ The original statement of the witness appears on p. 73.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did he get his training for diplomatic service?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states that he was commercial attaché, and that generally Soviet commercial attachés are specialists.

The CHAIRMAN. Before he became commercial attaché in the Russian Embassy at Mexico City, did he receive any indoctrination or training in communistic activity?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He states that he did not receive any instruction, any training in spying activities. He states he did receive training in specialized commercial activities for approximately 2 months prior to coming over to Mexico City, but he says despite what he has just stated—namely, that he had not received any specialized training in spying activities—still he is certain that every foreign representative of the U. S. S. R. receives instructions and is responsible for carrying on spy activities.

Mr. ARENS. By foreign representative, would he also include persons who are affiliates of international organizations or members of trading commissions, or semiofficial groups such as that?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. He says without question he includes those particular individuals as foreign representatives.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we will hold over until the morning. Can he stay over until tomorrow morning?

Mr. PROKOFIEFF. If it is essential, he can stay over.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; it is essential. He is under subpoena; is he not?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He will be excused subject to the order of the subpoena, and the committee will stand in recess until 10 in the morning. We will reconvene at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, and it will be an executive session.

(Thereupon, at 5:10 p. m., a recess was taken until Friday, May 13, 1949, at 10 a. m.)

(Following is the original statement submitted by the witness:)

Организация шпионажа в Советских по-
сольствах за границей.

Методы Советского шпионажа за границей- Всякий ответственный работник советского посольства, является работником секретной разведовательной службы советского правительства, в области соответствующей занимаемой им должности. Основными из них, являются:

- а. Военный атташе.
- б. Морской атташе.
- в. Атташе воздушных войск.
- г. Пресс-атташе.
- д. Коммерческий атташе.
- е. Первые секретари посольства, и вторые. (каждый в области, соответствующей выполняемым им, обязанностям.)
- ж. Посол.
- з. Корреспондент ТАССа.

Главным лицом, который имеет право контролировать всех перечисленных лиц, является самый старший представитель НКВД, обычно имеющий должность и звание первого секретаря посольства.

Остальные члены советского посольства, могут работать только по заданиям "первого секретаря"-представителя НКВД.

Военный атташе, авиации, и морской- ведут шпионскую работу, каждый в области своей специальности. Каждый из них, начинает свою деятельность с того, что вникает в доверие ответственных лиц, занимающих крупное положение в военной системе данной страны. И получают таким образом возможность иметь информацию, более или менее, легальным порядком, (путем лич-

ного контакта с официальными лицами, разговоров с ними (после каждого разговора с официальным лицом, атташе должен составить рапорт и немедленно отослать в Москву. Рапорт составляется со всеми подробностями разговора, часто не имеющими прямого отношения к вопросу, который в данный момент интересует разведчика. В Москве, все эти рапорта систематизируются и по ним составляются подробные характеристики всех лиц, занимающих ответственное государственное положение в данной стране. /посещения заводов, военных казарм, частей и военно-стратегических пунктов.)

-Часто, можно в Москве найти подробные биографии, лиц занимающих государственное положение в различных странах. Их образ жизни, привычки и склонности и все что касается их характера и личной жизни. Все эти материалы засекречены и ими могут пользоваться лица специально к этому допущенные. -Это огромный архив.

Затем, атташе переходят к непосредственной шпионской работе-вербуют агентов. Обычно агенты вербуются из числа коммунистов и сочувствующих им, не зависимо от их национальной принадлежности (в большинстве случаев, в состав советских осведомителей, входят люди, не рожденные в данной стране.) Наиболее желательными осведомителями, являются люди имеющие отношение к правительственным учреждениям. Некоторые из них работают на жаловании, но чаще за оплату по отдельным заданиям и очень часто совсем без оплаты, а просто по идеологическим мотивам.

Если страна не представляет собой интереса с точки зрения морской или авиационной, то в составе советского посольства данной страны, морского и авиационного атташе, может совсе и не быть. (например в Мексике, в данное время вероятно

всего лишь один военный атташе.

Все военные атташе, подчиняются и отчетываются перед одним хозяином- НКВД. Он имеет свои управления ведущие различными родами войск. Таким образом, все эти управления объединяются в управление иностранной контр-разведки НКВД.

Пресс-атташе. Собирает информацию во всех источниках связанных с прессой в данной стране. Имеет осведомителей среди журналистов и является информатором политической стороны жизни данной страны. Подчинен ТАССу, который в свою очередь является органом подчиненным отделу прессы иностранного управления НКВД.

Коммерческий атташе. Коммерческий атташе ведет широкую работу по установлению деловых контактов, среди коммерческих и промышленных кругов в данной стране. Этому работнику, не трудно завербовать себе осведомителей, даже среди состоятельной части населения. Многие, только из желания попасть в число клиентов торговли с СССР, по своему почину несут полную информацию о экономическом состоянии страны, банков, государственных промышленных предприятиях и т.д.

Кроме того, на советское торговое представительство, работают и платные осведомители. Многие иностранные сотрудники советских торговых организаций, являются информаторами последнего.

Секретари посольства. Ведет каждый секретарь в посольстве свою работу. Например-в "так наз. обществе культурной связи с заграницей". Ведет и организует просоветскую пропаганду, с одной стороны, и шпионскую работу, с другой. Этот секретарь имеет огромное количество осведомителей из числа симпатизантов и коммунистов. Имеет связи в культурных более высших слоях

населения и собирает информацию самого широкого и разнообразного характера и без особого труда.

Секретарь ведающий консульскими вопросами, зная состав бывших русских, обычно рекомендует всем желающим вернуться на родину, заслужить эту возможность, путем выполнения определенных шпионских заданий.

Первый секретарь-резидент НКВД. Является главным и самым ответственным организатором шпионажа в посольстве, за границей. Он следит и контролирует всех остальных организаторов шпионажа и немедленно докладывает прямо в НКВД. Он организует шпионаж через специальных агентов, работающих вне посольства дает им задания и контролирует их. Он ответственен за выполнение самых серьезных поручений, как политического так и экономического характера [атомных секретов и т. д.]

Он наблюдает за шпионами иностранцами, коммерсантами открывшими свое дело на деньги специально отпущенные для этого сов. правительством. Он контролирует и работу коммунистических организаций.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

THURSDAY, MAY 12, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10:30 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Pat McCarran (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senator McCarran.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee; Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Have all of the members of the committee been notified?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir; they have.

The CHAIRMAN. We will proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Will the witness stand and be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK J. CASPAR

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand. You do solemnly swear that the testimony that you will give before this Senate committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CASPAR. I do.¹

Mr. ARENS. If it is agreeable with the committee, I should like to ask Mr. Dekom and Mr. Schroeder of the subcommittee staff to conduct the interrogation.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. You may proceed.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Will you identify yourself, please?

Mr. CASPAR. Frank Caspar, 102 Rockledge Road, Bronxville, N. Y. I don't use the "J," the middle name.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. CASPAR. Restaurant business.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Date of birth?

Mr. CASPAR. October 11, 1899.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Date of citizenship and court.

Mr. CASPAR. The court is New York, on Christopher Street, but the year I don't remember—1940 or 1941.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you name the place of your birth?

Mr. CASPAR. Pozega, Yugoslavia.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you tell us when you came to this country?

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

Mr. CASPAR. 1922, in October.

Mr. DEKOM. And you did not become a citizen until when?

Mr. CASPAR. 1940 or 1941.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you care to explain to the committee why you waited so long?

Mr. CASPAR. I was traveling, and I was a newspaperman, although I am sorry I did not do it before.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Caspar, do you know of a place or an organization in New York City called the Yugoslav-American Home or the Yugoslavenski-Americki Dom?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes; I do.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you tell us what sort of organization it is?

The CHAIRMAN. Where is it, first of all?

Mr. CASPAR. Forty-first Street, between Ninth and Tenth.

The CHAIRMAN. On what floor?

Mr. CASPAR. The whole building.

The CHAIRMAN. The whole building?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes; it used to be a church.

What type of organization?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes.

Mr. CASPAR. I don't know what type of organization, but it is a gathering of Yugoslav people there, which was started several years ago.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you tell us the ideological persuasion of the people involved, the people who manage the place?

Mr. CASPAR. At that time, when they started to gather and buy a home for themselves, there was nothing political involved or anything. The people, just some friends, got together and they wanted a home, a Yugoslav home, like the Poles, like the Czechs, and everybody else. One friend approached the other and asked for donations. At that time it was a certain psychological moment, because the Yugoslav people were suffering and the Yugoslav people were fighting the invasion of Hitler. So, everybody contributed as much as he could.

Mr. SCHROEDER. You stated at that time it was not political. What do you mean by that?

Mr. CASPAR. I assume, when you asked what type of organization, you expected me to say it has a certain political view. It may have now; I don't know, but at that time when it was organized, and when it was started, it had absolutely no political views.

Mr. DEKOM. You realize you are speaking under oath.

Mr. CASPAR. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you or did you not tell to two representatives of this committee that the Yugoslavenski Dom was a Communist organization?

Mr. CASPAR. No; not Communist organization, but it has people on top of it who are Communists.

Mr. DEKOM. You mean that it has people who control its activities who are Communists?

Mr. CASPAR. Right; that is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you still frequent the organization? Do you still go there?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. You do?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Could you tell us who these people are on top, their names and positions?

Mr. CASPAR. Harry Justiz.

Mr. DEKOM. What position does he hold?

Mr. CASPAR. He is the president.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you name any others that you recall?

Mr. CASPAR. I would not know whether they are Communists. As a matter of fact, I would not know whether Justiz is a Communist. So far as I saw in the newspapers and so far as I heard from other people, I think he is.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Caspar, did you or did you not tell two representatives of this committee that, in your opinion, Harry Justiz was a Communist?

Mr. CASPAR. It is still in my opinion.

Mr. SCHRODER. That he is a Communist?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes, but I gather that only from newspapers and from other people, not by talking with him.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you name the other members, whether you think they are Communists or not?

Mr. CASPAR. Other members of that organization?

Mr. DEKOM. Of the organization; yes.

Mr. CASPAR. Well, I would not; I would not know that they are Communist.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you give us their names?

Mr. CASPAR. A fellow by the name of Jurich.

Mr. DEKOM. What is his first name?

Mr. CASPAR. I think, Alexander.

Mr. DEKOM. And what position does he hold?

Mr. CASPAR. He is on the committee, something.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you name any others?

Mr. CASPAR. Fellow by the name of Zietz.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you spell that?

Mr. CASPAR. Z-i-e-t-z, I think. Wait a minute. I have a letter from him. I can give you the exact spelling. Yes. Z-i-e-t-z, Antonia.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you offer that letter in evidence to the committee?

Mr. CASPAR. If you need it.

Mr. DEKOM. Thank you. We will mark it "Caspar Exhibit."

(The letter and the attached financial statements are as follows:)

YUGOSLAV-AMERICAN HOME, INC.,
405 West Forty-first Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR BROTHER: The next regular quarterly meeting of the stockholders of Yugoslav-American Home, Inc., will be held on Sunday, May 1, 1949, at 2:30 p. m. in the upper hall of our home.

You are cordially invited to attend this important meeting and hear the progress of your home.

The following agenda will be presented for approval:

- (1) Reading of the minutes from annual meeting, also minutes for the past 3 months of the board-of-directors meetings;
- (2) Report of the treasury;
- (3) Board-of-auditors report;
- (4) Report of house committee;
- (5) Technical-committee report;
- (6) School-committee report;
- (7) Welfare committee.

Fraternally yours,

ANTHONY ZIETZ, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT A

YUGOSLAV-AMERICAN HOME, INC.

BALANCE SHEET, MAR. 31, 1949

Assets:

Current assets:

Cash in bank	-----	\$4,851.89	
Cash on hand	-----	1,512.13	
Petty-cash fund	-----	100.00	
			\$6,464.02
Merchandise inventory, Jan. 1, 1949	-----		3,000.00

Fixed assets:

	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Reserve</i>	
Land and building	\$77,000.00	\$5,360.00	
Construction	111,005.45	8,928.77	
Furniture, fixtures and equipment	24,158.77	3,211.39	
Total	212,164.22	17,500.16	194,664.06

Total assets ----- 204,128.08

Liabilities:

Notes payable	-----	\$45,000.00	
Accounts payable	-----	7,144.20	
Taxes payable	-----	1,444.02	
Total liabilities	-----		53,588.24

Net worth:

Deficit Jan. 1, 1949	-----	\$748.17	
Excess of operating income over expenses	-----	211.97	
Deficit March 31, 1949	-----	960.14	

Capital stock:

Preferred	-----	\$53,500.00	
Common	-----	98,000.00	
		151,500.00	
Net worth	-----		150,539.86

Total liabilities and net worth ----- 204,128.08

Receipts:

Operating income:

Food	-----	\$10,750.52	
Liquor	-----	8,680.45	
Beer	-----	4,926.67	
Wine	-----	1,292.10	
Hall rent	-----	4,722.00	
Check room	-----	711.42	
Soda	-----	395.63	
Admissions	-----	102.00	
Journal advertising	-----	955.00	
Donations	-----	800.00	
Cigarettes and miscellaneous	-----	58.56	
Banquet	-----	328.00	
Total operating income	-----		33,722.35

Other receipts:

Share of common stock	-----	\$2,150.00	
Sale of preferred stock	-----	1,400.00	
Notes payable	-----	3,000.00	
			6,550.00

Total receipts ----- 40,272.35

BALANCE SHEET, DEC 31, 1948

Assets:

Current assets:

Cash in bank	-----	\$11,182.68	
Petty-cash fund	-----	467.22	
Cash on hand	-----	100.00	
Merchandise inventory estimate	-----	3,000.00	
			\$14,749.90

Fixed assets:

	<i>Cost</i>	<i>Reserve</i>	
Land and building	-----	\$5,360.00	
Construction	-----	8,928.77	
Furniture, fixtures and equipment	-----	3,211.39	
Total	-----	17,500.16	183,268.68
Total assets	-----		<u>198,018.58</u>

Liabilities:

Notes payable	-----	\$42,000.00
Accounts payable	-----	7,144.20

Taxes payable:

Withholding tax	-----	845.50
Social security	-----	222.20
New York unemployment insurance	-----	299.97
Federal unemployment insurance	-----	98.75
Sales tax	-----	206.13

Total liabilities ----- 50,816.75

Net worth:

Surplus, Jan. 1, 1948	-----	\$7,446.48
Less income tax paid, 1947	-----	769.12
Adjusted surplus	-----	6,677.36
Net loss, exhibit B	-----	7,425.53
Surplus deficit Dec. 31, 1948	-----	<u>748.17</u>

Capital stock:

Preferred	-----	52,100.00
Common	-----	95,850.00

Total capital stock ----- 147,950.00

Net worth ----- 147,201.83

Total liabilities and net worth ----- 198,018.58

EXHIBIT B

Operating sales:

Restaurant	-----	\$32,114.74
Beer	-----	25,324.44
Liquor and wine	-----	18,780.25
Hall rental	-----	17,796.46
Check room	-----	2,098.53
Admissions	-----	2,084.00
Soda	-----	1,660.80
Cigarettes and miscellaneous	-----	378.81

Total ----- 100,248.03

EXHIBIT B—Continued

Cost of sales:		
Food.....	\$23,212.49	
Beer.....	8,151.94	
Liquor and wine.....	9,939.74	
Total cost of sales.....	41,304.17	
Hall, rental.....	1,944.35	
Less increase in inventory.....	39,359.82	
Cost of food, liquor, and beer.....	33,081.88	
Wages.....	3,651.88	
Bar expense.....	7,110.50	
Coal and fuel.....		\$1,743.95
Total cost of sales.....		84,948.13
Gross profit.....		15,299.90
General and administrative expenses:		
Telephone.....	\$242.37	
Gas and electric.....	2,398.00	
Office stationery and supplies.....	902.29	
Postage.....	43.34	
Miscellaneous.....	141.18	
Refrigerator service.....	43.00	
Decorations.....	291.01	
Piano tuning.....	75.00	
Protection.....	36.00	
Sound system.....	50.39	
Exterminator.....	96.00	
Legal and auditing.....	502.00	
Advertising.....	334.00	
Insurance.....	509.61	
Rentals.....	42.84	
Insurance compensation.....	378.20	
Permit and licenses.....	336.70	
Entertainment.....	552.00	
Taxes, schedule 1.....	6,261.57	
Total general and administrative.....		13,235.50
Net profit before depreciation.....		2,064.40
Depreciation:		
Building.....	\$2,680.00	
Construction.....	7,216.92	
Furniture and fixtures.....	1,737.01	
Net loss from operations.....		11,633.93
Nonoperating income: Donations and greetings.....		9,569.53
Net loss forwarded.....		2,144.00
Net loss forwarded.....		7,425.53
Other capital receipts:		
Sale of common stock.....	\$8,700.00	
Sale of preferred stock.....	12,800.00	
Sale of furniture and fixtures.....	667.00	
Telephone deposit returned.....	60.00	
Notes payable.....	42,000.00	
Pay-roll and accrued taxes.....	3,725.50	
Depreciation reserve.....	11,633.93	
Total capital receipts.....		79,586.43
		72,160.90

EXHIBIT B—Continued

Other capital disbursements:

Purchases:

New construction-----	\$63,602.31
Furniture and fixtures-----	3,293.27
Income tax paid (1947)-----	769.12
	<u>1,944.35</u>

Total capital disbursements----- \$69,609.04

Excess of receipts over disbursements----- 2,551.85

Cash on hand and in bank, Jan. 1, 1948----- 9,198.05

Cash on hand and in bank, Dec. 31, 1948----- 11,749.90

Disbursements:

Operating expenses:

Merchandise purchases:

Food-----	\$7,671.90
Liquor-----	4,519.28
Beer-----	1,975.38
Wine-----	1,011.32
Soda-----	260.02
	<u>15,437.90</u>

House expenses:

Hardware, lumber, repairs-----	757.00
Music-----	291.00
Maintenance-----	57.50
Garbage removal and miscellaneous-----	267.93
Sanitary supplies-----	117.63
Building and janitor's supplies-----	135.05
Fuel-----	967.11
	<u>2,593.22</u>

Kitchen expenses:

General kitchen expenses-----	1,245.22
Linen and laundry-----	315.06
Supplies-----	145.85
Miscellaneous-----	36.25
	<u>1,742.38</u>

General administration:

Wages-----	\$9,102.44
Telephone-----	84.79
Gas and electric-----	1,020.54
Office stationery and supplies-----	89.00
Postage-----	11.51
Exterminator-----	24.00
Auditing-----	90.00
Liquor tax-----	1,200.00
Rentals-----	84.49
Water tax-----	98.25
Welfare-----	50.00
Advertising-----	520.79
Sales tax-----	222.86
Permits-----	15.00
Help, extra-----	30.27
Bank charges-----	4.13
Donations-----	25.00
Printing journal-----	1,056.35
Miscellaneous-----	56.70

EXHIBIT B—Continued

General administration—Continued		
Social security and union insurance.....	\$367.20	
Liquor bond.....	7.50	
		\$14,160.82
Total operating expenses.....		33,934.32
Purchases, furniture fixtures, construction....	\$11,395.38	
Miscellaneous taxes.....	228.33	
		11,623.91
Total disbursements		45,558.23
Excess of disbursements over receipts.....		5,285.88
Cash on hand and in bank, Jan. 1, 1949.....		11,749.90
Cash on hand and in bank, Mar. 31, 1949.....		6,464.02

Attest:

PHILIP FIJAN, *Blagajnik*,
DANIEL BRONSTEIN, *C. P. A.*

Mr. SCHROEDER. Are you a stockholder of the Yugoslav Home?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. How much did you contribute?

Mr. CASPAR. \$500.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you contributed anything else?

Mr. CASPAR. To the Dom; no.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you contributed anything to any organization connected with the Dom?

Mr. CASPAR. Connected with what?

Mr. DEKOM. Which is either connected with the organization, or has its headquarters in that building, or its offices or its activities in that building.

Mr. CASPAR. Well, I contributed to certain small organizations, like some of them issue calendars yearly.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you name them, those that you recall?

Mr. CASPAR. I would not recall now the name.

Mr. DEKOM. Could you estimate your total contribution to these organizations?

Mr. CASPAR. Lately, very little; in the beginning, plenty.

Mr. DEKOM. By "plenty", do you mean \$5 or \$1,000?

Mr. CASPAR. No, thousand dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. How many times a thousand dollars? Just one contribution?

Mr. CASPAR. One contribution of \$1,000. Then several of hundred dollars, \$500, but that was 1944, I think, or '45, something like that.

Mr. DEKOM. When did you make the latest contribution?

Mr. CASPAR. The latest—the latest, as a matter of fact, was a month ago.

Mr. DEKOM. How much was that contribution?

Mr. CASPAR. \$100 to Balokovic,¹ for what purpose I don't even know.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Do you mean to say you make contributions for purposes that you do not know what the money will be used for?

Mr. CASPAR. So far as Balokovic, I know what they go for.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you tell the committee what it goes for?

Mr. CASPAR. For relief for the Yugoslav people.

¹ Zlatko Balokovic.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you name the organization he represented?

Mr. CASPAR. He represented the Yugoslav Relief Committee.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you aware that that organization was listed by the Attorney General of the United States as Communist and subversive?

Mr. CASPAR. No.

Mr. DEKOM. You are not aware of that?

Mr. CASPAR. No. That is the first time I heard that it is communistic.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Caspar, could you tell us what sort of activities go on at the Yugoslovenski Dom?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes; they give dances, they have meetings, they sing.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you describe the nature of the meetings?

Mr. CASPAR. I never attended the meetings, except the one for the Yugoslovenski Dom, which was, I think, about a month or two ago when the new board was elected, which was again the old board.

Mr. DEKOM. Could you name the persons who attended that meeting?

Mr. CASPAR. No, because there were probably two or three or four hundred.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you name the members of the board?

Mr. CASPAR. Justiz, I know, and Dr. Diamond,¹ who is the secretary. He is a physician.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Did you not allow us to read a financial statement in your office?

Mr. CASPAR. Right.

Mr. SCHROEDER. With the list of the board of directors at the bottom of the statement.

Mr. CASPAR. Right. I never read it, and I never read the statement.

Mr. SCHROEDER. You mean you are a stockholder and you receive a statement—

Mr. CASPAR. That is right.

Mr. SCHROEDER. From the organization, and you never look at the statement?

Mr. CASPAR. That is lost so far as I am concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. What is lost?

Mr. CASPAR. The money.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by that?

Mr. CASPAR. Because they don't know how to run the business there.

The CHAIRMAN. Who does not?

Mr. CASPAR. The people that are in charge there.

The CHAIRMAN. And yet you contributed to it a month ago.

Mr. CASPAR. A month ago; no. I didn't say I contributed to them. Balokovic is something else, and what he represents and those people are something else, at the present.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this the board of directors of this Yugoslav society?

Mr. CASPAR. The committees which manage the place.

The CHAIRMAN. They are the ones who got your contribution, aren't they?

¹ Dr. Leopold Diamond.

Mr. CASPAR. No, no, that again has nothing to do with the Yugoslovenski Dom; the last contribution I made has nothing to do with that organization there.

The CHAIRMAN. You made the expression that the money is lost.

Mr. CASPAR. I figure I forget; I forgot about that money, same as I gave any other contribution; that is finished.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the only contribution you ever made to the Yugoslovenski Dom?

Mr. CASPAR. Right, right; except when I was there eating, and somebody came selling some tickets, which is \$5 or \$10, which I frequently did and never used the tickets.

Mr. ARENS. In these meetings which you have attended at the Yugoslav Dom, have you ever heard any addresses by affiliates of international organizations or by affiliates of consulates or embassies?

Mr. CASPAR. I said before that I never attended any meetings there except the one where the last board was reelected.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you attend then?

Mr. CASPAR. Just that I had the pleasant company and they took me up.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Caspar, on the basis of your affiliation with that organization, is it not a fact that the Yugoslav Dom is a Communist cell?

Mr. CASPAR. I would not say a cell, but I would say they have a lot of members that are Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what is meant by a cell in that regard?

Mr. CASPAR. It is sort of a center.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CASPAR. I would not say it is a center, because I know many people that frequent the place, and you have me as an example, and I am not certainly a Communist.

Mr. DEKOM. It is your testimony that the people who run it are Communists, in your opinion?

Mr. CASPAR. Some of them, not all. As a matter of fact, there is a big clash now between them.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Caspar, to your knowledge has any member of the Yugoslav diplomatic, consular, or UN service ever been present at the Yugoslovensky Dom?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you name them?

Mr. CASPAR. Markovic, the consul.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that Miodrag Markovic?

Mr. CASPAR. I wouldn't know the first name.

Mr. DEKOM. He is the consul?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Who else of the official family of a foreign power has been present at the Yugoslav Dom?

Mr. CASPAR. By the name of, a fellow by the name of Prosen.

Mr. ARENS. Who is he?

Mr. CASPAR. He is supposed to be chamber attaché for trade.

Mr. DEKOM. Commercial attaché?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes. He is a very pleasant fellow, social, and I meet him always in Yugoslav gatherings.

Mr. ARENS. You say he is always at Yugoslav gatherings?

Mr. CASPAR. I have frequently met in Yugoslav gatherings; that does not mean in the Dom.

Mr. DEKOM. How many Yugoslav gatherings have you met him in?

Mr. CASPAR. How many? Maybe five or six.

Mr. DEKOM. What other gatherings have you met him in other than at the Yugoslav Dom?

Mr. CASPAR. He came a few times to eat in my places.

Mr. DEKOM. What other meetings, I mean.

Mr. CASPAR. Meetings social, social meetings.

Mr. DEKOM. Who else of the official family of a foreign power has been frequenting the Yugoslav Dom other than these two men?

Mr. CASPAR. Lately, nobody that I know.

Mr. DEKOM. Who prior to "lately"?

Mr. CASPAR. Prior, in the beginning, I remember General Ilic, who was military attaché, I think, for South America.

Mr. DEKOM. Ljubomir Ilic?

Mr. CASPAR. Who married Zinka Milanov.

Mr. DEKOM. The Metropolitan Opera star, Zinka Milanov.

Mr. CASPAR. Right.

Mr. ARENS. What did you say about him?

Mr. CASPAR. That he was there on several meetings.

Mr. ARENS. How do you know he was there at several meetings?

Mr. CASPAR. Because usually when I go there, I go to the bar, and passing by the corridors I meet them.

Mr. ARENS. How many times have you in the course of the last 2 or 3 years been within the confines of the Yugoslav Dom?

Mr. CASPAR. Almost every week.

Mr. ARENS. Whom else have you seen there of the official family of a foreign power?

Mr. CASPAR. I don't remember. I don't remember anybody else, except when General Ilic was there. I think the Ambassador was there, too.

Mr. DEKOM. Sava Kosanovic?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the general?

Mr. DEKOM. General Ljubomir Ilic. He married a Metropolitan Opera star.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any information respecting the aggregate membership of those who are affiliated with the Yugoslav Dom?

Mr. CASPAR. Any what? I didn't get it.

Mr. ARENS. Aggregate membership, how many people?

Mr. CASPAR. Nine hundred and something; that is what I heard.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Caspar, when you came to this country, were you a wealthy man or a poor man?

Mr. CASPAR. I came from wealthy parents, but I came here poor.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you consider yourself well off now?

Mr. CASPAR. I think so.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you made a good living in this country.

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You own three restaurants in New York, as I understand it.

Mr. CASPAR. At one time I owned more; now I own three.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you traveled to Yugoslavia in the last 3 years?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. How many times?

Mr. CASPAR. Twice after the war.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you tell the committee why?

Mr. CASPAR. To see my mother?

Mr. DEKOM. Where is your mother?

Mr. CASPAR. In Zagreb, Yugoslavia.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you visit any other places?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you name them?

Mr. CASPAR. In '47 I was in Belgrade.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you tell the committee why?

Mr. CASPAR. Because I passed through there, Pan American Air-line.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you stop there?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes; I stopped there 2 or 3 days.

Mr. DEKOM. Whom did you see?

Mr. CASPAR. Nobody in particular, just a few friends. We had a good time. I think 3 days I stayed in Belgrade.

Mr. DEKOM. You met no officials of the Yugoslav Government?

Mr. CASPAR. Nobody.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you carry with you any letters to any officials?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes; I did.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you name the officials to whom you carried letters?

Mr. CASPAR. From Louis Adamic to Marshal Tito.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Louis Adamic?

Mr. CASPAR. He is a famous writer.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he located?

Mr. CASPAR. In Milford, N. J.

Mr. ARENS. What was the nature of the content of those letters which you had?

Mr. CASPAR. Would you care to see it?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASPAR. Here is the original letter. I never used it. I don't know whether they will understand it.

Mr. DEKOM. We will have it translated.

Mr. ARENS. This is a letter addressed to Marshal Tito?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. By Louis Adamic?

Mr. CASPAR. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the letter be identified and made part of the files.

Mr. CASPAR. I would like to have it back. You can have it so long as you want.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be identified and marked as a part of the files of the committee, and will go into the record when translated.

Mr. CASPAR. I will leave it here. You can translate it, and, if I may, I would like to have it back.

Mr. DEKOM. We will have it photostated and returned to you.

The United Committee of South-Slavic Americans

463 LEXINGTON AVENUE • NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • ELDERBROS 5-6017

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PURPOSES

1. To promote the distant unity of Americans of South-Slavic descent in order to strengthen the United States and the United Nations in their efforts toward world peace.
2. To encourage Americans of South-Slavic descent to participate fully in all measures to advance political, economic, social and ethnic democracy in the United States of America.
3. To foster in the United States of America an ever greater understanding of the South-Slavic peoples, their history, culture and traditions.

Dragi Maršal Tito:

Zbogom tega pisma Vas želim predsteviti mojega osebnega, dobrega prijatelja, gospoda Frank Caspar-ja iz New Yorka, ki je eden prijateljev nove Jugoslavije in kot tak je mnogo naredil, da upozna Amerikance z historijskimi dogodki Vase zemlje.

Kakor Vi, gospod Caspar je rodom Hrvat. On se Vas spominja kot delavskega voditelja za Sasa Vasih ranih let v Zagrebu. Ameriko je prispel pred mnogimi leti in v dobi svojega bivanja tukaj postal zelo uspešen človek. On je predsednik Mednarodnega Geneva Združenja, kar dokazuje, da uživa visok ugled v redni restavracijski in hotelskih profesiji. On je eden vodilnih državljanov New Yorka in ima široko pomenstvo in vpliv.

Gospod Caspar je sedaj na obisku v naši stari domovini in ob tej priliki je izrazil željo, da se sestane s Vami. Upam, da Vas bodo številne vsakdanje dolžnosti dopuščile, da ga sprejmete. Jas sem prepričan, da bi Vas sestanek s g. Casparjem imel zelo povoljne rezultate tukaj v Združenih Državah.

Prosim, Maršal Tito, da tudi ob tej priliki sprejmete moja osebna topla pozdrava. S radostjo pričakujem osebnega svidenja s Vami v bližnji bodočnosti.

Sart fašizmu! Svoboda narodni!


Louis Adamić

Letter of introduction from Louis Adamic to Marshal Tito.

(The letter was marked "Caspar Exhibit 2" and appears opposite p. 89. A translation is as follows:)

[Translation]

NOVEMBER 20, 1946.

DEAR MARSHAL TITO: By this letter I want to introduce to you a personal, good friend of mine, Mr. Frank Caspar from New York, who is a devoted friend of the new Yugoslavia, and who has done so much to make Americans acquainted with the historical events in your country.

As yourself, Mr. Caspar is a Croat. He remembers you as a labor leader from your early years in Zagreb. He came to America many years ago and in the course of years has become a very successful man. He is chairman of the International Geneva Association, which shows that he enjoys a high reputation in the names of restaurant and hotel owners. He is one of the most outstanding citizens of New York, and has a wide range of acquaintances and influence.

Mr. Caspar is now visiting his old country and has expressed the desire to meet you on that occasion. I hope that your numerous daily duties will allow you to receive him. I am convinced that your meeting with Mr. Caspar would have very favorable results also in the United States.

Please receive, Marshal Tito, also on this occasion, my warm personal regards. It is with joy that I look forward to a personal meeting with you in the near future.

Death to fascism! Freedom to the people!¹

LOUIS ADAMIC.

MR. ARENS. How many meetings a month or a week, on the average, are held at the Yugoslav Dom?

MR. CASPAR. I never attended the meetings there.

MR. ARENS. How many meetings are held there, irrespective of whether you attended or not?

MR. CASPAR. I think they have every day some kind of a meeting; singing meetings, dancing lessons, and all kinds of things. There is a bulletin board there. Whenever I come in there, I see some function, either upstairs or above that.

MR. SCHROEDER. You said whenever you go in there, and previously you said you had only been there once.

MR. CASPAR. On a meeting, but I go there almost every week, down at the bar and eat. You didn't understand me.

MR. DEKOM. Did you ever carry with you to Yugoslavia a letter from Sava Kosanovic?

MR. CASPAR. Yes.

MR. DEKOM. What year was that?

MR. CASPAR. 1947. Also it was dated '46.

MR. DEKOM. Do you have a copy of that letter?

MR. CASPAR. No.

MR. DEKOM. Would you give the committee the contents?

MR. CASPAR. Well, he just wrote—

The CHAIRMAN. To whom was it addressed?

MR. CASPAR. Kardelj,² who is supposed to be the Vice President.

MR. DEKOM. Of Yugoslavia? And Sava Kosanovich is the Ambassador here?

MR. CASPAR. Right. He is the Vice President of Yugoslavia. He just recommended me as a supporter in the beginning, and donator, and help to the people, which I did, and recommended me to see that I should see Marshal Tito.

¹ Smrt fasizmu! Sloboda narodu!—(Death to fascism! Freedom to the people!)—is the motto of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

² Edvard Kardelj.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a desire or did you just express a desire to meet and become acquainted with Marshal Tito?

Mr. CASPAR. Acquainted? The same as I would be very much impressed and thrilled to meet either President Truman or some big head of a state. If I may, I would like to say something on my own accord on the beginning of a question there, later on. If you would allow me, I would like to say it now.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead and say it.

Mr. CASPAR. I saw several articles in the papers coming from New York to Washington which, I think, are sensational and I don't think they are timely, because now in Yugoslavia and here among Yugoslavs, there is a clash between two factions. Tito's people now are definitely trying to make friends with the Americans and with the western powers, and articles like that will not help the cause. And you said whether I am thankful to this country—there is not—this is the most wonderful country in the world. I am very thankful for the opportunity and everything else. I could never be a Communist, but nobody can blame me while the worst kind of people were fighting Hitler, no matter who they were, as long as they were fighting; because the Nazis killed my father, and they also wanted to kill my mother, because she is from Jewish origin; anything that fought Hitler, we supported her. First, we supported what-is-his-name that was killed, the big leader.

Mr. DEKOM. General Draza Mihailovich.

Mr. CASPAR. Yes. Later on Tito came, so he was the leader of the opposition and he fought. That is the time I supported that action. Later on—I have my family there—I became friends. I have known Sava Kosanovic 10 years now; I knew him when I visited Yugoslavia in 1930 and when he started the action here. I was very intimate and I helped; as a matter of fact. I came last night, I went to visit him, and I don't care who knows about it. I went to say "hello" to him. I haven't seen him in a long time.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that?

Mr. CASPAR. Kosanovic, the Ambassador. But that still does not mean that I am a Communist or even sympathize with communism, but at the present time there is a clash with the Comiform and the Tito people, and there is definitely a chance to make friends with Tito now. At least he is trying as far as I know.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you tell us what the basis of your statement is that he is trying to make friends with the United States?

Mr. CASPAR. Well, according to the impression that I had when I was there now in August and September, last August and September.

Mr. DEKOM. Who gave you that impression?

Mr. CASPAR. The people. The people and certain officials there.

Mr. DEKOM. Officials where?

Mr. CASPAR. In Zagreb.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Is the membership in the Yugoslav Dom divided between Tito and the Comiform?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes; that is right.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Do you know the percentage?

Mr. CASPAR. I would say, but I don't have to be right, 50-50.

Mr. DEKOM. What effect did the letter of Louis Adamic have in your dealings with Yugoslav officials?

Mr. CASPAR. Except that I carried that on my suitcase.

Mr. DEKOM. On your suitcase?

Mr. CASPAR. On top of my suitcase.

Mr. DEKOM. So it would be visible?

Mr. CASPAR. Purposely.

Mr. DEKOM. And what happened?

Mr. CASPAR. So, when they saw that, they didn't look at my luggage. They let me go.

Mr. DEKOM. In other words, the letter offered you immunity from the usual things that you must go through.

Mr. CASPAR. Probably, although I know they received some other Americans there without going through too much looking over the baggage and things like that.

Mr. DEKOM. But it is your testimony that that letter—

Mr. CASPAR. That letter gave me a certain boost there.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you carry any other letters on your last trip from any other person in this country?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes; I carried several letters. I carried a letter to certain relief people from the Red Cross there, from Americans.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you name them?

Mr. CASPAR. That are connected with the Yugoslav relief?

Mr. DEKOM. Could you name them?

Mr. CASPAR. I really don't remember, but I think one is connected with a bank.

Mr. DEKOM. Whose name is Michael M. Nisselson?¹

Mr. CASPAR. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What bank?

Mr. DEKOM. Amalgamated Clothing Workers Bank: is that right?

Mr. CASPAR. No; I think it is a different name, the bank.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you carry a letter from Zlatko Balokovic?

Mr. CASPAR. Not at that time. In 1948 I carried letters from Balokovic.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you have copies of those letters?

Mr. CASPAR. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you tell us the nature of those letters?

Mr. CASPAR. They were delivered to Dr. Rittig.

Mr. DEKOM. Svetozar Rittig?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you identify him?

Mr. CASPAR. He is a priest, a Catholic priest who, by the way, married me in Zagreb in 1931.

Mr. DEKOM. Is he now connected with the Tito regime?

Mr. CASPAR. Right.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you deliver the letter yourself?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes; that is right.

Mr. DEKOM. What was the nature of the letter?

Mr. CASPAR. To introduce me; that he should see that my stay in Yugoslavia is pleasant.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you carry any other letters on your 1948 trip?

Mr. CASPAR. 1948, yes. To his sister, Balokovic's sister. Another letter to his sister, Zlatko Balokovic's sister, who is in Zagreb.

¹ Michael M. Nisselson is president of the Amalgamated Bank, operated by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union.

Mr. DEKOM. That is all?

Mr. CASPAR. That is, I think, all. I don't remember having any other letters of importance, except maybe a friend of his. I had two or three letters from him.

Mr. DEKOM. From him?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. But from no one else?

Mr. CASPAR. This trip, no; from nobody else.

Mr. DEKOM. How long were you in Yugoslavia?

Mr. CASPAR. A month and a half in 1948.

Mr. DEKOM. You stayed in Zagreb all of that time?

Mr. CASPAR. All of the time, except for 5 days I was on the sea, Opapia.

Mr. DEKOM. What did you do when you came back?

Mr. CASPAR. Here?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes.

Mr. CASPAR. I resumed my usual life of business.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you hold a party in the Hapsburg House after your return?

Mr. CASPAR. No.

Mr. DEKOM. To which you invited a number of guests?

Mr. CASPAR. No.

Mr. DEKOM. How about your previous return?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes; previous return, yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you tell us who the guests were?

Mr. CASPAR. Mostly of my organization, the Geneva.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you explain that statement?

Mr. CASPAR. I am the president of an organization, International Geneva Association, which is an organization of hotel and restaurant men, from busboy to managers. As a matter of fact, we have a lot here in Washington, managers and everything else. It is an organization that has branches all over the world. I am the president of the New York branch, which is the largest branch. And they tendered me a party when I came back.

Mr. DEKOM. Were any members of the Yugoslav Dom or the Yugoslav official family there?

Mr. CASPAR. I don't think at that time the Dom existed.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1947?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Were any members of the Yugoslav official family there?

Mr. CASPAR. As a matter of fact, there were three friends of mine who are very much against Tito's government and anything that it stands for.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Mr. Caspar, do you remember making a statement in your office that you knew plenty, but you were afraid to tell it on account of your mother and crippled sister in the old country?

Mr. CASPAR. No, no sister; a brother.

Mr. SCHROEDER. A brother, then.

Mr. CASPAR. I didn't say I knew plenty. I just said, "I will tell gladly the truth and help out in any way I can."

The CHAIRMAN. Did you express fear?

Mr. CASPAR. I am not in fear exactly, but I figured that something may involve me in a truthful answer that probably would cause certain retaliation to my people.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you apprehensive now?

Mr. CASPAR. Now I decide to tell whatever you want me to, or whatever you want to know. I cannot invent things.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not wanted to invent anything. We want all of the truth.

Mr. CASPAR. Anything you want I will tell you. Up till now I have told everything.

Mr. DEKOM. I have just one more question, and then I will have no more.

Is it your testimony now that you did not say to two persons in your office that "I know plenty, but I won't talk," or words to that effect, but the phrase "I know plenty" was used? Is it your testimony that you did not say that?

Mr. CASPAR. I don't remember it.

The CHAIRMAN. You say now you do not remember it?

Mr. CASPAR. I don't remember saying that. I may have said something to that effect, by which I meant I would say everything, like with this letter, and everything that would help you.

Mr. ARENS. You visited with the Ambassador before you came to this session today?

Mr. CASPAR. Not today, last night.

Mr. ARENS. Last night you visited with the Ambassador?

Mr. CASPAR. That is right, just to say "hello."

The CHAIRMAN. Was the fact that you were to appear before this committee discussed?

Mr. CASPAR. Nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. In the presence of the Ambassador?

Mr. CASPAR. No; I haven't seen him for many years, and I don't see why I should not say "hello."

The CHAIRMAN. You were under a subpoena at that time to appear before this committee?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not tell him why you were here?

Mr. CASPAR. No.

Mr. DEKOM. You said you have not seen him for years.

Mr. CASPAR. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Where did you get his letter when you went to Yugoslavia?

Mr. CASPAR. Through Louis Adamic.

Mr. DEKOM. Through Louis Adamic?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes, right. He was in Washington; he brought me the letter.

Mr. DEKOM. He obtained the letter for you from the Ambassador?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. And then gave it or sent it to you?

Mr. CASPAR. He gave it to me personally, and his letter also.

Mr. ARENS. Have you discussed with anyone the fact that you are appearing here today?

Mr. CASPAR. With no one except the immediate family or friends.

Mr. DEKOM. This letter from Louis Adamic is written on the letter head of United Committee on South Slavic Americans.

Mr. CASPAR. I wouldn't even know what it is.

Mr. DEKOM. You have never been associated or contributed to them?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes; I have.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know that this organization is listed by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist?

Mr. CASPAR. Since when?

Mr. DEKOM. Last year.

Mr. CASPAR. Well, this is 1947.

Mr. DEKOM. You have had nothing to do with this man or this organization since?

Mr. CASPAR. Since? No.

Mr. DEKOM. You have not seen him or talked to Adamic either?

Mr. CASPAR. Who, Adamic?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes.

Mr. CASPAR. Yes; I have before he went to Europe.

Mr. DEKOM. When did he go, approximately?

Mr. CASPAR. A month ago, I think.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know why he went?

Mr. CASPAR. For writing a book.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. CASPAR. I heard that he was last in Italy.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not he got in touch with any official or officials, Yugoslav officials, while he was there?

Mr. CASPAR. He expressed and he told me that he was going to visit Tito and everybody else.

Mr. ARENS. Have you discussed with any member of the Yugoslav Dom or with any affiliate of international organization or with any person affiliated with a consulate or embassy of a foreign power your presence here today, or the fact that you were under subpoena to appear today?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes; I have, with several friends. Whether they were connected with the Yugoslav Dom, I don't know, but I have a lot of friends there.

The CHAIRMAN. You discussed the fact that you were to be here today?

Mr. CASPAR. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you name those parties with whom you discussed that?

Mr. CASPAR. Well, Jurich, Balokovic. They had a meeting the same day that I got the letter in my place. They had a certain meeting in my place, discussing, as a matter of fact, things to start a newspaper of their own against Cominform. That is what I heard.

The CHAIRMAN. With them, you told them?

Mr. CASPAR. When I met them on the stairs, I said, "I have a subpoena to go to Washington," and they told me, "It is nothing new. Several from Pennsylvania, Yugoslavs, also had subpoenas," as they told me.

The CHAIRMAN. These people whom you met there and told that you had a subpoena, told you that several people from Pennsylvania also had a subpoena?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they tell you how they knew that?

Mr. CASPAR. No; I didn't ask them.

Mr. ARENS. Did they discuss with you your testimony—

Mr. CASPAR. No.

Mr. ARENS. Which you proposed to give here?

Mr. CASPAR. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did they give you any admonition or warning respecting your testimony?

Mr. CASPAR. No; they just said, "You have nothing to fear. Just tell them the truth," which I didn't even ask them. I know I have nothing to fear.

Mr. ARENS. Why did they say, "You have nothing to fear"? Did you indicate an apprehensive attitude toward them?

Mr. CASPAR. No; they probably had the impression that I was either afraid of something. That is what their impression was.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would they get that impression from you?

Mr. CASPAR. I don't know. Even some of them told me, "It is an honor," and I consider it an honor.

The CHAIRMAN. They told you not to be afraid.

Mr. CASPAR. That was only a remark; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you that?

Mr. CASPAR. I can't remember now. There were several of them there.

The CHAIRMAN. About how many were there?

Mr. CASPAR. Six.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us the names of the six?

Mr. CASPAR. Balokovic, Jurich, fellow by the name of Eospadia; but they are all against Cominform.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right. I am not asking about that. Where did you meet with these men?

Mr. CASPAR. On the stairs, coming down.

The CHAIRMAN. On the stairs.

Mr. DEKOM. The Yugoslavenski Dom?

Mr. CASPAR. No; my place. I frequently offer them rooms for meetings, but meetings that I know are not subversive.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know the names of the organizations which sponsor those meetings?

Mr. CASPAR. No; that is not an organization.

Mr. DEKOM. Balokovic's group?

Mr. CASPAR. Only a group which by the spirit of the moment they called each other, "Now, let's sit down and discuss things." Balokovic was very nice about this. He is very much for this country and everything else. "Let us discuss things, how we should fight the Cominform."

Mr. DEKOM. But he expressed no opposition to the Cominform before the break, did he, to you?

Mr. CASPAR. There are a lot of people, probably—

Mr. DEKOM. Will you answer the question, please?

Mr. CASPAR. I don't remember.

Mr. DEKOM. Or any of these people—

Mr. CASPAR. I never discussed—

Mr. DEKOM. Who attended the Yugoslavenski Dom or this group that eats there. did they ever express opposition to the Cominform before the break between Tito and the Cominform?

Mr. CASPAR. No, not that I know of.

Mr. DEKOM. They now express opposition to the Cominform only because Tito is on the other side.

Mr. CASPAR. That is possible, all right.

The CHAIRMAN. They are for Tito.

Mr. CASPAR. They are for Tito; yes.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Mr. Caspar, do you have a room set aside in your restaurant for special meetings?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Would you care to tell us the type of meetings you have in this board of directors' room or this meeting room on the third floor of your establishment?

Mr. CASPAR. That is the Engineers, Swedish Engineers Club.

The CHAIRMAN. The what engineers?

Mr. CASPAR. Swedish Engineers Club.

The CHAIRMAN. Swedish?

Mr. CASPAR. Engineers Club; yes. They have headquarters there, and all of those pictures are their former presidents there.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Do you rent that room to any other organization?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. SCHROEDER. For meetings?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes, quite frequently I rent that room to a Yugoslav club.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Would you name the club?

Mr. CASPAR. That club has been in existence, I think, from 1920 and is a club which is definitely against Tito or against Cominform or anything that is Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of it?

Mr. CASPAR. The Yugoslav Club of New York.

Mr. DEKOM. Who is the president?

Mr. CASPAR. They have a new president now. I forgot his name.

Mr. DEKOM. Who is the old one?

Mr. CASPAR. The only one was Cekich,¹ I think, and he is connected with the bank, some trust bank. It is not Irving Trust and it is not Guaranty Trust. He is a very nice fellow and very much against anything that exists now in Yugoslavia.

Mr. ARENS. When you had your conversation with the Ambassador, what did you talk about?

Mr. CASPAR. That I didn't see him for a few years and I want some of his Slivovica.

Mr. ARENS. What?

Mr. DEKOM. That is a type of Yugoslav plum brandy.

Mr. ARENS. Did you explain how you happened to be in Washington?

Mr. CASPAR. I have some business. I was in company with a lady there, so I didn't speak anything about subpoena or anything about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that, at the Embassy?

Mr. CASPAR. No, in his private home.

Mr. ARENS. You told him you were here on business?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have business here?

Mr. CASPAR. I had a house here, and I still have some business here.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you announce that you were coming, or how did you arrange to have the meeting?

¹ Theodore Cekich.

Mr. CASPAR. I just came from the airport and I went on the telephone, called him up, "Are you home?" "Yes," so I went there with the company.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Is it not a fact that you called an attorney the other day from New York and talked to an attorney in Washington?

Mr. CASPAR. In Washington, no.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Don't you have an attorney here in Washington?

Mr. CASPAR. Sure I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is it?

Mr. SCHROEDER. Didn't you call this attorney to discuss this affair with him?

Mr. CASPAR. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you name the attorney?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes. Crooks and Gilligan. It is in the same office. Crooks was at one time rent commissioner, so he didn't bother with his law practice, so Gilligan did everything for me here.

Mr. DEKOM. Who is your attorney in New York?

Mr. CASPAR. Ducker and Feldman.

Mr. DEKOM. Spell it.

Mr. CASPAR. Alan D-u-c-k-e-r; F-e-l-d-m-a-n.

The CHAIRMAN. On the day on which you were served with the subpoena, did you make any call by telephone from New York to Washington?

Mr. CASPAR. Not me, except for room reservation.

The CHAIRMAN. You did make that call?

Mr. CASPAR. That is right, and this morning I called my wife.

Mr. DEKOM. You received a call from Zlatko Balokovic on the day you were served with the subpoena?

Mr. CASPAR. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you tell us the nature of that?

Mr. CASPAR. He wanted me to get him tickets for "South Pacific."

Mr. ARENS. Did you discuss with him your subpoena?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What did he say?

Mr. CASPAR. "It is an honor."

Mr. DEKOM. Could you explain the meaning of that statement? What did it mean to you?

Mr. CASPAR. It is nice to be invited by the Senate and help. If you in any way are suspicious of my political views, I think my attorney—I consulted him, but he says it is not necessary—

The CHAIRMAN. When did you consult with him?

Mr. CASPAR. Before I came here.

The CHAIRMAN. This morning?

Mr. CASPAR. No, a few days ago in New York—has a letter that can prove when I came back from Yugoslavia that I offered my services in any way I can as an observer in Yugoslavia or anything, you know.

Mr. ARENS. How do you account for the fact, Mr. Caspar, if it is a fact, that you told the representatives of this subcommittee staff that you had plenty to tell?

Mr. CASPAR. I can, I really—I can't explain, I cannot understand how I could have said that, if I did say that, except that I probably thought that I would like to help. I mean I am going this year

again to see my mother, and if you want me to give you observations, reports, or anything, or anything in particular that you would like to know, I will gladly do it.

Mr. SCHROEDER. You said that it was an honor. Didn't you state when this subpoena was served on you, "Why do you want to do this to me? Who is going to pay the expenses of my coming to Washington?"

Mr. CASPAR. Now, you are exaggerating. I never said, "Why do you have to do this to me?" I never said that. I made a joke by saying, "Who is paying for this expense?" You are not going to tell me that I said, "Why are you doing this to me?" It is a pleasure, it is a pleasure trip.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you say that you did not say that?

Mr. CASPAR. I certainly did not say it.

The CHAIRMAN. Nothing of that substance or effect?

Mr. CASPAR. No, except that I was joking, "Who is going to pay the expense?" and you were present.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was present?

Mr. DEKOM. I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you present when he was subpoenaed?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many more were present?

Mr. DEKOM. Just Mr. Schroeder and I.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

It is the admonition of the Chair, of the committee, that in view of the fact that your presence here may have elicited some newspaper attention, you in nowise will discuss your testimony with anyone outside of this committee room.

Mr. CASPAR. Right. Did I do anything wrong by discussing that before I came here? I didn't know that I should not have discussed it.

The CHAIRMAN. No, not at all. You have a perfect right to consult your attorney. You have a perfect right to do anything you want to do. It is a question as to what you did, not whether you had a right to do it. This is a free country, and—

Mr. CASPAR. That I know.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a right to do as you please.

The committee has a right just to know what it was that you did.

Is there anything that you have, being as you are under oath, is there anything, any statement that you have made here that you care to revise or change or alter or modify?

Mr. CASPAR. To the best of my ability I told everything the truth. As a matter of fact, I can tell you that my wife also visited Yugoslavia in spite of not having the permission of the State Department.

Mr. DEKOM. You mean she went without a proper passport?

Mr. CASPAR. Passport, yes, we got a visa in Paris.

Mr. DEKOM. The passport was not valid for traveling into Yugoslavia.

Mr. CASPAR. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. How did she get a visa?

Mr. CASPAR. From the Yugoslav authorities in Paris.

Mr. DEKOM. And despite the fact that her passport was not valid for traveling into Yugoslavia?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were traveling, of course, under your proper name.

Mr. CASPAR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In every respect?

Mr. CASPAR. Right, and on the proper passport.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have never changed your name?

Mr. CASPAR. Since I am a citizen, I have never changed my name.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you were a citizen, what was your name?

Mr. CASPAR. My real name is Casparides.

The CHAIRMAN. Casparides.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the name in which you——

Mr. CASPAR. Came to this country.

The CHAIRMAN. And was that the name of your father?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the name under which you were born?

Mr. CASPAR. Yes, sir. I started working in a factory in Chicago when I came, and they cut my name themselves in half and I left it that way.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. Thank you very much.

The committee will recess until 4 o'clock this afternoon.

(Thereupon at 11:40 a. m., a recess was taken until 4 p. m., the same day.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

FRIDAY, MAY 13, 1949

UNITED SENATE SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 11:15 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Pat McCarran (chairman), presiding.

Present: Senator McCarran.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee, Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Senator Cain of Washington, who is present before the committee, will present a statement.

STATEMENT OF HON. HARRY P. CAIN, A UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Senator CAIN. Very briefly, I wish to encourage further consideration by your committee of the bill which the senior Senator from Nevada recently introduced on the subject of deporting subversives.

Mr. Chairman, a few days ago, the senior Senator from Nevada introduced a bill to provide for the deportation of subversive aliens. At that time, I presented the case of an alien who has been guilty of activities which are designed to injure the welfare and international position of the United States. He is, of course, Charles Chaplin, who has made for himself a great fortune in the United States, but has never seen fit to seek citizenship in this great country of ours, which has sheltered him and has, in fact, kept him in luxury for more than 35 years.

I proposed the question then as to why action had not been taken to rid us of this alien, since he has in fact been associated with a number of well known Communist enterprises.

Mr. Chairman, since my original presentation, I have made a more comprehensive study of the record of Charles Chaplin in order that the members of this committee may have a more adequate picture of the extent to which we have permitted our generosity and hospitality to be abused.

For many years Chaplin has given consistent support to the Communist cause and to the Soviet Union. His public utterances provide a series of eulogies for the Stalinist dictatorship, but, Mr. Chairman,

in that whole record I have not been able to find a single kind word for the United States. I remember that about 2 years ago the newspaper columnist, Ed Sullivan, published three questions which he hoped Chaplin would answer. These are the questions:

1. Why didn't Chaplin entertain United States troops or visit our wounded in military hospitals during the war?
2. Does Chaplin prefer democracy as defined by Russian communism or democracy as it is defined in the United States?
3. For 30 years Chaplin has earned a lush living in the United States, abandoning his native land, England. Why hasn't Chaplin become an American citizen?

Well, Mr. Chairman, as a result of these and other pointed questions aimed at him, Chaplin held a press conference in New York City. The headline in the New York Sun of April 15, 1947, provides a concise summary of his reply:

Chaplin sidesteps query on Red link.

The New York Sun report of the interview contains the following significant passages:

Charlie Chaplin refused yesterday to give a direct answer to a reporter who asked him at a press conference whether he was a fellow traveler of the Communists.

"That is too difficult to define," he said. "If you step off the curb with your left foot these days, they call you a Communist. I belong to no political party and I have never voted in my life."

He had already denied being a Communist. His press agents had announced that at the conference he would answer any and all questions which reporters might put, but he didn't.

The questioning eventually turned to the subject of dictators on which Chaplin has been a fluent speaker. Let me again refer back to the New York Sun of April 15, 1947, and I quote:

He said that he had given up the idea of making a Napoleonic film because he doesn't like dictators.

"Isn't Stalin a dictator?" a questioner snapped.

"It hasn't been settled what that word means," Chaplin replied.

There were, Mr. Chairman, the inevitable questions about his citizenship, or rather his lack of it. His answer to this pointed question was simply, "I am not a nationalist."

The columnist, Ed Sullivan, provided us with a suitable answer to this kind of double talk. Let me quote from his column of April 12, 1947 in the New York News:

The marines who died at Iwo Jima, the World War II paraplegics, amputees, and the blinded must writhe at Charlie Chaplin's smug explanation that "I'm a very good paying guest in the United States" * * * to Chaplin, the U. S. A. is a boarding house, a motel, or a roadside inn where, in return for taxes you get liberty, freedom of speech, jury trial, freedom of religion, and everything else as some sort of room service. * * * Chaplin's answers to your three questions, as reported by AP, UP, and radio commentators, demonstrate that he believes the purpose of language is to conceal ideas, rather than convey ideas * * * so let's put it to him simply: Does Chaplin prefer our political philosophy, in which the state exists for the people, or does he prefer the Communist philosophy, in which the people exist for the state? * * * In other words, Charlie, is you is or is you ain't our baby? Are you with Uncle Sam or against him?

Don't tell us, Charlie, that you are reluctant to discuss politics. During the war, instead of entertaining the troops or our wounded, you delivered nothing but political speeches for Russia, demanding a second front. So don't be tongue-tied now, Charlie. Speak right up, because the country is tremendously interested in your answers. * * * And Charles, don't repeat Thursday's

error of saying, "I'm for the little people." Under our democracy, there are no "little people," all of us are just people, free-born. You confused the image of Independence Hall with the Kremlin * * * with the entire world discussing ideology, Charlie, don't tell us you are not concerned with the world's gravest issue * * * and if you are not a "nationalist," Charlie, what are you—a supreme being who surveys all worlds, and owes obligation to none of them? Speak up, Charlie, and this time no double talk.

The New Leader of April 19, 1947, gave a further report on the Chaplin interview which will speak for itself:

Chaplin hesitated to compare Russian expansion of today with German expansionism of yesterday. He echoed the Communist line by stating that Hitler used the same techniques against the Communists as are being used today. When told that those speaking out against the Communists today are in the main those who also spoke out against Hitlerism, Chaplin let it die there.

It is touching, Mr. Chairman, to hear Chaplin talk of his love for the common man. It is touching to think, Mr. Chairman, that he has deigned to consider the poor American "nationalists," and the "nationalists" of more unfortunate countries.

The New Leader of April 19, 1947, has this appropriate thing to say on the subject:

Chaplin over and over again accentuated his belief in the common man; his defense of the underdog. He claimed that his films arouse "pity" for the oppressed of the world. This writer asked Chaplin: "Have any of the proceeds of your recent films gone toward helping the people of Europe, for example, rehabilitate themselves? Have these proceeds been used to aid the democratic resistance forces?" Answer: "Er—er—I don't know. But the military used my film, the Great Dictator, and we gave it to them whenever they requested it." He also boasted that he had made many speeches calling for a second front.

I am sure that the men who gave their lives on the Normandy beaches, at Salerno, in Sicily, and North Africa—I am sure, Mr. Chairman, that they must be grateful to Charles Chaplin that he made speeches on behalf of a second front.

Even the men of Chateau Thierry or the Argonne Forest, the men who were cut down in the Ludendorff drive in 1918, will also look down with gratitude on Chaplin. I hark back to World War I, because Chaplin has sat out in luxurious comfort two wars in which his native Britain and his hospitable United States were involved, in the defense of those freedoms which he perverts so glibly.

His only recorded contribution to the war effort was a eulogy of the Soviet Union which ended with these words: "Russia, the future is yours."

This is not the first, nor the last, nor the only instance in which he spoke in the most glowing terms of the most brutal dictatorship that this world has ever seen. Many of us will recall that in October of 1942, he spoke on the subject of communism in Carnegie Hall, and he said then:

I want to clarify something. For some time communism has been held up as a big bugaboo, and we were terrified of it. People say, what if communism spreads out all over the world? My answer to that question is: So what?

Of particular significance in the unsavory history of Charlie Chaplin is an incident that took place a little over a year ago; an incident, Mr. Chairman, which skirts perilously close to treason. At that time the House Committee on Un-American Activities had revealed that Hanns Eisler, who had been brought into this country as a result of pressure brought on the Department of State, was a high-ranking

Comintern agent. Steps were being taken to have Eisler deported. The entire Communist world was recruited to come to the assistance of agent Eisler and, as might be expected, Charlie Chaplin chimed in. The arrogance or stupidity of this person was, Mr. Chairman, almost unbelievable. As part of his campaign on behalf of an identified Communist conspirator, Chaplin sent a cable to Pablo Picasso,¹ self-admitted French Communist, urging him to stage demonstrations against the United States in France. It is with the greatest feeling of revulsion that I now read the text of his treasonable message:

Can you head committee of French artists to protest to American Embassy in Paris the outrageous deportation proceedings against Hanns Eisler here, and simultaneously send me copy of protest for use here. Greetings.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that the members of the committee seriously consider this act. Here is an alien, living in luxury for 30 years in this country, who urges a foreign Communist to stage demonstrations against the Embassy of the United States in a foreign country, on behalf of none other than a notorious Communist. In the words of the Argonaut of January 2, 1948:

For confounded impudence it would be all but impossible to find another in this country to equal Charlie Chaplin, a man who has come to regard America as his oyster, and with this regard disdains to hold a decent respect for the opinions of mankind.

When reporters asked Chaplin about his association with Hanns Eisler, he replied that he was "very proud to be his friend."

Chaplin's defense of Communists was not limited to this one man. He has quickly jumped to the defense of other Communists. I think we all remember the case of Gerhart Eisler, who came to this country as the supreme representative of the Comintern. In other words, he was the top commissar of Communist Party activities in this country. He has been convicted of contempt of Congress and of making false statements in connection with obtaining a United States entry permit. Again the Communist propaganda machine was recruited into a propaganda drive on his behalf. The Daily Worker of January 4, 1947, page 4, carried a statement on behalf of Gerhart Eisler. One of the more conspicuous signers of it was Charlie Chaplin.

Similarly, Chaplin signed a protest on behalf of Eugene Dennis and Leon Josephson, well-known Communists who have been convicted of contempt of Congress.

A few years before, Chaplin spoke out publicly on behalf of Earl Browder, who was just then being released from prison, where he served a term for passport fraud.

Chaplin has had numerous connections with Communist fronts and Communist-controlled organizations. Among them are the following:

1. Chaplin was a sponsor of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which is listed by the Attorney General of the United States as a Communist front.
2. Chaplin was a contributor to the New Masses, monthly organ of the Communist Party.
3. Chaplin was a speaker before the Artists' Front to Win the War, which is listed as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-

¹ Famous French painter.

American Activities and the California Committee on Un-American Activities.

4. Chaplin was a sponsor of the People's Radio Foundation, which is listed as a Communist front by the Attorney General of the United States. This organization was set up to procure radio stations for the Communist movement.

5. Chaplin was a contributor to the Communist periodical Soviet Russia Today, which was branded by the California Committee on Un-American Activities as existing for "the sole purpose of carrying on propaganda on behalf of the Soviet Union."

6. On November 14, 1942, page 4, Pravda, the official organ of the Soviet Communist Party, published a telegram of greeting from Charlie Chaplin.

7. Chaplin was a patron, in Los Angeles, of a celebration on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Bolshevik dictatorship in Russia.

8. Chaplin made a substantial financial contribution to the Wallace campaign, which was completely sponsored by the Communist Party.

9. As might well be expected from a man with his pro-Communist record, Chaplin was one of the sponsors of the synthetic "peace conference" in New York a few weeks ago. This conference, Mr. Chairman, is part of the prefabricated anti-American propaganda drive which Moscow is now busily exporting as its part in the cold war.

This relationship of Chaplin with the Communists has not been a one-way street. The Red propaganda machine has been appreciative of this friendship and has on many occasions informed the faithful of the Communist Party, through its propaganda organs, that Chaplin's services to the Bolshevik cause have been substantial and appreciated. On a number of occasions the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, has reviewed the life and activities of Chaplin in the most glowing terms. The Soviet propagandist, Ilya Ehrenburg, has lavished upon Chaplin the official approval of the Soviet government. Chaplin received special praise at the Soviet art show in Moscow, in November 1947. The Communist periodical Soviet Russia Today gave him special mention on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. He received the praises of the Communist dictatorship of Rumania in a broadcast from Bucharest on January 13, 1949.

Mr. Chairman, I think this is a substantial record. It well warrants the conclusion that Charlie Chaplin does not believe in our system of government, does not support our Constitution, but has given his allegiance to the dictatorial system of Stalin. I have found no statement of his that expresses his attitude on the subject of communism more clearly than this excerpt from a speech before 12,000 Californians made a few years ago. Speaking about the Soviet rulers and what he called the bogey of communism, Chaplin had this to say:

I think it's about time we got rid of that bogeyman.

People say they are godless men. Any country, any people who can fight for an ideal like they have been fighting, I say they approximate godliness.

They must feel eternity in their souls. Again I say, they approximate God and God will understand, for He is not interested in techniques.

I would only encourage, as one citizen, the fullest possible consideration of the proposed legislation. I am not an authority as to

details, but I strongly support the substance and the purpose of the legislation, Senator McCarran.

The CHAIRMAN. I am very grateful to you, Senator, because we receive from time to time rather discouraging attitudes and when we get a little encouragement, we are very happy to have it on the record.

Senator CAIN. May I ask one question while I am here, sir? I have recently been advised to my complete amazement that the laws of this land apparently are such that one who is a deportable alien very often cannot be deported because the country of his origin or his citizenship will not accept him. Does that happen pretty generally to be the fact, Senator McCarran?

The CHAIRMAN. We have information that the INS has right now something in excess of 3,000 such cases, people that this country desires to deport but the countries of their origin will not accept them.

Senator CAIN. Well, may I ask what happens to them? Are they incarcerated in this country?

The CHAIRMAN. They are just turned loose here. Some of them are criminals.

Senator CAIN. May I ask my last question: Would this committee be sympathetic if a bill were submitted on that subject for the purpose of study and scrutiny by the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. If you have anything that would suggest a solution to the problem, I would be for it.

Senator CAIN. I thank the Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Cain.

TESTIMONY OF ELIZABETH TERRILL BENTLEY

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Elizabeth Bentley will come forward.¹

Remain standing. Raise your right hand. You do solemnly swear that the testimony that you are about to give before the committee of the United States Senate will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss BENTLEY. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly state your full name and identify yourself by occupation, background, and experience?

Miss BENTLEY. My name is Elizabeth Terrill Bentley. At the present moment I am a lecturer, although next year I will be a school teacher. By background, I have a bachelor's degree from Vassar College, a master's degree from Columbia University, and 1 year's study at the University of Florence, in Italy.

Mr. ARENS. How about your previous employment?

Miss BENTLEY. I have 2 years' teaching experience at the Foxcroft School in Middleburg, Va., and after that mostly business experience, 6 years running an export concern, various other business positions.

The CHAIRMAN. I am advised that you have counsel here with you.

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the counsel kindly state his name, place of residence, and where his office is?

Mr. EGAN. My name is Joseph A. Egan. I am attorney at law, associated with Godfrey P. Schmidt, attorney for Miss Bentley. Our office is located at 51 Chambers Street, New York, N. Y.

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena, accompanied by Joseph A. Egan, attorney.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Bentley, do you have a prepared statement to submit to this committee on the subject matter under consideration?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I am sorry. I was going to but I have just about gotten over grippe and I did not have a chance to do so.

Mr. ARENS. May I invite you to direct your attention to the subject matter under consideration, namely, proposed legislation for the purpose of excluding subversive aliens and deporting subversive aliens who may have gained admission to the United States. Will you please express yourself with reference to factual information that you possess in regard to the entrance into this country of persons for the purpose of engaging in subversive activity and in general subversive activity in this country, which may be controlled and directed by officials of foreign governments who are in this country?

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to admonish the witness in answering that question to confine her answers to first-hand information that you have yourself, that you gained yourself, and not to conjectures.

Miss BENTLEY. Would that apply, Senator, to things that I have been told by my superiors in the Russian secret service, for example? Would that be conjecture?

The CHAIRMAN. If you have that and can tell from whom the information came, we will accept it. We will receive it. Tell from whom you gained the information, when it was gained, how it was gained, and all about it. We will accept that if you can do that, but we want primary information here. You understand what that is.

Miss BENTLEY. I should start out with my connections with espionage as they concern aliens.

I was informed by my superiors in the Russian secret police that a very small percentage of Americans are involved in it, only those who are strictly necessary, such as people who must get Government employment in order to obtain information. Of course, those would have to be Americans, because Russians could not secure those positions.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to interrupt you there, if I may. You say you obtained information from your superiors?

Miss BENTLEY. I was informed by my superior in the Russian secret police of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how were you connected with the Russian secret police?

Miss BENTLEY. I worked with the Russian secret police from 1938 on.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Miss BENTLEY. I actually had contacts with them which I didn't realize at the time until later, long before that.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you work with them?

Miss BENTLEY. I worked with them first in New York, and then, from 1941 through 1945, I worked with Government employees in the Federal Government who were obtaining information for the Russian secret police.

The CHAIRMAN. How did it come about that you went into the employ of the Russian secret police?

Miss BENTLEY. I at that time was a Communist, Senator, and I was sent, what they called, "underground." In other words, I was put in contact with one man who did not say it was espionage but rather gradually led me into it, to the point that when 1941 came along, I was so far in, I suppose, I didn't even think about it then.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you born?

Miss BENTLEY. I was born in New Milford, Conn.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are over 21?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is as far as you care to go?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't think there is any great secret, Senator, because all of the newspapers have mentioned I was born in 1908.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Where were you when you were employed by the Russian secret police?

Miss BENTLEY. I was not employed in the sense that they paid my wages. I was employed in the sense that I was an agent of theirs. In other words, during that period I either secured cover jobs for myself to pay my own way, or they secured a cover job for me to pay my way, because you see never, except when a secret agent—Russian police agent—is part of the Embassy, is it ever wise for you, for them to be paid by the secret police, because it might easily be discovered what they are doing. They must have always a sort of cover source of money.

The CHAIRMAN. They must have a way of making a living. How do they work that?

Miss BENTLEY. That is arranged. They very often get Communist sympathizers to set up a business and give a man a job in it. There are numerous ways of doing it.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you and what were you doing when you first associated yourself or became a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. I was finishing the last part of my master's thesis at Columbia University campus. That was the end of '34 and beginning of '35.

The CHAIRMAN. Had your studies prior to that led you up to a point where you concluded to join the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say that my studies in Vassar had gotten me to the point where I was a complete pushover for communism.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you find yourself alone in Vassar in that regard?

Miss BENTLEY. No; I would say that that is the general tendency, not only in Vassar, but in a goodly number of colleges. Other people have told me the same thing.

The CHAIRMAN. You found it from your own experience in Vassar, however.

Miss BENTLEY. I found it from my own experience in Vassar, very definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. I think there will be no trouble with a woman of your fine intelligence to follow the admonition that I tried to give you. We want to confine the information that this committee will receive to first-hand information.

Miss BENTLEY. I would say that my primary information would be through my association with the Russian secret police. Among the first two Russian agents that I knew who were aliens—at the time I didn't know they were Russian secret agents, I was told later on—was a man named Joseph W. Eckhardt, who was a Lithuanian, part of the Soviet military intelligence, who at that time was sent here on a special mission to try and smuggle airplanes to Spain during the civil war. He was typical, I was told later by various of my contacts,

including the first secretary of the Russian Embassy that I will mention later, of one of the ways that Russians got their agents into this country by using what I would call satellite countries, countries very close to them, but countries which they felt would not excite as much suspicion as if an ordinary Russian came into this country. He was a Lithuanian. He came here ostensibly as a businessman. That is typical of a number of people who come in that way.

His assistant was a man by the name of Michael Endelmann. He also was a non-Russian. He was of Polish extraction, born in Germany. He came to this country ostensibly as a businessman. Actually he was part of the Soviet military intelligence. I have been told, I have not been able to verify, that this man either was or is at present working for the United Nations. I have not been able to check that.

Those were typical of two cases where the Russians were using good, tested people who were non-Russians, who came either from satellite countries or quite nearby.

Later on, I had dealings with people who were members of the Soviet Embassy. I am leaving out my first real contact with the Russian secret police, Mr. Golos, because he was naturalized, and that would not come in the same category.

The CHAIRMAN. You will treat that, you will deal with that?

Miss BENTLEY. Do you want me to deal with naturalized citizens?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; certainly.

Miss BENTLEY. Mr. Jacob Golos was born in Russia, and had derivative citizenship when his parents came to this country and became citizens. He was a member of the GPU since away back in the early twenties. He had been a Russian revolutionary since, I think, he was six or seven. His function was to act for the Russian secret police in collecting information, and also he was one of three men on the Communist Party Control Commission, which controls all the people within the Communist Party, keeps them in line, also giving him a good opportunity to find good spy contacts there, people who could put up money for businesses and who could otherwise help the spying. He also was typical of the way they operated, because he was link between the Communist Party and the consulate. He ran a travel agency called World Tourists.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that located?

Miss BENTLEY. That was located in the early days in the Flatiron Building, in New York, and later at 1123 Broadway. As the head of that, since he was dealing with sending tourists to Russia, he constantly could go in and out of the consulate and because he had at one time written in some of the left-wing Communist papers, he also had access to Communist headquarters without suspicion and he, therefore, was a connecting link between the Communist Party and the Russian consulate.

Mr. ARENS. When you refer to the Russian consulate, this question comes to my mind. To what extent are Communist activities in the United States under the direction, control, and supervision of the officials of iron-curtain countries who are in the United States?

Miss BENTLEY. The Communist Party in this country is completely dominated by Moscow. The usual link between the Communist Party is a man known as a Comintern agent. He may or may not be con-

nected with the Embassy. At the same time, centered in the Embassy you have your Russian secret police, which handles all espionage intelligence work in this country, including keeping track of Russian nationals, military, naval intelligence, and the ordinary Russian secret police work. That all comes out of the Russian Embassy originally, although they also, wherever they have consulates, have men there, too, to handle the same thing. That is where it originates.

Now, that may not be a set pattern in the future. It was done in the past. I was told by the Russian secret police that this was done because the information can be carried by their diplomatic courier to Russia; there is diplomatic immunity, and they can send out vital information in code, whereas otherwise it might be difficult.

MR. ARENS. How about persons who are affiliates of international organizations or of trading commissions, or in similar capacity?

MISS BENTLEY. Exactly the same thing. Mr. Golos was in constant contact with several people in the Soviet Purchasing Commission who were engaged in that work, also in the Amtorg Corp. One of my contacts, who was my Soviet superior, was the wife of the man who was then head of Tass Agency.

MR. ARENS. Would you please identify that agency?

MISS BENTLEY. Tass; that is the Soviet news agency.

MR. ARENS. In this country.

MISS BENTLEY. She herself had a position at Amtorg.

MR. ARENS. What is the Amtorg? Would you identify that?

MISS BENTLEY. The Amtorg is the commercial agency that has handled business relations between this country and Russia for a good many years.

MR. ARENS. To what extent did you have contacts or are there contacts existing now with persons who are in this country with immunity as affiliates of international organizations or as invitees of international organizations?

MISS BENTLEY. I don't think you would call Amtorg a diplomatic-immunity organization. I don't believe they have it. I don't think the Soviet Purchasing Commission has it.

MR. ARENS. Another category; international.

MISS BENTLEY. You are referring to the UN, or something of that sort.

MR. ARENS. Any international organization.

MISS BENTLEY. As I have stated before, I think that Mr. Michael Endelmann was or is in the United Nations. That is the extent of my knowledge as far as the United Nations is concerned.

MR. ARENS. How about other international organizations?

MISS BENTLEY. The Embassy. My main contact after Mr. Golos' death was the first secretary of the Russian Embassy, who was the head of the Russian secret police in this country. The man's name is Mr. Anatoli Gromov. I think that has been brought out before. I know that he, as first secretary, was head, because at one point I was dissatisfied with my Russian contact and I asked to see the boss, and I was given Mr. Anatoli Gromov. He told me that it was the policy that the first secretary of the Russian Embassy was the NKVD man. That is the Russian secret police.

MR. ARENS. What contacts did you have with persons who are in the official employment of the United States Government?

MISS BENTLEY. I had some 40 or 50 people who were giving me information, who were working for the United States Government. I think those were all listed last summer when I gave testimony here. They were practically all Communists. I think there were two or three that were not, but the rest of them were Communists.

THE CHAIRMAN. Were they or did they claim to be citizens of the United States?

MISS BENTLEY. They were all native-born citizens except two of them who were naturalized Russians. Those two people were Mr. Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, who fled from Russia before the Bolshevik revolution, was in China, came to this country via the West Coast, and became a citizen; and his wife, whose name was the Baroness Witte, Helen was her first name, she was also born in Russia, came to this country and became naturalized. The rest of the people in the Government that I dealt with were all native-born Americans.

THE CHAIRMAN. What was the nature of your work when you were employed by the Russian secret police?

MISS BENTLEY. At first the nature of my work was to be a courier. I was to come to Washington every 2 weeks, instruct these people in the techniques of espionage, how to get documents out of their place of employment.

THE CHAIRMAN. Instruct these people, you say; what people do you mean?

MISS BENTLEY. The Government employees with whom I was dealing; in other words, the Communists who were either employed previously in the Government and whom I had transferred to me, or people whom we had sent into the Government for that specific purpose.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is, when you use the word "government," you mean the Government of the United States?

MISS BENTLEY. I mean the United States Government; yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. To what departments did you go for your contacts with these people in your missions from New York to Washington?

MISS BENTLEY. They were employed in several different departments and they shifted during the course of the war. We had people in the Treasury. We had people in the Air Corps. We had people in the OSS. We had people in Nelson Rockefeller's CIAA, I think it was called. Let me see if I have overlooked somebody. We had a man in the Canadian Legation.

MR. ARENS. How about the State Department?

MISS BENTLEY. We had a man who got into the State Department but gave us very little information after he got in.

THE CHAIRMAN. Was he one of your selectees, so to speak?

MISS BENTLEY. He had been with the CIAA; that showed signs of crumbling and, therefore, we urged him to go into the State Department where he would be more useful; yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. On your trips here, on your mission while you were so employed, did you have occasion to go to the State Department frequently or otherwise?

MISS BENTLEY. I never saw any of these people at their place of employment. This was highly secret; highly underground. We met sometimes in their homes, sometimes in restaurants, sometimes on park benches, whatever seemed to be a good method to handle it. I never went to their offices.

The CHAIRMAN. When did your trips commence; that is, your trips coming from New York to Washington?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say July 1941, just after Germany attacked Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. After what?

Miss BENTLEY. After Germany attacked Russia. You remember she was attacked, I think, the end of June.

The CHAIRMAN. From then on, how frequent were your trips?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say usually every 2 weeks, sometimes oftener, if the urgency arose. Sometimes during vacation periods, possibly not as often, but it would average at least once every 2 weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. As to the Department of Commerce, does that come to your mind as a department in which you had those whom you communicated with?

Miss BENTLEY. We did have a man in the Department of Commerce, you are quite right. We had one of the men in the War Manpower Commission but he was shifted someplace else. I forgot the War Production Board. We had three or four in there.

Mr. ARENS. How did you get them into the Government service?

Miss BENTLEY. Some of them were already there. They came in the early thirties, or the middle thirties, or the late thirties and were there. Some of them decided to come down and try for a job and through their own connections got in or we pulled strings to get them in, and some we deliberately sent in. If we found them in agencies that were of no use, like the man at the War Manpower Commission, we would pull strings to get them into an agency that was of use, say the OSS. We had one case of that sort.

The CHAIRMAN. Looking back over it now, during the period that you have mentioned, about how many, approximately, did you have in these various departments in the aggregate?

Miss BENTLEY. I can't count them up exactly, but it was around 40, roughly.

Mr. ARENS. Those are direct Communist agents you are referring to?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; they were Americans, for the simple reason that you could not possibly get a Russian in there who would be effective. They were forced to use Americans.

Mr. ARENS. These 40 do not embrace Communist sympathizers?

Miss BENTLEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. They were members of the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. All but three. Two I would class as fellow travelers and one I was never quite sure where he stood or why he was interested in it.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the dissemination of propaganda and the organizing of Communist Party cells in the United States by the agents of Russia?

Miss BENTLEY. That is exactly what their job is. That is what the Communist Party is set up to do, to organize cells, to bring into the Communist Party people who will be useful for whatever purpose they need them for, and in the case of intellectuals, pretty generally the thing they need them for is either espionage or propaganda. Those are the ones you need for teachers, Government employees, and so forth. That is about what it boils down to. But they also recruit

workers for strategic plants, and they recruit farmers so that they can tie up food production. It is a long, very intensive program, of course.

Mr. ARENS. How extensive is this program?

Miss BENTLEY. I think it is a great deal more extensive than people realize because one Communist can be an extremely deadly person. You can put one Communist in a union local, and if he is smart enough, he can run it. That is a fair way of saying it and one Communist espionage agent in one Government department, if he gets in the right job, can do a devastating amount of damage, because I have seen it work out.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen it work out?

Miss BENTLEY. I have seen it work out.

Mr. ARENS. On the basis of your background and experience, do you have any appraisal to make as to the relative number of persons who are in the active direction of the Communist work in this country who have gained admission into the United States from abroad, as distinguished from persons who are native-born Communists?

Miss BENTLEY. I would say that is almost impossible to answer, unless you are sitting in Moscow. As I said, the only espionage which they trust to Americans is the sort of thing where they cannot use anyone but Americans, in other words, Government employment, for example. But the links beyond that and your higher-ups are all Russian-trained people. They may be from satellite countries, because Russians do not trust Americans. That has been told me over and over again. Back in 1945, I was told that eventually there would be a war between this country and Russia, and I was told by the first secretary of the Russian Embassy again and again that what worried them the most was the fact that they didn't know that they could count on an American Communist, no matter how corrupted or no matter how "steered," as they called it, in the event of war between the United States and Russia. Therefore, they have tried to limit their dependence on Americans to a minimum.

They have used various means of bringing people in for espionage, of course. I was told every member of the Russian Embassy and consulates is working in espionage of various sorts, whether it is commercial or military or Russian secret police. The same is true of the Russian nationals in Amtorg and in Tass.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the source of your information? You say "I was told."

Miss BENTLEY. I was told this by Mr. Golos, and I was told this by Mr. Anatoli Gromov, the first secretary of the Russian Embassy, whom I mentioned before.

Mr. ARENS. Do you feel the same is true with reference to the satellites?

Miss BENTLEY. I can't give you any direct evidence but I would say very definitely "Yes." They also told me that it was difficult to bring in enough agents officially. Therefore, they have been sending, as I said, the type of Mr. Eckhardt and Mr. Endelmann in, ostensibly as businessmen from their satellite nations.

I also know that during Mr. Golos' lifetime—the Russians were quite far-seeing at that time—they were intending to set up a program of bringing their own agents in with war refugees or DP's, because I remember back in those days they had started a scheme to try and

let some of these Polish refugees then in the U. S. S. R. free from Russia to come to this country, holding their wives as hostages on the condition that they would come in and act as Russian secret police agents in this country. So, if they have done it that far back, they have certainly gone a lot further along that line.

Mr. ARENS. How else, by what other means are these agents sent into the United States, other than as affiliates of the consulates and embassies?

Miss BENTLEY. They come in as official representatives of Russia, either in consulates or in commercial organizations or in news agencies. They come in through the UN. There was one case I remember where the ILO harbored a Soviet agent that I know.

Mr. ARENS. Would you identify the ILO?

Miss BENTLEY. That is the International Labor Organization, which I understand has complete immunity (does it not?) from the laws of any country, doesn't pay taxes, and so on.

Mr. ARENS. Are any of these persons whom you knew in the American Government who were giving information to the agents of the Communists presently in the Government?

Miss BENTLEY. So far as I know, there is only one.

Mr. ARENS. And who is what person?

Miss BENTLEY. Mr. William Remington.

The CHAIRMAN. In what department?

Miss BENTLEY. I understand he is still in the Department of Commerce, Senator. I haven't heard any differently.

The CHAIRMAN. Remington?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes, Mr. William Remington.

Mr. ARENS. You say there is only one. You mean only one agent?

Miss BENTLEY. Only one that I knew as an agent that I am quite sure is still there. I think the others are all out.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know where some of them are at the present time?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, Mr. Victor Perlo is now teaching in the Jefferson School¹ in New York City. I understand that Mr. Silvermaster, his wife, and Mr. Ullman, whom I also mentioned, are starting a housing development on the Jersey coast. They are in various occupations now. I have been told that some of them went into the UN, but I have no verification. That would have to be checked on.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have the names of these people that you referred to, these forty-some-odd people that were the Russian agents in our Government?

Miss BENTLEY. I don't have them right now. I mentioned practically all of them, or a good many of them last summer before the Un-American Activities Committee.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you submit them to the committee?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I would be very glad to. I will give you a complete list of them, together with the jobs they held. Some of them wandered from agency to agency. I can give you a complete list of that, yes.

Mr. DEKOM. May that be received in evidence?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that will be received when it comes. That will be received in the record.

¹ Jefferson School of Social Science.

(The material submitted by Miss Bentley is as follows:)

MAY 29, 1949.

Mr. O. J. DEKOM,
Senate Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DEKOM: I am enclosing herewith the list which the committee asked me for.

Sincerely yours,

ELIZABETH T. BENTLEY.

LIST OF PEOPLE INVOLVED IN GIVING INFORMATION TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT¹

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Nathan Gregory Silvermaster—Farm Security Administration, Department of Agriculture; Board of Economic Warfare.
 William Ludwig Ullmann—Treasury, Air Corps (Pentagon).
 Harry D. White—Treasury.
 George Silverman—Railroad Retirement Board, Air Corps (civilian employee, Pentagon).
 Lauchlin Currie—Administrative Assistant to President Roosevelt, Foreign Economic Administration.
 William Taylor—Treasury.
 Solomon Adler—Treasury.
 Bela Gold—Board of Economic Warfare.
 Sonya Gold (his wife)—Treasury.
 Irving Kaplan—War Production Board, Foreign Economic Administration.
 Frank Coe—Treasury.
 Norman Bursler—Antitrust Division, Department of Justice.
 Victor Perlo—War Production Board, Foreign Economic Administration.
 Edward Fitzgerald—War Production Board, Foreign Economic Administration.
 Harry Magdoff—Department of Commerce.
 Donald Wheeler—Office of Strategic Services.
 Harold Glasser—Treasury.
 Solomon Leshinsky—UNRRA.
 Peter Perazich—UNRRA.
 Alan Rosenberg—Foreign Economic Administration.
 J. Julius Joseph—Social Security Board, War Manpower Commission, Office of Strategic Services.
 Bella Joseph (wife)—Office of Strategic Services.
 Duncan Lee—Office of Strategic Services.
 Ruth Rivkin—OFFRA, UNRRA.
 Bernice Levin—War Production Board.
 Maurice Halperin—Office of Strategic Services.
 Helen Tenney—Office of Strategic Services.
 Willard Park—CIAA.
 Robert Miller—CIAA, State Department.
 Joseph Gregg—CIAA.
 William Remington—War Production Board.
 Bernard Redmont—CIAA.
 Michael Greenberg—Assistant to Lauchlin Currie in White House, Foreign Economic Administration.
 Vladimir Kazakevich—teacher of Army courses, Cornell University.
 Louis Adamic—Office of Strategic Services.
 Peter Rhodes—Broadcasting work for the Army in Africa and Italy.
 Abraham Brothman—Republic Steel Co., Reserve officer, United States Army.

OTHERS INVOLVED IN RELAYING INFORMATION

Helen Silvermaster (wife of Gregory)—photographing documents, courier.
 Anatol Volkov (son of Helen)—courier.
 Mary Price—secretary to Walter Lippmann, courier, copying documents.
 Louis Budenz—courier.
 John Abt—courier.
 Earl Browder—courier.

¹ The records of association with Communist fronts of some of the persons named by Miss Bentley appears in appendix V, p. A81.

EMPLOYEES OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS

Hazen Size—Canadian Film Board, Canadian Legation, Washington.

Cedric Belfrage—British Passport Control (British Intelligence Service), New York City.

Jennie Miller (wife of Robert Miller)—Chinese Purchasing Commission.

MR. ARENS. Do you have any information respecting fellow travelers or Communists who are in the Government at the present time—in the Government service?

MISS BENTLEY. No; whatever I have has been given to the FBI on that subject.

MR. ARENS. Do you have knowledge of the presence in our Government at the present time of fellow travelers or Communists?

MISS BENTLEY. Somewhat. Yes; I have given it to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I would rather not mention names, because they are checking on the persons.

THE CHAIRMAN. Have you got others?

MISS BENTLEY. Others that are suspected, but, I mean, it is one of those things that needs proof on it.

MR. ARENS. Do you have any other information respecting the issue which is before this committee, namely, the problem of entrance into this country of subversives and the problem of deporting subversives?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; there is one other aspect which is the backbone of the Communist Party in this country, and that is an alien backbone. If you cut that lifeline between here and Moscow, you will have thrown the Communist Party off base, because people like Earl Browder were never anything but front men. The real men who made the decisions and who carried out the orders were aliens sent to this country by Moscow. That even was carried to a point where in the party organizations and the party press you had aliens controlling it. Aliens were used as contact men with the Russian secret police for finding new espionage contacts. For example, Mr. F. Brown was an alien Italian—I understand he has been deported back to his native Italy, or else went of his own accord—who was on the central committee of the Communist Party for some time and later was in charge of the Italian Communist newspaper *Popolo d'Italia*. Mr. F. Brown, in addition to his other duties, was a contact man for the Russian secret police.

MR. ARENS. What do you mean by cutting the life line; more specifically what do you mean?

MISS BENTLEY. I mean that if you deport aliens who engage in subversive activities you are taking away from the Communist Party the brains behind it and making it exceedingly difficult for them to operate.

MR. ARENS. By aliens, whom do you refer to? What general category of persons do you mean—persons born abroad and sent into the country?

MISS BENTLEY. That is correct; people like Mr. Brown, who was never naturalized, the editor of the *Ukranian Daily News*, which was a Communist publication, Mr. Tkach,¹ I don't believe was ever naturalized. In addition to his duties as being head of the *Ukranian Daily News*, he was working with the Russian secret police. I worked with him, together with Mr. Golos. He found other agents for us among the Ukrainians in this country.

¹ Michael Tkach.

Mr. ARENS. Who is the present keyman of the Communist activities in the United States?

Miss BENTLEY. That I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Who are some of the key persons?

Miss BENTLEY. You mean in the background?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Miss BENTLEY. I don't know, because since my days I believe they have been shifted, and it is impossible to tell you who is the keyman. I would say very definitely that the keyman in the Russian secret police in this country is always the first secretary of the Russian Embassy. That is the way it has always been. I see no reason why it should have been changed now.

Mr. ARENS. In the closing moments of our morning session, we began to inquire respecting the types of information which you as an espionage agent had been seeking. Could you elaborate on that?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; I would say they fell into two rough categories. One would be what you would call nonmilitary diplomatic information, such as inside information on the attitude of American officials toward Russia, inside information on secret deals between this country and, say, Great Britain or Canada or China, or any type of information that did not involve actual military work. The other type would be strictly military. That would be production figures, as to how many planes were being produced, where they were destined, what theater of war or what country, on lend-lease; it would be the same type on tanks, guns, all sort of military equipment, as to how much was being produced, and where it was going. It would be information on latest developments.

The CHAIRMAN. You say it would be or was; you mean it was.

Miss BENTLEY. It was, yes. It was information on specific new developments; for example, they were interested in RDX. We got information on RDX.

Mr. ARENS. What is RDX?

Miss BENTLEY. RDX is a sort of explosive. I am not a chemist and I don't know too much about it; it recently appeared in the papers. Particularly on the B-29—the B-29 was a new development during my days and we had a man who was a specialist in B-29. He was sent out to Dayton Field to do work on them, as a result of which we knew how they tested, how they stood up, we even knew about projected raids on Tokyo, and so on—that type of information.

Mr. ARENS. What efforts, if any, were made to obtain information while you were in the service on atomic bomb developments?

Miss BENTLEY. I was never asked about the atomic bomb. I don't know whether it was because they didn't know of it then or because they felt that I had no access to it. The closest I came to it was an adviser close to General Donovan¹ in the OSS, Duncan Lee, who had discovered that a very super hush-hush development was taking place at Oak Ridge, Tenn. He didn't know what it was. I reported it back to the Russians. That is the closest I came to the atomic bomb.

Mr. ARENS. To whom did you make your report?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, I made my reports to my superior in the Russian secret police. At first that man was Jacob Golos; then, after

¹ Gen. William Donovan, wartime head of OSS.

his death, it consisted of two unidentified Russian police agents; and finally, the first secretary of the Russian Embassy, Anatoli Gromov.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you make your reports, and how frequently did you make your reports?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, every time I made a trip to Washington, I brought back with me all types of documents—I had microfilms of some of the documents, some were typewritten copies, some of them were handwritten notes which I had to retype, some of them were stenographic notes I had taken down from men who had memorized information and brought it out to me that way—that I revised, checked, marked what was important, put it in a large portfolio, or sometimes even a shopping bag if it reached that proportion, and the day after I got back from Washington, I passed that information on to my superior.

Mr. ARENS. From whom did you obtain this information?

Miss BENTLEY. This information was obtained from Government employees.

Mr. ARENS. And who are the Government employees from whom you obtained this information?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, it consisted of two groups; one I call the Silvermaster group, because Mr. Silvermaster was head of it; one we called the Perlo group, because Mr. Perlo was the head of it; and about 15 other individuals that I dealt with individually.

Mr. ARENS. What department was each of these men located in? Give their entire full names.

Miss BENTLEY. Well, starting with the Silvermaster group, the head of it was Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, who at the time I first knew him was with the Farm Security Administration. That was part of the Agriculture Department. About the end of 1941 or 1942, under our instructions and through some of his contacts in the Government, he got himself a position as the head of the Middle European Division of the Board of Economic Warfare, as it was then called. After he had been there some 6 or 8 months his immediate superior was sent a letter by General Strong,¹ who was then head of G-2, informing him that the FBI and the Navy Intelligence and the Army Intelligence had information proving that Mr. Silvermaster was disloyal and demanding his dismissal. Mr. Silvermaster brought me the original of that letter.

The CHAIRMAN. A letter from whom?

Miss BENTLEY. The letter was written by General Strong, who was head of Army Intelligence of the Army at that time. I made a copy of the letter. I remember it quite distinctly. And we told Mr. Silvermaster to fight it, to try and keep his position. He did try, but it began to look like a hopeless case, and we got Mr. Lauchlin Currie and the late Mr. Harry D. White to intervene in the matter, to pull strings and to keep Mr. Silvermaster in the position.

Mr. ARENS. Who are those two people?

Miss BENTLEY. Mr. Lauchlin Currie was executive assistant to the late President Roosevelt. Mr. Harry Dexter White was assistant to Henry Morgenthau in the Treasury—Under Secretary or Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. These men both pulled strings—they have admitted that before the Un-American Activities Committee when

¹ Brig. Gen. Alden Strong.

questioned—but it began to look as though he would not be useful to us there, because he was so smeared we were afraid that he would just be out of the question. So we got them to release him from the Board of Economic Warfare and sent back to the Agriculture Department, because he was no longer useful. After I knew him, he went into the Surplus Property Division, I think it is called, of the Treasury Department, and he was last there before he left the Government; whether he left voluntarily or was put out, I don't know. That was some time later.

His wife, Helen Silvermaster, was not a Government employee. She helped in the photographing of documents that they brought home and in courier work. When I could not come to Washington, she would be a courier and bring the material up. His boarder, Mr. William Ludwig Ullman, started in the Treasury Department. Then he was drafted during the war, and through the intervention of George Silverman, who was then a civilian employee of the Air Corps in that division of the Air Corps which took care of production statistics, Mr. Ullman was gradually put in the Air Corps in the Pentagon where he rose rank by rank from a private to a major. He was in that part of the Air Corps that had access to airplane-production figures. He had an "in" to General Hildring's¹ office, which was then handling what the Army would do about Germany. That is where his value lay. I believe that he returned to the Treasury after the war, and he is out of the Government, too, now.

Mr. ARENS. During your visits, when you came to Washington as a courier, did you meet with him?

Miss BENTLEY. I met with all of them when they were there. Sometimes it would be all three of them. Sometimes one would be off on a trip. Mr. Ullman was the one who went to Dayton on the B-29.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you meet with them?

Miss BENTLEY. At the Silvermaster house generally, except during the summer of 1942, at which time Mr. Silvermaster was about to be dismissed from the BEW, and because of that we were afraid he might be being tailed by the FBI. So, they used to pick me up on the street in their car and we would drive somewhere out of town and I would get the material there.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any information respecting the Doolittle raid on Tokyo which you transmitted as a courier?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; we knew about that raid, I guess, a week or 10 days ahead of time; yes.

Mr. ARENS. From whom did you secure the information on that raid?

Miss BENTLEY. That was from William Ludwig Ullman, who was a specialist, as I understand it, in the B-29 program.

Mr. ARENS. To whom did you transmit the information respecting the raid?

Miss BENTLEY. I transmitted that to my Russian superior at the time.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you contact your Russian superior at the time?

Miss BENTLEY. We had various meeting places. I can't tell you which restaurant it was. In general, we met at one of the Schraffts

¹ Maj. Gen. John H. Hildring.

in New York for dinner or one of the Longchamps or various other restaurants in about that price range, trying to make the meeting appear a casual social meeting, rather than something undercover on the street corner.

Mr. ARENS. When did you sever your connections as an espionage agent for the Communists?

Miss BENTLEY. That is difficult to say, because I went to the FBI in August 1945, at which time I still had contact with the high-up Communists, such as William Weiner, and at the same time I had contact with Mr. Browder, who had then been ousted from the Communist Party, but the FBI was interested in what he was doing, and I had contacts with the Russian secret police. When I went to the FBI, they asked me would I continue with these contacts so that we could learn some useful information.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you continue in that capacity?

Miss BENTLEY. Oh, I would say the last time I saw any of them was in about January or February of 1947.

Mr. ARENS. Have you received any threats or any reprimands from the Communists or from your old associates in the Communist espionage ring since you severed your connection with them?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, since they became aware of what I was doing, I did have anonymous telephone calls, and after last summer I got threatening letters and the usual sort of thing.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any appraisal to make, on the basis of your background familiarity with this problem, with reference to the intensity of activity of the Communists in their espionage work in the course of the last 2 or 3 years?

Miss BENTLEY. They were stepping up espionage at about the last time I saw them because the situation had changed. This country was not as friendly as it was previously, and they were realizing that they must step it up. My opinion would be that they are intensifying it now, because it is utterly vital to them that they have this information.

Mr. ARENS. What efforts, if any, that you know about, are being made at the present time with racial groups or blocs in the United States?

Miss BENTLEY. I can't tell you at the present time, since I am no longer with the Communists, any more than anyone who reads the Daily Worker, but they have been definitely aiming ever since I have been a Communist Party member at so-called racial blocs. That is, they have been terrifically interested in people of Slavic extraction in this country, whether they are Czechs or whether they are Poles or any one of that particular group.

Mr. ARENS. How do they manifest their interest, in what way?

Miss BENTLEY. They have set up numerous organizations to work among them. They have tried to recruit agents from among them and so on. They have consistently shown an effort to try and do something with the Negroes.

Mr. ARENS. Who is the Negro leader of the Communist bloc among Negroes?

Miss BENTLEY. In the days when I was there, James Ford was the authority in the Communist Party on the Negro problem.

Mr. ARENS. Who is James Ford?

Miss BENTLEY. James Ford is a Communist of very, very long standing, and ever since I have known him he was head of the Harlem sec-

tion of the Communist Party, a member of the Central Committee. I don't know where he is today.

The CHAIRMAN. A Negro?

MISS BENTLEY. Yes; he is a Negro.

MR. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the number of actual card-bearing Communists in the United States?

MISS BENTLEY. Well, card bearing is a misnomer right now, because they are not bearing cards. When the situation gets tight, even your ordinary Party member discards his card, and espionage agents never under any conditions even have one issued to them.

MR. ARENS. Do you have any information respecting the number of Communist agents in the United States?

MISS BENTLEY. Espionage agent, the whole works?

MR. ARENS. Yes.

MISS BENTLEY. Not personally, no. It has been estimated by people I have talked to that it was around between eighty and ninety thousand, I think. It is anyone's guess.

MR. ARENS. Would you kindly, so we understand your testimony, describe who falls in this category of this eighty or ninety thousand?

MISS BENTLEY. By that I would say a person who is a member of the Communist Party, in other words, under Communist discipline. He may be an open Communist, because he is more strategic to the Party as being an open one representing them; he may be an undercover Communist working in education or factories or elsewhere; he may be engaged in sabotage or he may be working with the Russian secret police; but he takes his orders from the Communist Party and he is under their discipline. That is the definition I would give of it.

MR. ARENS. On the basis of your background and experience in this field, do you have any appraisal to make as to whether the top men in the espionage work are citizens or aliens? Let us take them first one group and then the other. First, the bulk of those who are the top men, who give the directions and orders, who are the bosses.

MISS BENTLEY. There are no bosses in this country. The orders come directly from Moscow and are transmitted from Moscow to this country, but they have in this country aliens and naturalized aliens who are in contact with Moscow in order to carry out these directives and to see that they are carried out.

MR. ARENS. What percentage or what estimate would you make on the relative number of the key people in this country who are aliens or foreign-born, who have been sent into the country?

MISS BENTLEY. That I would not know. I cannot give you any estimate. You don't need very many of them.

MR. ARENS. Whom did you see in our Government for the purpose of placing Communist agents in jobs?

MISS BENTLEY. I personally didn't see anyone. I was supposed to stay in the background. It was arranged through the agents themselves, as I said. In the case of Mr. Silvermaster, he himself arranged with Mr. Currie and Mr. White not only to get himself out of a bad spot, but to help get Mr. Ullman into a better position, and he arranged with Mr. Silverman for the same purpose. In general, we trained our agents to make what good contacts they could here in Washington in order that should they need to get into a better job, they would have the contact ready, although if we had, say, a man in a good spot in an agency we would send to that man someone else

to be placed. For example, in the OSS we had Maurice Halperin, who was head of the Latin American Division of Research and Analysis. That was not the hush-hush division; that was the less secret division. We had a young girl, Helen Tenney, who knew Spanish, and we sent her into the OSS to fill out the application forms and to shunt herself towards Mr. Halperin to get a position. It so happened that when they saw her application forms at the door and knew she knew Spanish, they promptly seized her for a job in the very hush-hush division of the Spanish department of the OSS; she did not get that far, but that was the general routing we followed.

Mr. ARENS. What makes a Communist? Why do people join the Communist Party? Why did you join the Communist Party and ally yourself with this movement?

Miss BENTLEY. There really are two stages. One you go through before you even run into your first Communist. You go through a system of upbringing in education which in my day—and it is still going on today—tends to take whatever religion you have out of you and to undermine your faith in democracy at a very young age, at an age when a youngster needs something to hang onto, something to believe in, something to fight for; instead you are left in a terrible state of confusion; you no longer have perhaps any belief in God. You have been taught that our democracy has failed, because all you have been shown in your college career is social injustices, and you are left high and dry not believing in anything. The zeal that you should turn towards believing in your own country and your own religion is unfortunately sidetracked into the Communist cause, because the Communists come to you with a nice idealistic program and tell you, "Well, the only thing we can build on this earth is a decent life for mankind and you are part of it. Maybe you won't see it in your day, but it will come to pass one day."

Mr. ARENS. What do they believe in? What did you believe in?

Miss BENTLEY. I believed that I was going to build a world that gave every man a decent break in every possible conceivable way, that every man would have a chance to a decent education, to a decent job. I had seen an awful lot of bad social conditions because my mother did volunteer social work when I was a kid. I believed there would be no more discrimination. That was what communism stood for to me, because, you see, a Communist is a very unscrupulous and clever psychologist who takes advantage of a person who is pretty confused and manages to sell him this program. Then, once he gets him in the party, then very, very gradually he conditions you by the reading you do, by the associates you go with, to the point where you simply don't believe anything else but communism and you follow right along with it to the point where they even get you to believe that any means justifies the end. That is as far as it gets you.

Mr. ARENS. Why did you sever your connections with the Communist Party?

Miss BENTLEY. I was very fortunate, you see, because it is usually only the top people in the Communist Party that know what communism really is, that it is a fifth column of the Russian Government. A lot of your rank and file are not aware of that. My immediate superior was Jacob Golos, and he had been shrewd enough to keep me in the belief that I was still working for an idealistic world move-

ment. He died very suddenly of a heart attack without any provision for his successor, and so as a result of that, I stepped into his boots and was thrown right into contact with a Russian secret police agent and with Mr. Earl Browder. The Russian secret police agent thought that if I had gotten that far in the apparatus, which is quite far for an American, that I must know the score, and, therefore, he went ahead and made no bones about the fact that I was mixed up with a thing that was not idealistic at all.

Mr. ARENS. What is communism, then, if it is not an idealistic philosophy, as you first thought it was?

Miss BENTLEY. Communism as it is going on at present is simply a fifth column of Russia, that is all. It is a materialistic philosophy, technically known as dialectic materialism, based on the idea that there is no God, there is no soul, there is only matter in the world. That is what it boils down to.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any other comments to make pertinent to the issue which you know is before this committee on the problem of excluding and deporting subversives?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes; just one, I think, which is that never have the Russians trusted the Americans. At some periods they have trusted them more than others. Therefore, the main key people in the Communist apparatus in this country, and particularly in your espionage apparatus, are going to be Russians or people from the Russian satellite countries; in other words, non-Americans. The Russians do not trust the Americans because they are afraid of them in the event of a war. Therefore, since the key people in the Communist organization and in the Russian secret police are aliens, I feel that by passing that bill, you are cutting the lifeline to the party, and making their operation extremely difficult.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Miss Bentley.

LETTER OF GEN. JOHN THOMAS TAYLOR, DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION, AMERICAN LEGION

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to have inserted into the record at this time a communication from John Thomas Taylor, director of the National Legislative Commission of the American Legion, on the letterhead of the American Legion, endorsing the bill on which hearings are being held.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to read the letter. It is addressed to Hon. Pat McCarran, chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

MY DEAR CHAIRMAN McCARRAN: With reference to the hearings now being conducted on S. 1694, the McCarran bill to amend the Immigration Act of October 16, 1919, I have just received from Mr. W. C. "Tom" Sawyer, director, National Americanism Commission, the American Legion, the following message:

"Please advise Senator McCarran that the American Legion desires to be heard in strong support of S. 1694 but is unable to have the proper spokesman available before May 18.

"The American Legion has by repeated convention urged that all persons affiliated with organizations or governments which advocate the overthrow of our Government by force or violence be barred, and that all aliens in the United States holding similar views be immediately deported. S. 1694 gives clear expression to these sentiments held by the American Legion. This bill by concentrating the obligations for such visa denials or deportations solely on the United States Attorney General eliminates the many present escape possibilities and, we think, a strong but fair bill.

"At almost every national convention we hear strong criticism of the ease with which subversive elements gain entry into the United States and the difficulty of evicting them. This criticism is usually vigorous and demanding. We respectfully urge the opportunity that the chairman of our national Americanism commission, Mr. James F. Green, be heard in support of this legislation on May 18."

During a telephone conversation on May 11 with Mr. Richard Arens he advised that when Chairman Green appears on May 18, on S. 1194 and S. 1196, he would be permitted to make a request for a separate record of his views on S. 1694 for inclusion in the permanent records. This will be done, but in the meantime the brief message above is for your use before the committee when it meets today.

That is signed "John Thomas Taylor, director, national legislative commission."

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will recess until Monday afternoon at 2 o'clock.

(Thereupon at 4:50 p. m., the subcommittee recessed to reconvene Monday, May 16, 1949, at 2 p. m.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

MONDAY, MAY 16, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 2 p. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Pat McCarran (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators McCarran, Wiley, Ferguson, and Langer.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee; Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Arens, you may proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly stand and be sworn?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Crouch, you do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before the committee of the United States Senate will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CROUCH. I do.

TESTIMONY OF PAUL CROUCH, MIAMI, FLA.

Mr. ARENS. Will you please state your full name, address, and occupation.

Mr. CROUCH. Paul Crouch, Miami, Fla., journalist.¹

Mr. ARENS. With what company are you connected?

Mr. CROUCH. I am employed by the Miami Daily News, Miami, Fla.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed by the Miami Daily News?

Mr. CROUCH. I have been employed by the Miami Daily News since January of this year.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity are you employed?

Mr. CROUCH. I am employed in a supervisory capacity.

Mr. ARENS. Have you in the course of the last several years had any connection with the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. CROUCH. I had connection with the Communist Party as a member of the party, as a member of many of its leading committees, and as representative of the Communist organizations to Moscow for approximately 17 years, from 1925 until 1942.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. CROUCH. I was born at Moravian Falls, N. C.

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are you?

Mr. CROUCH. I am 45 years of age.

The CHAIRMAN. Married or single?

Mr. CROUCH. I am married.

The CHAIRMAN. You are an American citizen?

Mr. CROUCH. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you just recite the events of your life, what schools have you attended, and so on?

Mr. CROUCH. I was born in the Blue Ridge Mountains of north-western North Carolina. My father was a farmer, a Baptist minister, and a country school teacher. I received instructions in grammar schools in North Carolina, high school in Delaware, and subsequently extension studies from a number of universities.

I went to work in a textile mill at Winston-Salem, N. C., my first employment. I was there a short time. I worked in newspaper work as an associate editor of *The Fool Killer*, later on a daily newspaper at Statesville, N. C. I entered the United States Army as a soldier for service in Hawaii in the spring of 1924, arriving in Hawaii in August of that last year.

As previous to this time I had become interested in radical movements from an idealistic point of view—

Senator FERGUSON. What job did you have when you first became interested?

Mr. CROUCH. I was in newspaper work with Mr. James Larkin Pearson.

Senator FERGUSON. What?

Mr. CROUCH. *The Fool Killer*.

Senator FERGUSON. What is *The Fool Killer*?

Mr. CROUCH. It was a humorous monthly magazine. Mr. Pearson, the editor, was a Socialist, a friend of Eugene V. Debs, Upton Sinclair, Victor L. Berger, and many other Socialist leaders. I became interested in the Socialist movement from idealistic appeal, and joined the Young Peoples Socialist League as a member-at-large.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you start out first as a Socialist?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Well, do you not think that a Socialist is just a slow moving-picture of a Communist? In other words, a Communist is the Socialist in a hurry?

Mr. CROUCH. To some extent that is true, Senator, but I think that it is very important to differentiate: socialism, the Socialist Party in America, from my knowledge of it, has used legal means for its propaganda, it does not act in a conspiratorial manner so far as I know; the Communist Party, on the other hand, is a conspiratorial organization. It does not plan to realize its objectives through peaceful means but through armed insurrection, through undermining the defenses of the country, and I think that in the methods—

Senator FERGUSON. Is it not because they are in a hurry that they want to do it that way?

Mr. CROUCH. That is partly true, but I think the major difference is that the majority of American Socialist leaders believe in the principles of democracy, not that I am defending the Socialist Party.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you not believe that the Communists believe in their principles?

Mr. CROUCH. The Communists believe in their principles, but they believe their principles can be achieved only by forceful overthrow of the Government with the aid of a foreign nation.

Senator FERGUSON. Go ahead and complete your line of work now; I wondered what you were working at when you first got into this communism. How long were you a Socialist before you became a Communist?

Mr. CROUCH. Roughly, about 5 years, in very rough terms.

Senator FERGUSON. About 5 years?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes; and then I came into the Communist movement. It was a chain of circumstances that brought me into the Communist movement.

To continue with the general record, my background, on entering the Army, I was not a member and I had no affiliations whatever or connections with the Communist Party, but because of my reading, I believed in its idealistic approach and so on. I had many communistic views, which I stated very openly. My first assignment in the Army was to G-2, Military Intelligence.

Senator FERGUSON. You were a Communist when you were assigned to Military Intelligence?

Mr. CROUCH. I was not a Communist but I had many communistic views. I was not a member of the party. I had no connection with the Communist Party, but I had many views and looked upon the Soviet Union as a progressive step for the world.

Senator FERGUSON. You were in sympathy with the program.

Mr. CROUCH. I was in sympathy with the program.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. CROUCH. I have prepared for the record and for the committee a very detailed statement covering many fields of Communist activities among aliens in this country. I would like to present this for the record, and I ask the Chair's permission to read from this a one-page brief introductory statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it might be well for you to read the one-page brief and maybe it would be well for you to go on with the statement, because you probably may be examined by the counsel for the committee or by members of the committee.

Mr. CROUCH. Gentlemen, I would like to make a general statement on matters concerning alien immigration as it applies to the dangerous subversive activities of certain alien Communists who have been permitted to build a large and powerful apparatus in this country in the interest of a foreign power.

Senator FERGUSON. This is under oath, you understand.

Mr. CROUCH. This is under oath.

Senator FERGUSON. That is, the statement as well as the questions.

Mr. CROUCH. The statement as well as the questions.

Senator FERGUSON. Is under oath.

Mr. CROUCH. Yes, sir.

The vast majority of those persons who direct the United States branch of the Communist International are foreign-born persons who are not naturalized citizens of this country. Men like J. Peters, William Weiner, Jack Stachel, John Williamson, Bill Gebert—the latter now a high official of the Polish Government—are the men who really have run the Communist Party in this country in the past. Native-born and naturalized American Communists, in the main, are

nominal party officials and are used mostly to head the various party fronts.

A stricter enforcement of existing immigration regulations would do something toward easing the present situation. I know of one instance where two displaced persons were admitted to this country under the sponsorship of a known Communist, Mrs. Celia Greenberg, of Miami Beach. Along with stricter enforcement, in my opinion, is the need for stricter immigration regulations.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that incident that you speak of?

Mr. CROUCH. During the past 2 months.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know the name of the displaced persons that came in under the sponsorship of this woman?

Mr. CROUCH. I don't recall; they were published in the Miami Daily News.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you get them for the record and insert them?

Mr. CROUCH. I will.

(The information follows:)

The displaced persons admitted under the sponsorship of Mrs. Charles (Celia) Greenberg were Joaquin Taub, age 27, and David Taub, age 24. Pictures of the two displaced persons and Mrs. Greenberg were published in the Miami Daily News March 16, 1949. The address of Mrs. Charles (Celia) Greenberg is 645 West Avenue, Miami Beach, Fla.

Mr. CROUCH. It is my carefully considered opinion, based on 17 years' experience as a ranking Communist Party leader in this country, that this legislation is needed to curb the influx of alien Communists into the United States.

If alien Communists were prevented from entering this country and those alien Communists in this country were deported, then, gentlemen, the Communist Party in the United States would be seriously crippled.

Going into specific fields within the scope of the subcommittee's jurisdiction, I wish to speak on the basis of my 17 years of activities in the Communist Party.

Senator FERGUSON. May I just ask him there, because I may miss it later, you are of the opinion, then, as I understand it, that the great difficulty is with alien Communists, that if it was left to the Communists such as you had been——

Mr. CROUCH. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Who are native-born Americans, that this Communist Party would not amount to much.

Mr. CROUCH. It would not be half as powerful as it is today.

Senator FERGUSON. It would not have the subversive elements in it?

Mr. CROUCH. It would not have half as many.

Senator FERGUSON. Let me cite the Bentley case and the Chambers case and some others that were agents; do you think that it would wipe it out entirely, or just——

Mr. CROUCH. Not entirely.

Senator FERGUSON. Or just cripple it.

Mr. CROUCH. It would cripple, but not wipe it out. Other legislation is necessary to wipe it out completely.

Senator FERGUSON. You think that the tops are the Communists, the fellows who are at the top are the Communists that operate this subversive activities in America, they are aliens?

Mr. CROUCH. A great majority, the overwhelming majority of those who held key positions during the time I was in the party leadership were aliens.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know any Americans that are leaders?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes; I know some who have been brought into top leadership.

Senator FERGUSON. Who are they? Differentiate between the alien or alien-born and American.

Mr. CROUCH. All right. For example, we have men like Dennis and Foster. In my opinion, and based upon my experience and what I have seen of the national office, even Dennis and Foster have had less to say in the formulation of vital policies than the alien Communists who are not known to the public and whom I mention here in my statement as I continue.

Senator FERGUSON. You then believe that the real brains behind the Communist Party in America are alien-born?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. You feel certain of that?

Mr. CROUCH. I do.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you feel that some of these others are used as fronts, because being native-born, they can get along with the native-born people and, therefore, can carry on as fronts; is that your opinion?

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you think that applies to Foster and Dennis?

Mr. CROUCH. To a considerable degree.

Senator FERGUSON. When Browder was head, was he a native-born or not?

Mr. CROUCH. Browder is native-born; yes. Most of Browder's speeches, however, were written for him by Jack Stachel, foreign-born and not a citizen.

Senator FERGUSON. Is he not a citizen now?

Mr. CROUCH. Jack Stachel?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. CROUCH. I don't believe he is. I do not know personally if he became naturalized. My impression was that he was not a citizen. I am not certain on that point.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you feel that a Communist could take the oath and become a citizen—that would not bother him at all, would it?

Mr. CROUCH. You mean the oath would not affect his actions?

Senator FERGUSON. That is what I mean.

Mr. CROUCH. No; it would not.

Senator FERGUSON. He would take it and know that he was not going to live up to it.

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. Because he was a Communist.

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. He would do it so he could carry on his trade as a Communist.

Mr. CROUCH. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. That is your opinion, is it?

Mr. CROUCH. It is.

Senator WILEY. Just one question, Mr. Chairman. Is it your conviction that the men you have mentioned, like Foster and Dennis, owe primary and sole allegiance to Russia?

Mr. CROUCH. Entirely, exclusively.

Senator WILEY. In other words, even if they have citizenship here, they are disloyal to America.

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. When you were a Communist, did you owe allegiance to Russia?

Mr. CROUCH. I did.

Senator FERGUSON. You felt that your allegiance was to the Russian, the Communist Party in Russia, rather than to the United States Government?

Mr. CROUCH. I felt that I had to take the orders which I knew came from Russia, rather than the orders of the American Government; that is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. That is correct? There was not any doubt about that?

Mr. CROUCH. My conscience was torn between the two but I took the orders from Russia during the time I was in party leadership; that is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. You feel that other Communists do the same.

Mr. CROUCH. They do.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. CROUCH. I have already mentioned the names of Peters, Weiner, Jack Stachel, John Williamson, and Bill Gebert as examples of the men who really have directed the Communist Party in this country during the years I was in a position of leadership. I should use the word "directed" in quotation marks and with qualification. The real direction at all times has come from Moscow. The decisions of the Russian Communist Politburo were transmitted by official representatives from Moscow.

I would like to mention a few names of those I have personally known in this country as official representatives from Moscow. They include one Nassonov, one of the highest ranking officials of the Russian Communist youth organizations, and John Pepper, commissar of war in Bela Kun's Soviet Government in Hungary in 1919. One representative of the Russian-controlled Communist International who came from Moscow armed with full powers to appoint and remove officials in this country was Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the British Communist Party.

Senator WILEY. Did you see any authority in writing? How did you know he had full power?

Mr. CROUCH. I met him when he spoke before a series of meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party at which I was present. He was introduced as the representative of the Communist International to me and to the other members of the convention. I met Pollitt for the first time in Moscow at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Mr. ARENS. What type of visa did he have when he was in the United States and you saw him in New York?

Mr. CROUCH. I didn't see his passport. I don't know. I know it was the general practice to travel on forged passports of the people engaged in this work, but I did not see his visa or his passport.

Senator FERGUSON. How many times were you in Russia?

Mr. CROUCH. Once for about 6 months.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you study at the college there—the school, the Soviet school?

Mr. CROUCH. I visited while I was in the Soviet Union. I did not study as a student, but I visited the Lenin School, where Americans were being trained. I visited the military academy, the West Point of the Soviet Union,¹ and various other schools.

Senator FERGUSON. When you visited the training and the civilians, did you know what was going on there?

Mr. CROUCH. I knew part of what was going on.

Senator FERGUSON. What were they training?

Mr. CROUCH. The training which American students there and students of every country in the world were receiving was political, including the political philosophies of Marx and Engels, Lenin's, writings of Stalin, the revolutionary program of the Communist International, the question of tactics, and they also received military training.

Senator FERGUSON. What do you mean "military training"? What was the purpose of military training of these civilians?

Mr. CROUCH. These people were receiving military training so they might be able, in time of strikes and in time of revolutionary struggles and so on, to furnish military leadership in armed insurrections to overthrow their respective governments and establish Soviet governments.

Senator FERGUSON. We had knowledge here that they taught a man, for instance, from Detroit, as to how to take care of water plants, destroy water plants, and light plants, and so forth. Is that a fact? Is that what they were teaching?

Mr. CROUCH. That is. I was shown several mimeographed materials while I was in the Soviet Union which included detailed and specific directions, data on the question of sabotage, of experiences obtained from various civil wars, how armies could be crippled from the rear, the effective methods of industrial sabotage, and everything of that nature.

Senator FERGUSON. You saw the memorandums which were being taught to these boys?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes; in English.

Senator FERGUSON. Were you an expert yourself in communism, that you didn't take this course? How did you come to get to Russia? Were you sent over, your way paid?

Mr. CROUCH. My passage was arranged through Amtorg, as I describe later.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you describe that in there? I have not had time to read it.

Mr. CROUCH. I met Pollitt in New York the second time as the representative in this country of the Communist International. Another representative of Moscow in this country at one time was William Rust, now editor of the British Daily Worker. There were other representatives of the Communist International in this country I did not meet personally, but have known about. Two of them were Germans. One was Arthur Ewert.

¹ Frunze Military Academy.

Another representative I knew about, who represented the Communist International in this country, was known in top party circles as Edwards. I did not personally meet this Edwards, who has been officially identified in testimony as being also known as Gerhart Eisler. He recently skipped his \$23,500 bail and attempted to flee to Poland. Such a far-reaching decision as that of forfeiting bail and fleeing the country certainly was not made by Eisler alone. He would never have dared to do so without approval and instructions from the highest circles in Moscow.

The CHAIRMAN. What causes you or authorizes you to make that last statement? What knowledge have you that gives you authority for making that statement.

Mr. CROUCH. Seventeen years of being subject to discipline of the American Communist Party, in which I did not even dare to move from one city to another without instructions from the Communist Party. Poland is a country behind the iron curtain, within the Communist orbit, and certainly no one would return to Poland on a vital matter like Eisler's return without official decisions of responsible Communist bodies. I know this based upon 17 years of experience of Communist discipline. I know what Communist discipline means.

Senator FERGUSON. Does that prove to you beyond doubt in your mind from your experience that this man Eisler was a top man in communistic activities in this country?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes, definitely.

Senator FERGUSON. When he was going back on a Polish ship to an iron curtain satellite country, there is not any doubt in your mind that he was one of the top men and they were getting him out of the country so he would not have to serve his time.

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. You feel that the discipline is such that he would not undertake, nor would you in the same position when you were a Communist undertake, to go to that kind of a country, a satellite, unless you had instruction to do it?

Mr. CROUCH. I would never had dared without instructions.

Mr. ARENS. What would have happened had you disobeyed?

Mr. CROUCH. My opinion is that I would have been imprisoned and probably shot.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. CROUCH. The effort to save Eisler from even a short term in an American jail is striking indication of how important he is to the Russian Politburo. Gentlemen, Eisler was in this country for years. Peters, Weiner, Stachel, and other nonnaturalized citizens were the real heads of the Communist Party in this country, subject to Moscow's orders, of course. They were here for years without interference from the immigration authorities in this country, despite the constant efforts to build an apparatus for the overthrow of the Government.

Gentlemen, Americans usually are used as nominal heads of the party. With few exceptions, however, when an American member is taken into the real top circles of the party it proves disappointing to Moscow. Most Americans who were admitted to the higher circles of party leadership were disgusted and nauseated at what they found there. Among the sad experiences with native American Communist leaders, I might mention here the efforts to take Americans like Louis

Budenz, Julia Stuart Poyntz, and myself, merely to mention three names, into the circles where the real objectives and methods of communism are obvious to those participating in the work.

The matter of perjury, obtaining passports under false names, and similar illegal actions, is only a part of the daily routine. As one example, when I was on the ninth floor of national Communist Party offices one day, Peters, Weiner, and Brown¹—the latter previously known to me as Alpi, an Italian—asked me to go with a girl for whom they would obtain a passport illegally, through fraudulent representation. Peters, Weiner, and Brown, alias Alpi, asked me to testify under oath that I was the father of this girl, a young lady introduced to me for the first time. I refused, and the party leaders were angry.

Before leaving the names of these leaders who were far more important in the formation of policy than the native American members, I would like to say a few words about Peters.

Senator FERGUSON. Did they get a man to act as the father of this girl so she would get a passport?

Mr. CROUCH. I don't know. Brown, alias Alpi, remarked rather angrily that they would find somebody.

Senator FERGUSON. You have told us how strict this discipline was; you could refuse this when you were a Communist?

Mr. CROUCH. Principally because the party had already discovered I was very reluctant to engage in any conspiratorial fields of work, because the party already had been moving me out of that field and was moving me into fields where I, as a native American, was being used as one of their front figures; in this capacity I was, as a native-born American and a native southerner, too valuable for the party at that time to take disciplinary action against.

Senator FERGUSON. Were you cooling off at that time as a Communist?

Mr. CROUCH. I was. It was a gradual, long process.

Senator FERGUSON. Were you at any time wholeheartedly in favor and sympathy of this communistic activity and regime?

Mr. CROUCH. Not without misgivings and without being torn by conscience; not without realizing that there was much that was extremely distasteful and extremely bitter, and yet I was so carried away with certain idealism in its language that I accepted this for a time before I found it was too much.

Senator FERGUSON. Were you ever threatened so that you felt your life would be threatened or bodily harm done to you if you left the Communist Party?

Mr. CROUCH. Not in so many words, but I had good reason to have that feeling and to realize that there was considerable personal danger. My testimony covers that.

Senator FERGUSON. What gave you that feeling?

Mr. CROUCH. The fate of one Julia Stuart Poyntz was one case in question, and the general language that was used in the party, and terms used to the effect that "people don't quit the party." The general impression was given that once you are a party member and in the party leadership, you are expected to stay there. It was more the impression, general over-all knowledge of the tactics and methods and what I was learning about it in the Soviet, the purges in the Soviet Union and the methods used there, and the general

¹ F. Brown.

knowledge which was confirmed just a short time after this incident. I believe it happened within a matter of a few months, in June of 1937, that Julia Stuart Poyntz disappeared, and all my investigations and discussions with party members, with ex-party members later, convinced me beyond any shadow of a doubt that she was murdered by agents of the GPU in the United States. This is one example.

Senator FERGUSON. You knew there was such an agency in the United States.

Mr. CROUCH. I knew there was for I had met, for example, the head of the GPU in the United States at one time and had discussed activities in which he wished me to engage.

Mr. ARENS. That is the secret police of the Communists.

Mr. CROUCH. The GPU is the secret service of the Government of the Soviet Union. It has agents in various countries. At one time I met a Russian who was introduced to me in New York as the head of the GPU in the United States.

Senator FERGUSON. How large is it in the United States, if you know?

Mr. CROUCH. I have no knowledge as to its membership. I might add that the head of the GPU sent for me to find out whether the Young Communist League, of which I was a national educational director at the time, was in a position to obtain through employees in Washington blank United States passports for the Soviet Government.

Senator FERGUSON. Were you able to get such passports?

Mr. CROUCH. I was not.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you try to get them?

Mr. CROUCH. I did not.

Senator FERGUSON. Did anyone try to get them?

Mr. CROUCH. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Senator WILEY. What was your answer?

Mr. CROUCH. My answer was I could not.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. CROUCH. Because he was for years the head of the Communist Party's underground apparatus in this country, the man who gave instructions to me on how to set up illegal apparatus and maintain it in readiness for going underground at any time was J. Peters. Peters also directed the recruiting of American Communists for service in the Spanish Civil War. I personally saw him give various party organizers varying sums of money to pay fares to New York, passports, and other expenses for those recruited.

He gave me money for one recruit from the University of North Carolina, a student from Chapel Hill who, incidentally, never returned. Peters told me to advise this recruit for Spain that a passport would be obtained for him under another name in New York upon his arrival there. I mentioned the name of Bill Gebert, who for many years was a district organizer of the Communist Party in this country and a member of its central committee. Today, Gebert is a very high ranking official of the Government of Poland.

I wish to emphasize at this time that my testimony should not be interpreted in any way as reflecting upon the basic loyalty in the United States of the overwhelming majority of foreign-born residents

in this country. However, some factors should be recognized and, in my opinion, legislation enacted to remedy them. It must be remembered that alien immigrants for the most part are unable to read English when they enter this country. A large percentage of the foreign-language press in the United States is controlled by the Communist Party.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you cite evidence of that fact?

Mr. CROUCH. I did not cite the names of the papers. For example, I might mention the Freiheit, the Jewish-language Communist daily. There has been, I do not know whether still published, a daily newspaper in the Hungarian language, called Uj Elöre. There was at one time published a Greek daily paper and an Italian language paper. Spanish language paper, and papers—many other foreign languages at one time. There were two daily newspapers in the United States published in the Finnish language alone by the Communist Party.

Senator FERGUSON. Right there, I wonder if you could tell us where they get the money to do this. The subscriptions and advertisements do not pay these papers enough to survive; do they?

Mr. CROUCH. No; practically all of the party's presses are operated at a loss.

Senator FERGUSON. Where do they get the money now?

Mr. CROUCH. Some of the money is raised from wealthy American sympathizers, strange as it may seem. There are people of considerable wealth in this country.

Senator FERGUSON. Can you name the people that have donated to these papers?

The CHAIRMAN. Of your own knowledge.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes; I do not want him to give anything but his own knowledge.

Mr. CROUCH. I would not be able to recall at this time after these years since I was engaged in this work. I do know that when I was in the national office I saw a list of donations, running as high as \$1,000, in one donation for the Communist press.

Senator FERGUSON. From whom did you get money all of the time that you were a Communist?

Mr. CROUCH. I received my pay from the national office of the Communist Party.

Senator FERGUSON. In dollars?

Mr. CROUCH. In dollars; yes.

Senator FERGUSON. That is the only kind you could use here?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes; that is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you get paid while you were in Russia?

Mr. CROUCH. I got paid in Russian rubles.

Senator FERGUSON. Who paid you there?

Mr. CROUCH. The Communist International.

Senator FERGUSON. They paid you there in rubles and here in dollars.

Mr. CROUCH. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. And your support and maintenance came from the Communists.

Mr. CROUCH. It did.

Senator FERGUSON. Both there and here.

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the form of pay, in check form or was it in currency?

Mr. CROUCH. Invariably in cash or money orders.

The CHAIRMAN. Money orders on the post office—postal money orders?

Mr. CROUCH. Postal money orders or cash.

Senator LANGER. Can you not tell Senator Ferguson even one name of one of these rich people that donated? Can you not tell Senator Ferguson even one name?

The CHAIRMAN. He did not say rich people; he said donations.

Senator FERGUSON. He said large donations, too.

Mr. CROUCH. Large donations.

Senator FERGUSON. I think you assumed they must be rich.

Senator LANGER. Name one person.

Senator FERGUSON. Can you answer Senator Langer? I asked you the same question—if you know.

Mr. CROUCH. I can describe a couple of individuals and you could check the names. I might be able to recall with great effort. One of the men who contributed—who told me that he contributed about \$10,000 a year to the party—lived in New York, and I believe Mr. J. Lovestone, who was secretary of the Communist Party, will be willing to supply the name of this individual to the committee, since both Lovestone and I were guests at his home on the same occasion. I could recall incidents and his contributions amounted, as he told me, to approximately \$10,000 a year.

It must be recalled that many years have passed and these wealthy people who made contributions kept very much in the background, with a few exceptions. However, a check of the party press, some of these donations were published—a matter of record—and if you would examine the files of the Daily Worker, the files of Uj Elöre, and I am sure if you examine the files of the Freiheit you will find the names published there of many contributors in amounts ranging from \$500 to \$1,000.

Senator FERGUSON. What do you think those people expected to gain from those donations; have you any idea what their philosophy was?

Mr. CROUCH. It is difficult to answer precisely, with absolute knowledge as to what their outlook was. In my opinion, they were completely under the domination of what they considered the Marxist-Leninist outlook on life. They read the propaganda of the party. They felt that everything was wrong in the world, that communism offered a way out. In other words, their outlook was far more like the members of some fanatical religious group than members of a political party.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. CROUCH. At considerable financial loss to itself, the Communist Party for years has operated a vast number of newspapers, a number of daily papers in foreign languages. The immigrants get their knowledge of America from the Communist-controlled papers in their own language. They are brought into all kinds of organizations controlled by Communists. This is particularly important now since the Communists have brought many central European countries under their iron dictatorship, countries like Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and so forth. The consular officials of these countries in the

United States know that immigrants from these countries have relatives at home. All kinds of pressure today is possible to induce or coerce aliens into entering the Communist-front organizations.

Before we criticize or permit any reflection upon loyalty of aliens in this country, by and large, let us take steps to correct this situation. First, I would like to suggest, for your consideration, legislation which would prevent any foreign ambassador, consular, or other official of any other country in this Nation, from supporting any subversive group here or trying to influence aliens to enter such groups.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have knowledge respecting the activities of officials of foreign governments in this country or affiliates of international organizations in connection with so-called Communist-front groups?

Mr. CROUCH. Not specifically. Only the source material which I have read from the press, and which is available, of course, to this committee.

Senator FERGUSON. When did you leave the Communist Party?

Mr. CROUCH. 1942.

Senator FERGUSON. You had an absolute break with them?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you advise them of that break or did they just become acquainted with it?

Mr. CROUCH. The break, my break with the Communist Party, Senator, developed progressively from 1933 until 1942, beginning with the time when I was, as they would express it, called on the carpet, sharply reprimanded at a party conference in Denver, Colo., and later before a meeting of the central committee by Pat Toohey for the crime of failing to combat, for failing to expose the demagogic nature of Roosevelt and his administration. I was the party organizer in Utah in 1933, editor of the *Carbon County Miner* and a leader in a mine organization and in some strikes out there. In the paper which I edited, the Communist Party officials said they had read and reread and could not find one word of denunciation of Roosevelt. For this I was sharply lambasted, because the party at that time was denouncing Roosevelt and the New Deal with every use of adjective at its disposal.

This difference increased, and it would take hours of the committee's time to go into the various details, an increasing break in views, but I would like to mention the period around 1936, when I read the testimony of the purge trials in the Soviet Union. I had known Bukharin and many other leaders who were on trial in the Soviet Union, and I knew the kind of testimony that was reproduced was utterly ridiculous, testimony which in my opinion based upon my years in the movement, could have been obtained from them—from men like Bukharin, whom I had seen in Moscow, had heard speak, and talked with—could have been obtained from them only through extreme forms of torture of himself or threats of torture of members of his family.

The realization of Soviet Russia's being a dictatorship which was ruthlessly suppressing all opposition from without and within the party, having people shot by the thousands, exiled to Siberia by the millions, was a terrific shock. I talked with party members returning from the Soviet Union, and while I cannot recall specific names, the general picture which these party members presented was that of growing difficult economic position, and the fact that no one spoke very openly about any reported differences in the party, or in intra-

party matters. In other words, people followed the line and did not open their mouths. Incidentally, in this connection, I was also called in 1933, again on the carpet by one John Harvey, an American trained at the Lenin School in Moscow, who upon his return to the United States was a member of the Politburo of the American Party for a time. Just back from the Lenin School, Harvey told me that I was not hardboiled enough, that we should not have all of this soft talk about democracy. I was guilty of bourgeois liberalism.

Senator LANGER. Where were you in 1936?

Mr. CROUCH. In 1936, I was district organizer of the Communist Party of North Carolina.

Senator LANGER. These party members that you talked with, were they here in the United States?

Mr. CROUCH. They were here, just returned.

Senator LANGER. Who are some of them that you talked with?

Mr. CROUCH. I talked at various times with Browder, with Foster, with Stachel, upon their return, and many more or less rank-and-file members. There were dozens of them. And after the years, I don't recall specific ones.

Senator LANGER. Besides Foster and Browder, and one or two more that we all know about, name some other people.

Mr. CROUCH. Well, I might name, for example, such names as George Siskind. There are many other people, but most of my work in that period was in contact with top party leaders. Bill Gebert was one of those. When I went to New York, most of the time I was in New York, was spent in discussions with Brown, whom I mentioned also by the name of Alpi, with Stachel, Weiner, Peters, and the various other men to whom I reported on the work I was doing, and received directions from them, discussed political line tactics, and things of that kind.

Senator LANGER. They did not know any more about the purge than you did, did they? They weren't over there.

Mr. CROUCH. I didn't say that—don't misunderstand me. I didn't say, for the record, certainly did not mean to, that I got any information regarding the purge from any American Communist. My deductions and my views on the purge were entirely my own, based upon reading and rereading the printed testimony they gave in Moscow. I referred to the statements of American Communists partly, largely in connection with the economic conditions existing in the Soviet Union.

Getting away from the matter of leaders, since the Senator asked about names of rank and file, there was a man named K. Y. Hendricks in North Carolina, in my district, whom I had known at the Gastonia strike, who had gone to the Soviet Union, worked over there in their factories, and was some years over there, although he faced charges in the United States, had been convicted and skipped bail. Hendricks returned to this country, preferring to live in the United States at the risk of imprisonment, rather than live over there, although Hendricks still remained a member of the Communist Party. This illustrates the contradiction. Hendricks told me much about the hardships of life there. When he returned to the United States in the middle thirties his stories of life in Russia, if made public, would have driven most of the Americans away from the move-

ment. And yet Hendricks, who told me about the terrible conditions over there, and in spite of the fact that he preferred to come back to the United States and serve a sentence in the penitentiary of North Carolina, preferred American prison to Russian freedom, still remained in the Communist Party. This illustrates the peculiar mentality of many Communists.

Senator FERGUSON. What was he sentenced for?

Mr. CROUCH. Sentenced in connection with the shooting of Chief Adderholt, during the Gastonia 1929 strike.

Senator FERGUSON. What was his term of years?

Mr. CROUCH. I do not recall. I believe his sentence was 2 or 3 years, to the best of my recollection. He served about 2 years.

Senator LANGER. Was he an American citizen?

Mr. CROUCH. He was an American citizen, native born, native of the Carolinas or Tennessee.

Secondly, I would like to suggest for your consideration the possibility of schools in Americanism for aliens in this country, schools operated without cost for those attending, where English would be taught and where the principles of democracy would be made clear to those who have come to our shores. The radio also could be utilized effectively in foreign languages by stations in small communities inhabited mainly by immigrants of one nationality. Our State Department is doing a splendid job with the Voice of America. While we are sending messages to Central Europeans behind the iron curtain, we must not forget those aliens inside our own borders who cannot speak the English language. The Communist Party in this country has prepared literally tons of foreign-language material to propagandize the non-English speaking foreign-born here. Cannot we publish, at Government expense, books on the true nature and value of democracy for distribution which will counteract the poisonous propaganda of foreign agents?

Senator FERGUSON. You think we need a Voice of America to our foreign-born who are unable to read and write the English language here.

Mr. CROUCH. I do.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you think that the Communists are working among them and doing great harm among them by getting them into recruits and using them?

Mr. CROUCH. They are.

Senator FERGUSON. We are missing that and going to Europe with our Voice, rather than here. You think that we need a lot of work right among our foreign-born here?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes; in addition.

Senator FERGUSON. To teach them American institutions.

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. And American principles.

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct; yes.

Senator WILEY. Are they using the radio?

Mr. CROUCH. These Communists?

Senator WILEY. Yes.

Mr. CROUCH. They are using the radio. They have been using the radio in English in the South. Not living in a foreign language community, I am unable to say whether the Communists have been

using the radio in the foreign-language areas of the country. I could not answer that. I don't know.

Senator FERGUSON. Do they not have foreign-language hours on various radios in large cities? Are you familiar with that?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes; I believe they do.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know whether any propaganda, Communist propaganda, is put out on those hours?

Mr. CROUCH. No; you see, I live in the South and am not in a position to listen to the stations. I do not know what they carry. I have no knowledge.

Senator WILEY. Any utilization of television?

Mr. CROUCH. I live in the South where we have just had television for about a month. I don't know.

Turning to another subject in the field of the subcommittee's jurisdiction, I have already mentioned the case of Mrs. Celia Greenberg, of Miami Beach, who has been officially identified as a Communist and who sponsored the entry of two displaced persons into the country.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you have any idea how wealthy she is?

Mr. CROUCH. She is reputed fairly well-to-do and I have heard her name mentioned in discussions around the office in connection with people they were expecting contributions from. My impression is that she is upper middle class in wealth.

Senator FERGUSON. What knowledge did you have about her bringing these displaced persons in?

Mr. CROUCH. The fact was published in—I got my knowledge—

Senator FERGUSON. Just from the paper?

Mr. CROUCH. From the newspaper, seeing her picture, and immediately I recognized her picture as that of a Communist. I immediately called the attention of Mr. Hoke Welch, the managing editor of the Miami Daily News, to the fact that I knew that she was a Communist, and asked how it is possible for this Mrs. Greenberg, a leader whom I have understood to be not only a member of the party but a member of the county committee, to act as a sponsor for the entry into America of two so-called displaced persons. How is it possible? I don't know what happened subsequently. Mr. Welch, I understand, began making inquiries into it. But I do not know specifically what was done. I understand that they called this to the attention of Mr. Smathers,¹ the Representative from that district in Congress, and the paper quoted Mr. Smathers saying investigations were being made by the State Department. If I recall the language correctly, they said the State Department was going to make sure that such mistakes did not happen again in this respect; that they had checked on the displaced persons without finding anything wrong, but apparently had not checked on their sponsor. I am certain that if a check had been made on this case, that if the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Miami had been asked about her, the State Department would never have accepted her as a sponsor.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you think it is possible to check and ascertain whether or not people are Communists when they are using the underground so much?

Mr. CROUCH. It is not always possible.

¹ Representative George A. Smathers, Fourth District, Florida.

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, how would I have found out that you were a Communist back in the early days when you were down on this paper in North Carolina—what was the name of it?

Mr. CROUCH. I was not a member of the Communist Party at that time.

Senator FERGUSON. You were following the party line, and you might as well have been a party member; is that not right?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. For all intents and purposes. Well, suppose these people get up and they do not join, but they are really fellow travelers. You understand that term.

Mr. CROUCH. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. You were a fellow traveler at that time. How would I have checked and found that out?

Mr. CROUCH. You would have had an investigator go to my neighborhood.

Senator FERGUSON. They are only human. They will go and ask your neighbors, "Is Crouch a Communist?" Do you think your neighbor would have known?

Mr. CROUCH. I think they would; my neighbors, yes. They would have told you I had very radical ideas. I might not be a Communist, but they would have told you I had radical ideas. I made no secret of it.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you judge it by radicalism? They do not want the word "radical"; they want "liberal."

Mr. CROUCH. In this case.

Senator FERGUSON. How will you tell?

Mr. CROUCH. It is my considered opinion that in the first place, if the Federal Bureau of Investigation had merely been asked about it, they would have been able to inform the State Department that the proposed sponsor was a member of the party. But as I understand the present regulations, the present activities of the FBI are limited primarily to gathering information, rather than releasing information, and even other branches of the Government find it difficult to obtain specific information as to whether anyone has a file as a Communist with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Senator FERGUSON. So far as the legislative branch is concerned, that is true; I will agree with you. I will have to agree with you on that. That is true so far as the legislative branch is concerned.

Senator WILEY. How do you know these two who were taken in were Communists?

Mr. CROUCH. I do not know. I have no knowledge whatsoever that these two displaced people are Communists. Their sponsor is a Communist, has been officially identified as such. I knew her. I knew from the various remarks that had been made in telephone conversations that she was a member of the county committee. I knew she was very active in one of the leading fronts, and previously identified before a congressional committee, in the records of that committee, as a Communist. All of the committees, if their records were coordinated, and the work of the FBI coordinated, each would have a better idea of who the Communists in the country are, in my opinion.

Senator WILEY. It is very possible she saw the light, like you claim you have.

Mr. CROUCH. If she did, she did so very, very recently.

While the country investigates displaced persons themselves, I think it should make an even stricter investigation of the American sponsors.

In this connection, gentlemen, I think there is a greater need for close coordination between the immigration authorities in this country and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. If the Federal Bureau of Investigation were authorized and directed to supply the immigration officials with the names of known Communists—

Senator FERGUSON. Do you not think there is close liaison between Immigration and FBI?

Mr. CROUCH. Partially. I do not believe that there is the complete exchange of information in this field between the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the other Government departments, including Immigration, that is desirable. There is some coordination, it is true. I do not believe it is true to the extent that it should be.

Senator FERGUSON. You understand, then, that Immigration has its own inspectors, and that the Immigration inspectors do not have access to the FBI files?

Mr. CROUCH. I do not have personal knowledge. My impression is that other departments of the Government do not have.

Senator FERGUSON. Have you ever heard in Communist circles that that was true? I do not want you guessing here.

Mr. CROUCH. No.

Senator FERGUSON. We need evidence; we need light.

Mr. CROUCH. I have not heard any remark on that in Communist circles.

Knowledge of the identity of native American Communists is very important in connection with the check on foreign visitors who may be coming here as their guests or employees.

Another field, in my opinion, requiring careful investigation by this subcommittee and legislation to correct weaknesses is the field of unrestricted travel between the United States and Latin-American countries, particularly Mexico and Cuba.

In this connection, also, there is a matter of travel between this country and abroad where there are flight stewards on air lines, particularly those on air lines where the union is under Communist domination. Cuban party leaders can enter the United States at Miami with little or no formality. With the Pan American flight stewards and the many other Latin-American lines, with employees under Communist control, it is easy for flight stewards to act as couriers between the Communists of the United States and the various countries of Latin America.

Senator FERGUSON. When you say it is very easy, have you any knowledge that that was ever done?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes. I have knowledge of similar circumstantial evidence which is quite conclusive. I might say that I know that the union for Pan American, local 500, Pan American Airways employees at Miami, Transport Workers Union, is Communist-controlled, and that the officials are members of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is this, now?

Mr. CROUCH. I know that the top officials of local 500 at Miami, Fla., which includes all maintenance and flight service, flight stewards, in Miami, and in the Pan American Airways bases at San Juan, P. R., and Balboa in the Canal Zone, all being sections under control of this local, are Communists. I personally know that the present president

of that local, Phil Scheffsky, is or recently was a member of the Communist Party; that M. L. Edwards, former president, is a member of the Communist Party. I have every reason to know that Armand Scala, the chief flight steward, is a very active Communist and working with Charles Smolikoff of the Communist Party leadership there, with Edwards and Scheffsky, in continuing the Communist control of the local. Many references which I have heard around the office indicate beyond any doubt in my mind that he was acting as a chief courier to Latin America. I know M. L. Edwards of the Communist Party was making very frequent trips to Panama and to San Juan, P. R., officially on union business, and that in party circles A. E. Loverne, of Panama, who heads the organization down there—I understand that Loverne is not his real name; I cannot recall his real name—is an active member of the Communist Party. Edwards in personal conversations with me in New York City spoke—I cannot recall the exact words—he spoke of the strength of the Communists down there, spoke of various trade-union leaders as Communists, and I got the definite inference from several days of conversation with him and with Phil Scheffsky that Edwards was actively engaged in work for the Communists, as courier in the entire Caribbean area.

Senator WILEY. What was the date?

Mr. CROUCH. The date of the conversation with Edwards and Scheffsky in New York was December of 1946.

Senator FERGUSON. Would you tell me then, in your opinion, if we allow Communists to go out of this country, we are taking a great chance those Communists, when they come back in, will bring back secret information to Communists here?

Mr. CROUCH. Definitely.

Senator FERGUSON. You feel that certain?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. That if they are given passports to go out, the chances are that when they come back they will bring secret information and that they will also carry with them information to the Communists where they are going?

Mr. CROUCH. Directives to the Communists of other countries and information and reports; that is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. And some of that will be subversive, as far as taking it out of this country and giving it is concerned?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes. Much of it is likely to be concerned with strategic military secrets of the country.

Senator LANGER. How do you know?

Mr. CROUCH. I know that from 17 years' experience in the Communist Party, from my discussions with the highest Red Army general officers in Moscow. I know from about 3 months of work in Moscow in the anti-militarist commission of the Communist International—of which I was a member, in which details of work were formulated for the obtaining of military knowledge—relaying this knowledge to the Soviet Union was part of the task expected of Communists, where they could obtain it.

Senator LANGER. In these 17 years that you claim, give us two or three illustrations of what you learned.

The CHAIRMAN. Illustrations of what?

Senator LANGER. Of where they got hold of military secrets.

Mr. CROUCH. All right. I would like to cite a case which the committee can follow up and investigate, get all of the records from the War Department, which I think illustrates this. I was in charge for several years of sending Communists into the armed forces of the country. I was instructed in Moscow in consultations with the general staff to concentrate on Panama as the most important strategic point.

In carrying this out, I assigned a soldier by the name of Taylor to go to Panama. He entered the Army in 1929. He was from the mine fields of Pennsylvania. I don't recall his first name. I know his last name was Taylor. He was a miner from the area around Wilkes-Barre, Pa. I know that he was followed by others. I was succeeded in the position as head of the work on the armed forces by Walter Trumbull. He informed me that about seven or eight soldiers were in Panama working in the Army in connection with plans that were prepared in Moscow, and also this culminated in the arrest of one of the men sent in by the Communist Party. I do not recall his name.

The CHAIRMAN. An arrest where?

Mr. CROUCH. In Panama by the War Department. He was court martialed. His name and some facts regarding his court martial have been published recently in a book called *Labor Attorney*, by Louis Waldman. I would like to refer, and while many years have passed, so far as recalling names, I would like to refer the committee to this book for the name of this soldier who was sent in by the Communist Party, and I believe that Mr. Waldman gives considerable details in connection with this.¹

Senator LANGER. Well, now, we asked you a definite question. You told this committee a few moments ago you got your information by talking with the Red generals over there in Moscow. I asked you to name some instances where they got hold of strategic secrets. You are talking about a book somebody published. We are not interested in that; at least, I am not. I want you to tell us what you learned from these generals that you talked with.

Mr. CROUCH. In talking with the generals over there I got directions for concentration points in Panama, which I carried through.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you carry through?

Mr. CROUCH. I carried through plans, sending the first soldier into Panama and giving directions for reports back to the United States on his progress in building a Communist organization inside the Army in Panama. I never received from him, and I was not—I was never personally; I would like to make this clear—I was never personally in a position to carry out other parts of those directives regarding the relaying to the Soviet Union of military information obtained.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you find this soldier that you sent in, and how did you get him into the military service?

Mr. CROUCH. I knew him in New York in the Young Communist League, and on a visit up there Walter Trumbull and I were talking with him. I told him we were looking for soldiers to go into the armed forces and asked him how he would like to enter this. This was an important task, and Mr. Taylor agreed. In compliance with the directions, he entered the armed forces in Panama.

¹Corp. Robert Osman, charged with violation of ninety-sixth article of war, unlawful possession of defense plan, Fort Sherman, C. Z., acquitted on retrial. (Labor Lawyer by Louis Waldman.)

However, I would like to point out that after 1930 I was no longer the head of this department. This work was directed first by Walter Trumbull and then by Emanuel Levin, who was in charge of the details. Party officials are usually given very little information other than about their own specific fields of work. I was engaged in other fields of work, so I was not in the position personally to supply such information to Moscow.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of this soldier?

Mr. CROUCH. Taylor was the soldier who was sent into Panama.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he the only one that went into the armed services?

Mr. CROUCH. He was the only one who had gone into Panama before I left. However, while I was still the head of the antimilitarist department there were several hundred members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League who joined the National Guard, the ROTC, and other branches like that of the armed forces. For example, at Fort Snelling, at the National Guard camp, around 1929, the Communists and the other Communist leaders working with those we had sent into the National Guard were able to prepare a propaganda paper. We published a mimeographed magazine called the Fort Snelling Rapid Fire. I am sure if you wish to check with the War Department, the War Department would be glad to supply you with dozens of papers put out in 1929, published by the Communist Party, based on reports from their agents inside the armed forces.

Senator FERGUSON. Were you publishing this as a pamphlet for the soldiers?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes; we were.

Senator FERGUSON. Communist literature?

Mr. CROUCH. We were.

Senator FERGUSON. And the Army was permitting it?

Mr. CROUCH. The Army did not willingly permit it.

Senator FERGUSON. You say they would be able to give it to us?

Mr. CROUCH. The Army would be able to give you copies of the paper which they took away from some of the agents, from girls who waited outside the barracks, outside the barracks to hand these papers to the soldiers, to members of the National Guard, as they came out.

Senator FERGUSON. Then it was not printed by soldiers.

Mr. CROUCH. I said, I think the record will show that these papers were printed by the Communist Party, based on information given to them by their members inside the armed forces.

Senator FERGUSON. Giving information that was secret?

Mr. CROUCH. Supposed to be secret. Soldiers were not supposed to publish such information; no.

Senator FERGUSON. Nothing was done about it; nobody arrested; nobody court-martialed?

Mr. CROUCH. Some of the girls were arrested, but released without trials, and they were not—during the time I was in charge of this field—they did not detect any of the people who were sent in by the party. Walter Trumbull, who succeeded me, informed me that they had succeeded in placing approximately a dozen, anywhere from seven to a dozen, Communists aboard one battleship, the U. S. S. *Oklahoma*. The Communist members of the armed forces smuggled Communist propaganda aboard the battleship, stuck it up on walls and distributed it in various ways aboard the battleship.

Senator FERGUSON. As early as 1929 the Communist Party was active in putting their members in the United States Army and the United States Navy?

Mr. CROUCH. It was.

Senator FERGUSON. For the obtaining of information and the converting of people to communism?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes; for the additional purpose of obtaining military training themselves.

Senator FERGUSON. For the purpose of training, so they could help to overthrow this Government?

Mr. CROUCH. Correct.

Senator FERGUSON. As soldiers?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. You say that as a fact?

Mr. CROUCH. That is the fact, because those were the instructions drawn up and the printed material of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, which is available in the Library of Congress from various governmental departments. I participated in drawing up some of the material contained in the Sixth World Congress. Some of this material was drawn up in the antimilitarist commission, on which I worked in Moscow, and some of this published material gives directives about converting an "imperialist" war to civil war, and the conditions under which revolution is possible, and so on; the published material there.

Senator WILEY. Time and place?

Mr. CROUCH. That is insignificant to the details that were drawn up, not for publication.

Senator WILEY. Time and place of the Sixth World Congress.

Mr. CROUCH. It was held in 1928, in Moscow.

Senator FERGUSON. You have every reason to believe that the same thing would be going on today?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes; I certainly would draw that deduction.

Senator FERGUSON. They put men in our Army for the purpose of getting information, also for the purpose of getting training to overthrow the Government at the right time.

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. Is that what you are telling us?

Mr. CROUCH. That is my belief.

Senator FERGUSON. That is your absolute belief from the facts?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Have you any Communist friends now? Do any of them trust you now?

Mr. CROUCH. No.

Senator FERGUSON. Are you in contact with any of them?

Mr. CROUCH. I am not in contact with anyone whom I know to be a member of the Communist Party.

Senator FERGUSON. Have you been, in the last few years, in contact with people who have felt as you have and have left or were withdrawing?

Mr. CROUCH. I have.

Senator FERGUSON. Are there many people deserting the Communists in America?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes; from all indications.

Senator FERGUSON. What can we do to make more desert?

Mr. CROUCH. One thing would be to publish material on the facts about the Soviet Union in terms of standards of living. I think, to make available to American party members comparisons of the standard of living in this country—the wages paid American workers, wages paid Russian workers, the cost of a pair of shoes, of bread, of milk in this country—would be one of the most effective ways. I have already mentioned one way: That is the question of reaching the alien-born who are non-English-speaking people, who have less access to these facts, putting this material in English, in pamphlets, on the radio, and so on, of establishing schools in Americanism for them, where these facts would be presented. These are some of the ways in which this can be encouraged.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you think exposure by printing names and so forth of those who are actually Communists, that their neighbors know they are, would have anything to do with it?

Mr. CROUCH. I do. I think also that another important factor in making it possible for Communists to break, and especially for Communists to cooperate with the Government in bringing in the facts at their disposal to the Government, is for all employers to make it clear that they are not going to discriminate against and victimize people who were once members of the Communist Party, who have realized their mistake and come forward and helped the Government.

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, desertion of the Communist Party, in your opinion, should not be held against a woman or a man in America to keep them out of employment.

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. If they come out and tell the truth that they were Communists and actually desert the cause, they should be given credit and taken in employment, and so forth: is that your opinion?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes; it is my opinion that there are hundreds of people; it is my conviction—of course, I do not—I want to make it clear, I do not have specific detailed facts; I am speaking of convictions based upon my years in the movement and my conversations with those who have broken—that the processes would be speeded up tremendously if the employers of the country made it clear that they will not follow a policy of job discrimination against people who have broken with the Communist Party, who place their knowledge of the Communist Party at the disposal of the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Sincerity as to desertion means a lot in that respect, and how is an employer to judge this sincerity of the desertion?

Mr. CROUCH. There have been many desertions from the Communist Party in this country. I do not believe there has ever been a case of one who has publicly deserted and who has publicly repudiated the Communist Party ever returning to the Communist Party, and the repudiation of the Communist Party should include cooperation with the Government in exposing the party propaganda, and so on. I think this should be sufficient evidence; that such cooperation should be sufficient evidence to intelligent people that such a person is honestly broken with the party and is cooperating in the interests of the country.

Senator FERGUSON. The Senator has asked you a very vital question. These people are very deceitful. They do not hesitate to use any deceit or any means of getting information. Suppose that you, being a Communist, you deserted—you say you desert—the Communists

denounce you, and it is all a scheme for you to get certain employment so that you can later return the information to them. How are you going to tell this?

Mr. CROUCH. In this case I think that the Federal Bureau of Investigation probably would be the best authority. The FBI would quickly determine from its discussions with those people the question of their sincerity.

Senator FERGUSON. That information is not made public. The employer cannot call up the FBI and get any information.

Mr. CROUCH. I realize, Senator, that there is some difficulty about that; but, by and large, I think that employers, using ordinary intelligence, would be able to determine this factor. Let us say that Mr. John Smith, who is not known to anyone, not known to any employer as a member of the Communist Party, suddenly informs the Government and releases a story to the press that he has broken with the Communist Party, appealing to other Communists to follow his example. There was nothing to make him do that. He was not known before, and also in denouncing the Communist Party he has done such damage to the party that it is very unlikely, extremely unlikely, that the party would ever have anyone damage it seriously in order to utilize them in strategic capacities.

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, you could not get back, could you, after telling what you are telling on this witness stand? You would not be able to go back into the good graces of the Communist Party in America; would you?

Mr. CROUCH. I certainly would not.

Mr. ARENS. You are under armed guard at this time; are you not?

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you feel that it is essential to have an armed guard?

Mr. CROUCH. I do.

Senator FERGUSON. Why?

Mr. CROUCH. I feel that there is a real physical danger for those who publish the facts about Communist conspiracy, who inform the public of this knowledge. The physical danger perhaps is less after they testify than before. The danger to me would be probably less after this testimony than it was before, but there is still the danger. There is also the factor to be considered that the party, and especially MVD agents, have to weigh against each other two factors. One is the publicity, the harm to them, which results from physically wiping out, such as was employed in the Poyntz case to the best of my knowledge and conviction, and was probably according to the published evidence, employed in the case of General Krivitzky,¹ to weigh that on one hand. They also weigh the fact that, if they can physically remove anyone who has done so, that this is an act of intimidation to those who possess information and are planning to place it at the disposal of the Government. Certainly the question of the Government providing physical protection of individuals and their families to the point that may be necessary is very important, and in this connection I am glad you mentioned it, because I understand today there is no legislative step existing in which protection can be assured, under which the Department of Justice is able to assure a continued protection.

¹ Gen. Walter Krivitsky, former head of Soviet Military Espionage in western Europe who was murdered in Washington, D. C., in February 1941.

I would like to add, since this is mentioned, that in Miami, Fla., the physical protection necessary for myself is being paid for by my employer, because the Department of Justice does not have the legal authority. Not every employer in the United States is going to the expense of providing physical protection for his employees. Legislation along this line, I think, is very desirable if the committee, if the Government in all of its branches, expects to receive the information that is necessary today on plots and threats against our national security.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting subversive activity in the country of affiliates of international organizations, or of affiliates of embassies and consulates of iron-curtain countries?

Mr. CROUCH. I have no specific information in this field, not being trusted for a long time before leaving the party. I do have information I am citing later in my statement about the use of the Soviet consulate at Miami, Fla., for the use of a Communist-front organization for the purpose of raising funds. If you would like, I have a short statement to go ahead with.

Senator LANGER. Would you mind if he answered my question about the 17 years that he talked with these Russian generals, to find out what military secrets he found out? He has not told us about any of them yet.

Mr. CROUCH. I personally have not found any military secrets.

Senator LANGER. You told this committee that during the time you were in Moscow, sir, that you talked with Russian generals and found out strategy involving our military forces. I asked you to give concrete examples, and you have not done it.

Mr. CROUCH. I stated the general plans that were drawn up in Moscow; there were many of those. I was not in any position upon my return to carry all of them through. The specific task that was entrusted to me, such as getting Communists into the National Guard, I did. That is the work I did. I have not at any time stated that I obtained military secrets for the Soviet Union. I did not obtain any military secrets from this country.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. That is your answer. Go ahead.

Mr. CROUCH. At a moment when a foreign power and satellite foreign powers are planning physical conquest of the world, including our Nation, it is very serious that such a situation can exist. Certainly, it calls for more investigation and for concrete legislative action.

Gentlemen, I wish to emphasize that it is necessary to fully safeguard free speech, free press, and the other guaranties of our Constitution. No idea, however radical it may be, should be prevented by legislation. In fact, one cannot legislate against an ideal, nor should any attempt be made to do so. Anyone should have the right to advocate communism peacefully arrived at through legal and democratic processes if he wishes to do so, but we must face facts. The American Communist Party today is not an organization interested in establishing communism through democratic action. It is an organization whose leaders are dedicated to civil war and armed insurrection as the means of overthrowing the Government and establishing a dictatorship. Such a revolution within the country would be impossible and unthinkable without the powerful role of a foreign power. If it were a question of the United States alone, talk

of a revolution in this country would simply place one in the ranks of lunatics. The danger to this country is that the Soviet Union has a definite blueprint for conquering the entire world, country by country, step by step, until personal liberty will be completely extinguished on this globe. The Communist leaders of this country are cooperating with the Soviet Union in every kind of action seeking to undermine the military strength of our Nation in the event of a war in the future, a war which the Communists regard as inevitable as the rising sun.

Turning to specific examples in this field, I would like to call attention of this committee to the fact that the Communist Party of Cuba controls and directs movements of the Pan American Airways domestic employees there. The head of the Cuban Union of Air-Line Employees in 1947 was Alberto Rodriguez Perez. In March 1947, Perez and two other Cuban trade-union officials came to Miami as fraternal delegates to the Florida State CIO Convention. Perez and the other two officials personally told me that they were members of the Cuban Communist Party. While in Miami, they had several meetings with Maurice Forge, an American Communist who was at that time head of the air-line division of the Transport Workers Union. I should add, however, that Forge has subsequently been removed from office by International President Quill¹ and the executive board of his union.

I was present at one meeting between Forge and the Cuban representatives as their translator. Plans were laid in this discussion for building an elaborate organization of all air-line employees in North and South America, with headquarters in Miami.

Senator WILEY. Time and place?

Mr. CROUCH. The time was March 1947. The place was in a restaurant on Flagler Street, about the 300 or 400 block on Flagler Street, March 1947.

Senator WILEY. I thought you dissociated from the party long before that.

Mr. CROUCH. I dissociated myself from the party, but I was a union officer. I was editor of the Union Record, official organ of the Florida CIO; State publicity director of the Florida CIO, and as such, I had to work with Communists in the trade-unions.

Senator FERGUSON. Then your answer to me was not quite correct—was it?—that you were not in contact with known Communists recently.

Mr. CROUCH. I believe I misunderstood.

Senator FERGUSON. You must have misunderstood my question.

Mr. CROUCH. I believed it was on intimate personal friendly terms.

Senator FERGUSON. When did you advise the Communists and the world that you had broken with them?

Mr. CROUCH. I did not. I advised the Government of the United States.

Senator FERGUSON. When did you announce publicly that you had broken with the Communists, so that they would know that they could not trust you any longer?

Mr. CROUCH. I only announced publicly very recently. In March of this year, in Plain Talk magazine, was my first public article denounc-

¹ Michael Quill.

ing the activities of the Communist Party. First, I had advised the United States Government, immediately after the Communists had seized power in Czechoslovakia.

Senator FERGUSON. You told the FBI, in other words,

Mr. CROUCH. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. That you were breaking with them.

Mr. CROUCH. That I had broken with them.

Senator FERGUSON. That you had broken with them. Did that become known to the Communists?

Mr. CROUCH. It did not.

Senator FERGUSON. That was the secret, so really when you published the article in Plain Talk that was your first public renunciation of communism.

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. So when you go back and say that you had these contacts with these union members, CIO, in Miami, you were dealing with them as a Communist.

Mr. CROUCH. To give the details on this——

Senator FERGUSON. Well, I mean that straightens out the facts that you answered me.

Mr. CROUCH. Many of them, for example, Perez, based on my past reputation, believed that I was still a member of the party. Forge personally knew I was not. Efforts were being made through 1946 and 1947 to coerce me, to trick me back into the Communist Party. I was subjected in Texas and in Florida to every conceivable form of pressure to activize me in the party; pressure which constituted the certainty of being forced out of my job and the probability of being blacklisted through the party. While I had then my personal convictions, my personal conviction was that I was facing a very real physical danger for myself, and in spite of this I resisted all kinds of tricks, all kinds of efforts.

For example, to make this perfectly clear, in 1946 in Texas, the international representative of the Transport Workers Union down there, one Ed Bock, told me to be at a conference at Houston, Tex. He wanted me to attend a conference on trade-union work and had the union treasury at Brownsville pay my round-trip fare. When I got there, I found for all practical purposes it would probably be called a Communist meeting. In the main, and among the speakers there was the district organizer of the Communist Party, a girl, and Nat Ross, the southern representative of the Communist Party. After he had spoken, Nat Ross called me aside and talked with me in a restaurant, and he said, "You should return to membership in the Communist Party. The Communist Party is willing to forget what you have done in the past; your previous conflicts and so forth." The district organizer did everything possible and a book was sent made out from the Communist Party signed by the Communist Party of Texas.

Senator FERGUSON. What do you mean a book?

Mr. CROUCH. A membership book was made out in my name in 1947. It was sent over to Florida and was delivered to my daughter by a Mr. Shansik, who was, according to my best information, the county organizer of the Communist Party in Miami at that time.

Senator WILEY. What was the book?

Mr. CROUCH. A membership book in the Communist Party and signed by Ruth Koenig, if I remember the name correctly. I think it

was Ruth Koenig, of Texas. My daughter brought the book home and I tore it up and threw it in the wastebasket.

In New York City in September of 1946, Charles N. Smolikoff, at that time Florida executive secretary of the CIO Industrial Union Council and representative in Florida of the Transport Workers Union, told me he had previously spoken about details of the party in Miami. Then he said, "Douglas MacMahon"—that was the secretary treasurer of the Transport Workers Union—"tells me that you are out of the Communist Party." He said, "How come?" I told him, "Yes, I left the Communist Party." "You will have to get back in it," he said. I just remained silent while he talked. Later during a big banquet there he walked by and said, "Give me 50 cents." I took it out of my pocket and handed him the 50 cents. "I am going to turn this in for your initiation back into the Communist Party," he said and turned around and walked off.

I cite these as dozens of cases. I believe the last specific request to return to the Communist Party was in November 1947.

Senator FERGUSON. Could you get reinstated for 50 cents?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes; if I was accepted by the central committee.

Senator FERGUSON. How much are the dues, then?

Mr. CROUCH. It is a sliding scale depending entirely upon wages.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting a contribution by the Soviet Government to the Communist Party in Miami?

Mr. CROUCH. I would like to read my statement, finish the statement, which answers that question in detail.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. CROUCH. It was obvious, of course, that such an organization of two continents would have been under Communist control. It was agreed between Forge and the Cuban Communist union officials that Mr. M. L. Edwards, president of local 500, should make a tour of Latin America to put such an organization into action. Edwards, I might add, was personally known to me as an active member of the Communist Party. Phil Scheffsky, present at the meeting, also is a member of the Communist Party. Forge, of course, knew that I was not a party member any longer and, therefore, his remarks were very cautious when I was the translator. The next day he continued his conference with the Cubans with a translator he could trust. He was named Raul Vidal.

Gentlemen, under existing international travel regulations, any American Communist leader can fly to Havana for international Communist conferences without obtaining any passport or permit from the State Department. Also, such plans for sabotage of our country have involved sending party members into the armed forces, obtaining scientific secrets, and concentration of the party's activities on those fields which would be essential to our Nation in the event of war.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything further in support of that last statement than what you have given this committee this afternoon?

Mr. CROUCH. I have, and what I have had has been turned over to the Department of Justice. I have been asked by the Department of Justice to request any interested governmental committees not to direct questions to me along that line.

Senar FERGUSON. In other words, the FBI does not want you to disclose that in the public hearings?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. It is such information that they want to keep secret?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes; that is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you take it up with the FBI as to whether or not you can testify before an executive session of this committee?

Mr. CROUCH. I will.

Mr. FERGUSON. On the same facts.

Mr. CROUCH. I will be glad to, and if I receive——

Senator FERGUSON. May I so request——

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; you can certainly request.

Senator FERGUSON. That the committee take it in executive session if we can get it?

Senator LANGER. Who is the head of the GPU in this country?

Mr. CROUCH. I do not know.

Senator LANGER. Who was when you were a party member?

Mr. CROUCH. I was introduced——

The CHAIRMAN. Can you answer that question? Who was the head when you were a party member?

Mr. CROUCH. At one time the head was a Russian introduced to me by the name of Charlie. He was introduced to me by one Nicholas Dozenberg, who was known to me as an agent of the GPU in the United States. Mr. Dozenberg, who had dropped out of public party activities to become a GPU agent, introduced me to this man who, he said, was the head of the GPU in the United States.

I have no way of knowing who is the subsequent head or the present head of the GPU. I have no knowledge at all.

That is why the Communist Party has spent so much time, effort, and money on centers like Detroit, Pittsburgh, the bay area in California, the marine industry generally, and now the international airlines with a hub in Miami, Fla.

There is one additional important matter I would like to cite in conclusion. That is the role of Soviet consulates in giving aid to the Communist forces in this country; also the use by the Soviet Government of Amtorg and similar trading agencies for Communist work. I would like to cite the fact that about 2 years ago in Miami, Fla., a dinner was given with the Soviet consul as the guest of honor, and this dinner raised about \$2,000. The money was turned over to the American-Soviet Friendship Society, then headed in Miami by two Communists, Irving Gold and Shirley Hanna. These \$2,000 were contributed by the Soviet Government to the Communist Party in Miami, just as much as if a check had been written by the treasurer of the Kremlin. I wish to add that my own passage to the Soviet Union and the passage of George Mink, a fellow passenger, were arranged through Amtorg. This Mink later became an agent of the GPU.

Gentlemen, I hope that this hearing will only be the beginning of the widest investigation by Congress into all of these fields and that it will quickly be followed by legislative action at the earliest possible moment. Under existing legislation, deportation proceedings against top Communist leaders are followed by endless appeals requiring months and even years before they are finally decided in courts. In the meantime, the alien Communists continue their day-to-day activities. Why can we not take legislative action which would restrain those on appeal from any Communist activity, and also other legisla-

tion which would speed up the court action and final disposition of the case so that it would not drag on indefinitely?

Gentlemen, my decision to inform the Government of my knowledge of Communist activities obtained during 17 years in its ranks was made immediately after the seizure of Czechoslovakia and the death of Jan Masaryk. I realized that the military and the physical danger to the Nation is no delusion and is no remote threat at that. At whatever costs to myself, including serious physical danger, I realized it was my duty to my Nation to let the Government and the people know what really is going on behind the Red curtain in this country.

During my 17 years in the Communist Party under the influence of its false idealistic appeal, I personally recruited many hundreds of members into the party. I would like to appeal to those members to follow my example, to realize the mistake I made and the mistake they made, and to go to the United States Government immediately and place all knowledge they may have at the disposal of our country. In the Communist Party, as it exists here in America, we are not fighting an idea or a philosophy; we are fighting an organized conspiracy controlled and directed by a foreign government aimed at the physical destruction of our independence and freedom. It is time for us to realize this danger and to take action before it is too late.

Senator LANGER. You say you recruited several hundred in this country?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes; I have.

Senator LANGER. Would you mind giving the committee the names of them? I do not mean now, but write them out, the names and addresses.

Mr. CROUCH. I will be—I have.

Senator FERGUSON. Will you make up a list and give it to the chairman?

Mr. CROUCH. I will give the chairman the names of all that I can recall, specific information about the places in which they are located, and so on.¹ I would like to make a request that such list should not be made public, because many of those people are no longer today in the Communist Party. Many of the people, I am sure—it is my personal belief—have left the Communist Party. How many have left and how many are in, I do not know. I am certain there are still many there. One, for example, who I know left the Communist Party, to cite a case, was Alexander Wright, Negro longshoreman, in Norfolk, Va., whom I recruited into the Communist Party. After 2 or 3 years in the party, and after learning more about its program, he saw that the Communists were interested not in building his union but in using his union to build the Communist Party, so he left the Communist ranks.

So many of those I recruited have already left. My guess is there are some hundreds in the party whom I personally recruited. I would like to make this appeal to any publicity that my statements might receive, to join my example and to aid the Government in every possible way; that they are under the false illusion that they are fighting for progress, fighting for the cause of labor, and that every action that they do, that they think under these illusions is in the interest of liberty, is in the interest of wiping out liberty here

¹ Certain additional information submitted by the witness appears on p. 155.

and abroad, which if successful would bring the world under complete domination of totalitarianism for perhaps centuries to come.

Senator FERGUSON. I think there is one vital question, and that is for the American people to learn that this is a conspiracy, that communism is a conspiracy dominated by a foreign power; that they are revolutionary in their thoughts, that they will not hesitate to carry out their policies even though it means the destruction of the United States or any other country that is not Communist.

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you feel after your 17 years of experience with these people that that is an absolute fact?

Mr. CROUCH. Absolute and unquestionable, well documented by the hundreds of pamphlets and books and everything; above all, by knowledge to me because of my personal experience in the party, sitting in these meetings, seeing what was done, seeing how indifferent they were to such questions as perjury, the forging of passports, and things like that.

Senator FERGUSON. You feel then that you want to convey to this committee, as well as to the public, that this is not a political party, that communism and the Communist Party of America is not a political party.

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. It is a revolutionary party, it is a conspiracy under the domination of the Soviet Union to overthrow the capitalistic system.

Mr. CROUCH. Correct.

Senator FERGUSON. Is that correct?

Mr. CROUCH. That is correct.

Senator FERGUSON. Is there any doubt in your mind that that is true?

Mr. CROUCH. There is not the slightest doubt, not even any remote doubt; there is absolute knowledge that that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything else? Any further questions?

Thank you very much.

The committee will be in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

(Thereupon at 5:05 p. m., a recess was taken subject to the call of the Chair.)

(Following is part of the additional information submitted by the witness on the instructions of the chairman:)

MIAMI DAILY NEWS,
Miami, Fla., September 20, 1949.

Mr. O. J. DEKOM,

*Subcommittee to Investigate Immigration and Naturalization,
Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. DEKOM: During the course of my testimony before the subcommittee last May I was directed to submit the names of people I remembered who were—to my knowledge—members of the Communist Party.

I am preparing the lists in three sections. The first section, important Communist Party members not generally known as Communists to the public, is enclosed. The other two sections under which I am grouping all names I can recall, will be submitted in the near future.

As the chairman is reported by the press to be in Europe at the present time I am sending this list to you. Please call it to the attention of the acting chairman and to members now in Washington, and to the chairman's attention on his return from Europe.

If the subcommittee desires me to testify in executive session and identify all names submitted as party members I will be glad to do so at any time, and to give any additional details and information.

I am leaving Miami September 28 by plane for New York, where I am to testify as an expert witness in deportation proceedings against Betty Gannett. Proceedings will start September 29. I have no idea how long I will remain in New York in connection with the case.

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

PAUL CROUCH.

INDIVIDUALS I HAVE PERSONALLY KNOWN WHO WERE—TO MY KNOWLEDGE—MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. SUBMITTED BY DIRECTION OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION, COMMITTEE OF THE JUDICIARY, UNITED STATES SENATE

Submitted in three sections: (1) Individuals important in the Communist Party whose affiliation is not generally known; (2) important leaders of the Communist Party generally known to the public; (3) rank-and-file members not publicly known as Communists.

SECTION 1

Joseph Gelders: Formerly of Birmingham, Ala., moved to New York. Active on district Buro, Alabama district, Communist Party. Head of Communist apparatus in Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Won confidence of President and Mrs. Roosevelt, visiting them at the White House and Hyde Park. Served as secretary for Representative Geyer (do not know whether he was on congressional pay roll or not); under direction of the Communist Party national committee drafted antipoll tax bill which Representative Geyer introduced.

Howard Lee: Young southern attorney and youth leader, won confidence of Mrs. Roosevelt and was frequent White House visitor. Leader of Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Youth Congress, and other Communist Party fronts. During the war Drew Pearson in his column sharply denounced the failure of the War Department to promote Howard Lee and make him an officer in the Army.

Rev. Malcolm Cotton Dobbs: Ordained minister. Head of League of Young Southerners, active in Southern Conference for Human Welfare and other Communist Party fronts; friend of Howard Lee and worked closely with him in various Communist activities. Frequent visitor at the White House 1937 to 1939.

Dr. Eric E. Erricson: Professor of English at University of North Carolina for some 15 years (or more), recently left University of North Carolina and is now with another college in the State. Was head of Communist Party branch of professors and students at University of North Carolina 1932 through 1937 (and I do not know how much longer). Is one of best known educators in North Carolina. Communist Party name "Spartacus."

Rev. Don West: Ordained minister, poet, author, now professor at Oglethorpe University in Georgia. Cofounder of Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn. North Carolina district trade-union director of the Communist Party in 1935 under name of Jim Weaver. Next year became district organizer of Kentucky district, Communist Party. Later was a contributor to Southern News Letter and other party-front publications. One sister, Belle, is married to Bart Logan, who succeeded me as Carolina district organizer. One sister is married to Nat Ross, Communist Party national committee representative to the southern districts. Another sister has spent years in Moscow as Daily Worker correspondent, writing under name of Jeanette Weaver. Was active in Southern Conference and other party fronts.

Gilbert L. Parks: Owner of hotel at Port Royal, S. C., and owner of square-mile island facing Parris Island Marine Base; member Harvard Club. Was business manager of magazine edited by Mrs. Roosevelt before her husband's election as President of the United States. Was assistant to Rex Tugwell as Resettlement Administrator. Friend and neighbor of Leon Keyserling, now economic adviser to the President. (Parks introduced me to Keyserling at the latter's Beaufort, S. C., home.) Parks was member district committee, Communist Party in the Carolina district during 1937. Attended Chattanooga conference of southern Communist Party leaders with Browder present. In 1938-39 active leader of Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

- James Porter:** Brother of Paul R. Porter, of the State Department and United Nations. Communist Party organizer for Norfolk, Va., in period about 1934-36; then went to Iowa and Communist Party State organizer. Attended many central committee meetings at which I was present between 1934 and 1937 or 1938. Understand that at present James Porter is head of the coke division of the United Mine Workers for the State of Wisconsin. (Note: When James Porter was important Communist Party official his brother, Paul R. Porter, was national leader of extreme left wing of the Socialist Party with active support from the Communists. Paul R. Porter's booklet, Which Way for the Socialist Party? (now in Congressional Library but not available elsewhere) praised enthusiastically in Daily Worker review, March 21 or 22, 1937).
- Leo Shiner:** Miami attorney. Formerly OPA official in Washington; moved to Florida about end of war; was head of Sugar Enforcement Division of OPA for the State. Active "undercover" Communist leader. Selected to head "underground" apparatus in Miami if Communist Party is declared to be illegal and known leaders are arrested.
- Dr. H. David Prenskey:** Miami Beach dentist. Official of the American Veterans Committee (AVC); formerly regional commander of AVC. Member of Dade County Committee of the Communist Party, active as an officer of the Unitarian church in Miami for purpose of carrying on Communist activities.
- Clarence Hiskey:** Atomic scientist; Reserve officer of United States Army. See hearings regarding Clarence Hiskey, including testimony of Paul Crouch, hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, May 24, 1949—Government Printing Office.
- Joseph Weinberg:** Prominent atomic scientist.
- Dr. David Bohm:** Atomic scientist; university professor; understand he serves on loyalty board with Albert Einstein. In 1941 was active in Communist Party in Alameda County, Calif.
- Dr. Frank Oppenheimer:** Atomic scientist; brother of J. Robert Oppenheimer; active member Communist Party, Alameda County, Calif., in 1941.
- Jacqueline Oppenheimer (Mrs. Frank Oppenheimer):** Member of Alameda County Committee of Communist Party and department head, 1941.
- John P. Davis:** Negro leader; Washington, D. C., resident. Important leader in Communist Party for many years. Has many trade-union and political connections. Active in Southern Conference and other fronts. Once head of Negro Congress.
- Frank Diaz:** International vice president, Cigar Makers Union, AFL; member Florida State Committee, Communist Party.
- James Nimmo:** Miami organizer, Laundry Workers Union, AFL; member Dade County Committee of the Communist Party (Negro).
- Raul Vidal:** Pan American Airways employee in Miami. Active Communist. Close friend of Blas Roco and other Communist Party top leaders in Cuba. Naturalized citizen. Brother-in-law of the consul general of Cuba in Miami.
- Dr. Addison T. Cutler:** White professor at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. Very active member of Communist Party when I knew him in 1939-41.
- Prof. David Robison:** White professor at Fisk University, was member State committee, Communist Party, 1939-41.
- Marcel Scherer:** National director of Communist work among scientists for many years; in later years worked through FAECT, a CIO union. Wife is Lena Davis, one time Politburo member and formerly New Jersey district organizer of Communist Party.
- Rudolph Shohan:** Once a top national leader of the Young Communist League—organizer for a dozen Western States—Shohan dropped out of all public work in order to become one of the most important international couriers. For years was liaison man between the Communists of the United States and Canada. Present whereabouts unknown. His former wife, Reva Gilbert, trained in the Lenin School in Moscow, is now Mrs. James W. Ford. Shohan is a nephew of—
- Mrs. Nat Yanish:** Mrs. Yanish and her husband are owners of the Acme Furniture Store in Oakland, Calif. Very active in Communist front Jewish organizations. Understand they now face deportation proceedings.
- Anna Cornblath:** (Actually Mrs. Emanuel Levin, having been married to Levin for more than 21 years.) Husband now district organizer of Communist Party at New Orleans; he was once national chairman of Workers Ex-Servicemen's League and directed bonus march on Washington. Anna has held many important positions in the Communist Party for over 20 years, worked in

- national office. Is placed under this section because of her success in obtaining naturalization as American citizen in 1944.
- Mrs. Francis J. Gorman: Maiden name, Mary K. Bell, daughter of Colonel Bell of Brookings Institute. Was member of a Government employees branch of the Communist Party before her marriage to Francis J. Gorman, then president of the United Textile Workers. She frequently attended central committee meetings of Communist Party.
- Israel and Sarah Peltz (brother and sister): Once active leaders of Young Communist League in Washington, were trying to obtain Government jobs in early thirties. No knowledge subsequent careers.
- Gare (or Gore): Don't recall first name and not sure of spelling of last name. Was news or telegraph editor of Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times during latter part of 1930's and until late 1939 or early 1940, when he left the staff of the Times and moved away from Tennessee. Don't remember where he went. (Information could be obtained from the Times.) He was leading member in a group of about six editorial staff members of the Chattanooga Times and Chattanooga News in the Communist Party.
- Edwin McCrea: International representative Food and Tobacco Workers Union in North Carolina. Refused to answer questions by House Un-American Activities Committee re Communist Party affiliations although he succeeded me as Tennessee district organizer in 1941.
- Irving Gold: Until recently important undercover leader of the Communist Party in Florida. As head of Soviet-American Friendship Society, he was once liaison man between Soviet consulate in Miami and the Communist Party. A dinner for the Soviet consul in Miami raised \$2,000 which Gold spent under party directions. Left Miami about a year ago; present whereabouts unknown.
- Lorent Franz: Young attorney or law student; member Alabama district committee, Communist Party, 1938-41. Has repeatedly denied Communist Party membership in official investigations. Very active in Southern Conference for Human Welfare.
- Alton Lawrence: State secretary Socialist Party of North Carolina and at the same time member of district committee, Communist Party, 1935-37. Lived at Chapel Hill, cooperated actively with Dr. Ericson in Communist Party activities on University of North Carolina campus.
- Maurice Forge: Formerly international vice president of Transport Workers Union, head of air transport division; removed from office by last convention; chief strategist in Communist Party move to form new independent air line union. Forge is assumed name; real name Herman, is native of Russia; obtained citizenship through father's naturalization. Member Young Communist League and Communist Party many years.
- Fred Swick, Ed Bock, M. L. Edwards, Armand Scala, Thomas Murray: Communist Party members, associates of Maurice Forge, former officers air transport division, TWU-CIO, now trying to form new Communist-controlled union in air-transport industry.
- Paul Crosbie: New York insurance man. Close friend of Gilbert L. Parks. Very active undercover member of CP.
- Paul Schlipf: Head of Alameda County CIO Industrial Union Council; very active CP member.
- George Gray: Oakland, Calif., business agent of Steelworkers' Union.
- Maurice Travis: International president, Mine, Mill and Workers Union, CIO. Was active member YCL and CP in Oakland, Calif., in 1941. (Recent press reports that he has resigned CP membership to sign non-Communist affidavit—previously had not publicly admitted CP membership.)
- Paul Heide: Close associate of Harry Bridges, business agent in Oakland of ILWU-CIO. Leading undercover member of CP. His wife and brother active in CP and leading officers in unions. (Brother: Ray Heide.)
- Harry Bridges: Note: As member of California district bureau I helped make decisions on policy which Bridges carried out. Schneiderman transmitted decisions to Bridges and brought reports from him to district bureau.
- Clifford Odets: Well-known playwright.
- Paul Chown: Active member of Communist Party in Oakland, Calif. Was business agent of Steelworkers Union, CIO, in Oakland; resigned during latter part of 1941 to take Government position, on Labor Relations Board staff for San Francisco area.

Saundra Martin: Business agent, Electrical Workers Union, CIO, for San Francisco-Oakland area. Attended national conventions of Young Communist League and was one of national representatives of Young Communist League to a world conference in Moscow. Was for a time Alameda County organizer of Young Communist League.

Rev. Gerald Harris: Alabama State vice president Farmers Union. Was one of leaders in Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Active CP member. Lives on farm near Birmingham.

Martha Stone: Now living at Trenton, N. J. Former wife of Phil Frankfeld, prominent party leader. She was once a leading official of YCL, dropped out of all public activities for special work, apparently one of leading OGPU agents in this country. According to information from former CP members she appears to have been actively connected with kidnap-murder of Juliet Stuart Poyntz and is reported to have traveled to Mexico in connection with plans for murder of Trotsky. Is said to have worked closely with two other OGPU agents, George Mink and S. Epstein (the latter having obtained passport under name of "Sam Stone").

MIAMI DAILY NEWS.

Miami, Fla., September 23, 1949.

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,

Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate,

Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: I am enclosing section 2 of the list of Communists I have known during the years I was a member of the party. This section, including 118 names, is of important national and district officials and leaders of the Communist Party. Most of them are avowed Communists or have been publicly identified with the party. Only those I personally know as Communists are included. Such leaders as Thompson of New York and Hall of Ohio are not included because I did not personally know them. I have not included anyone who has to my knowledge broken with the party, but it is probable that some of them have left the party without public announcement or without publicity having come to my attention. It has been reported recently that Max Bedacht and James W. Ford have been expelled but I have no definite confirmation, so their names remain on the list. (Some may now be out of the country.)

A short list of former Communist International and OGPU agents also is enclosed.

Respectfully yours,

PAUL CROUCH.

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND OGPU AGENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Louis Gibarti: Communist International agent in this country and possibly still here. Native of Hungary. Worked in Berlin as assistant to Willi Munzenberg in anti-imperialist work in period around 1927-29. Came to United States about 1929. I saw him frequently during next 10 years (approximately) although I knew little of his specific work, although it was connected with colonial activities. Was not a Comintern rep as Pollit and others were; but he was an agent to carry out certain specific work. I believe I saw him last in 1940 or 1941, not certain of date. He attended most CP conventions and central committee meetings, where he was very inconspicuous.

Nicholas Dozenberg: Personally introduced me to head Russian agent of OGPU in the United States of America. Reputed to have been one of Stalin's trusted international agents. Native of Latvia; once national organization secretary of CP; dropped out of public activities to take over OGPU work. Served prison sentence for distribution of United States money counterfeited in the Soviet Union. Now living in Florida.

S. Epstein: Once editor of Freiheit, Jewish Communist daily. Reputed to have been actively connected with murder of Juliet Stuart Poyntz (with George Mink the actual murderer). Used name "Sam Stone" for obtaining passport.

IMPORTANT NATIONAL AND DISTRICT LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Jack Stachel	Margaret Cowl
Steve Nelson	Norman Tallentire
John Williamson	Harrison George
William Z. Foster	Ily Gordon
F. Brown (Alpi)	Pettis Perry
Charles Dirba	Anna Rochester
Roy Hudson	Karl Brodsky
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn	Florence Plotnick
William Weiner (A. Blake)	Grace Hutchins
Carl Winters	H. Puro
William L. Patterson	Tony Minerich
Anthony Bimba	H. E. Briggs
Martin Young	Sam Hall
V. J. Jerome	Oleta O'Connor Yates
Clarence Hathaway	Thomas R. Farrell
William W. Weinstone	——— Forrest (Utah org.)
Rob F. Hall	Gertrude Haessler
Paul Cline	Ben Gray
Morris Rappaport	A. B. Magil
Pat Toohey	Otto Huiswood
Douglas L. MacMahan	Charles N. Smotikoff
Herbert Benjamin	Morris Childs
George Gray	John Harvey
William Simons	Kennith May
Helen Kay	Louis Weinstock
Louise Todd	Sadie Van Veen (Mrs. Amter)
Emanuel Levin	Si Gerson
Betty Gannett	Joseph Brodsky
William Schneiderman	John Marks
Eugene Dennis	Bernadette Doyle
Gilbert Green	Jack Strong (I. Sapphire)
Alexander Bittelman	Homer Brooks
George Siskind	D. Flaiani
Nat Ross	John J. Ballam
Phil Frankfeld	Wert Taylor
A. B. nson (Katzes)	Fred Ellis
Ben Gold	Alice Burke
Henry Winston	William Gropper
Alfred Wagenknecht	Otto Hall
James S. Allen	Don Henderson
Alexander Trachtenberg	Francis Martin
Ella Reeve Bloor	Harry Haywood
Robert Minor	Louis Colman
George Morris	Jane Speed (in Puerto Rico)
Ted Wellman	Karl Reeve
James Allender	Esther Cooper
I. Amter	Max Bedacht (expelled?)
Lena Davis	Edward F. Strong
Arnold Johnson	Andy Brown
Ann Burlak	Tom Myerscough
Elizabeth Lawson	Fred Biedenkapp
Bart Logan	Anna Damon
Rudy Lambert	George Kaufman
Ben Davis	James W. Ford (expelled?)
Irving Potash	William F. Dunne
Beatrice Shields Johnson	Nathaniel Honig
John Steuben	Donald Burke
Charles Drasnin	Michael Gold
Ruth Koenig	Rudy Lambert

MIAMI DAILY NEWS,

Miami, Fla., September 21, 1949.

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,

*Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate,**Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: Since my testimony before your subcommittee last May I have learned of two matters which I believe should be called to your attention.

1. The ease with which active Communist leaders have been able to acquire American citizenship in recent years.

Example: Mrs. Emanuel Levin (Anna Cornblath), granted United States citizenship in 1944. For more than 21 years she has been married to Emanuel Levin, one of the most prominent Communist leaders in this country and at present CP district organizer in New Orleans. He was chairman of the Communist-front Workers Ex-Servicemen's League and organized the bonus march on Washington. For at least 21 years—to my personal knowledge—Mrs. Levin herself has been a leading Communist Party member and frequently worked in the national office of the party in responsible positions. Why does the Government grant citizenship to such prominent Communist leaders?

2. The Soviet Government's use of American soil as a basis for murder conspiracy, in the case of Leon Trotsky. I knew that "Jackson," the murderer of Trotsky, had spent some time in the United States before going to Mexico. It was only recently that I learned that while he was in the United States (before going to Mexico to murder Trotsky) "Jackson"—under another name—was registered with the State Department as an agent of the Soviet Government. Source of this information: Frank Jackson, formerly naval intelligence official in Washington. Jackson told me he questioned the man who later murdered Trotsky at length in an effort to get him to admit what United States intelligence then knew—that he was a part of the OGPU apparatus. In Mexico the Soviet murderer adopted the name of Frank Jackson, the United States official who had questioned him in Washington.

Respectfully yours,

PAUL CROUCH.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION
AND NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Pat McCarran, chairman, presiding.
Present: Senators McCarran, Eastland, Langer, and Donnell.

Also present: Senator Kilgore.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee; Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

This hearing is conducted by the subcommittee with reference to Senate bill 1832,¹ in order that the Senate of the United States and its committees may have information so that they may intelligently vote upon the bill seeking to protect the interests of this country internally from enemies that have been coming to us and are coming to us.

The CHAIRMAN. First of all, the resolution passed by the full Judiciary Committee, authorizing the chairman of this committee or any member of this committee to issue subpoenas for the producing of witnesses, papers, property, or other items, before this committee or any subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, will be inserted in the record at this point, giving the date of its enactment.

Under date of March 9, 1949, the Special Subcommittee to Investigate Immigration and Naturalization, pursuant to Senate Resolution 137 of the Eightieth Congress, as amended, unanimously adopted the following-quoted resolution:

Resolved, That any member of the Special Subcommittee to Investigate Immigration and Naturalization, pursuant to Senate Resolution 137 of the Eightieth Congress, as amended, be and is hereby authorized to cause to be issued any and all subpoenas for persons, papers, property, or other items in the matter of the investigation of the immigration and naturalization system.

There will be inserted in the record at this point two subpoenas issued by the chairman of this subcommittee, one for Mr. John E. Peurifoy, Assistant Secretary of State, and another for the Honorable Tom C. Clark, Attorney General of the United States.

(The subpoenas referred to are in the files of the committee.)

During the course of the last year and one-half a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary has been conducting an investigation of our immigration and naturalization system. In the course

¹ The text of S. 1832 appears on p. 2.

of this investigation substantial factual information has been assembled by the subcommittee regarding subversive activity in the United States by agents of foreign governments. Much of this information has come from confidential sources. Some of this information has been acquired from the secret files of security agencies. As chairman of both the subcommittee and of the Judiciary Committee, I am keenly conscious of the need to protect sources of information and the dangers of premature disclosure of details in specific cases.

I should, therefore, like to make this clear: I am not requesting that the security agencies of the Government publicly divulge either sources of information or detailed facts in specific cases which are currently under investigation or in which criminal prosecution is imminent. I am determined, however, that the nature and extent of this problem shall be clearly revealed to the American people. This can only be done when those agencies of our Government which are in the best position to know make a revelation of the basic facts.

You are here, Mr. Attorney General and Mr. Peurifoy, in response to a subpoena duces tecum, purposely made broad enough to cover all the files of the Department concerning certain individuals named therein. But I want to state now for the record what I have already told you individually and in private conference. This committee is not asking you here and now to give up secret files with the custody and protection of which you are charged or to make public disclosure of specific information in any individual case. We are not asking that the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation be bared to public view. We are asking for information, not for information extracted from your files, but for information concerning the basic facts of the situation which your files show to exist.

To avoid any possible misunderstanding as to just what this committee means by basic facts, I hand you now a list of questions.

I will ask the Attorney General to respond first. I do not ask you to answer these questions now unless you see fit to do so. I do not want you to try to answer them from your own knowledge, memory, and information. But I ask you to follow these questions as the staff director reads them, and then I want you to take these questions back to your Department, have the necessary inquiries and research made, and come back before this committee 1 week from today and answer these questions fully and fairly. That is what this committee is asking you to do, and you can do it without physically producing a single file, without impeding any pending or prospective investigations or prosecutions, without revealing any confidential sources of information. The only question I want you to answer today is: Will you do it? I do not want you to respond until you have heard the questions which the clerk will now read.

Attorney General CLARK. Before he reads them, Mr. Chairman, could I make a statement, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

STATEMENT OF HON. TOM C. CLARK, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

Attorney General CLARK. As I understand it, the committee is not requiring or insisting that we produce the files that they subpoenaed, from your statement.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is asking for the information which these questions will call for. I understand that you do not have the files here and you are not producing them.

Attorney General CLARK. We do not have them, and, as I say, if the committee were insisting on the files themselves, I wanted to read this statement that I was going to file for the record. And since I am here at this time, I would like to file it.¹ It may not be necessary to read it, but since the chairman has introduced a subpoena I would like to show our position on the subpoena, which is well known.

These files, Mr. Chairman, as you well know, are files that list for the most part officials or employees of the United Nations or foreign governments. For example, among the 168 names, there were 4 that were duplications, so that leaves 164 names of individuals, and the subpoena asks that I produce the files that I have on those individuals.

Just to give you an idea of the type of file that is asked for: The name of the wife of the representative to the UN Security Council is one of the persons. Another is the former Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations. Another is the editor of the Polish Press Agency. Another is the vice chairman of a foreign purchasing agency in the United States. Another is a clergyman. Another is an ambassador of a foreign country, not our ambassador, but of a foreign country to Belgium. Another is an ambassador from a foreign country to France. Another is an ambassador of a foreign country to Moscow. Another is a minister of foreign trade, a cabinet officer of a foreign country. Another is a minister of the interior, a cabinet officer of a foreign country. Another is a consul general of a foreign nation here in the United States. Another is a former ambassador to the United States of a foreign country. Another is a vice premier of a foreign country. Another is an ambassador to the United States of a foreign country. Another is a vice president of a peoples assembly of a foreign country. Another is an ambassador to the United States of a foreign country. Another is a military attaché of a foreign embassy in the United States. Another is a cultural attaché in an embassy in the United States. Another is a counsellor of an embassy in the United States. Another is a professor. One, for example, was a senator in the senate of a foreign country.

That type of information, of course, is information that deals almost—I would say—exclusively with our foreign relations. Of course, it has considerable bearing on the internal security of the United States insofar as some of these people had been, and some presently are, in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Attorney General, right there, let me say to you: It is not the names of the individuals that we are interested in. It is what they are doing that we are interested in. If this committee had reason to believe—and it has reason to believe—that those whom you have just mentioned are engaged in subversive practices in this country, it is within the jurisdiction of this committee to ask you to bring the information to us. We are not asking for the files. We are asking for the information.

Attorney General CLARK. If there was subversive activity being carried on by these people, I am sure the FBI would have that infor-

¹ The statement of the Attorney General was made part of the record and appears on p. 173.

mation, and if it was sufficient for prosecution and these people were subject to prosecution, you can be sure they would be prosecuted. Of course, under the law there are some people who come here from foreign countries who are not subject to prosecution. If they were subject to prosecution, such as Gubichev,¹ such as Radek,² whom we prosecuted in Seattle, you can bet your bottom dollar that they would be prosecuted and prosecuted completely. There has been no Attorney General more anxious to prosecute in proper cases.

Now, if it is just information, general information, that you want, Mr. Chairman, as I have told you and as I told your assistant, I have always cooperated with the Judiciary Committee, as you well know, under three chairmen; before I was Attorney General, with Senator Van Nuys,³ and with yourself, Senator, and subsequently Mr. Wiley,⁴ and then yourself again. I have always appeared. No one had to serve a subpoena on me, because I have always appeared from a telephone call. And frankly, Mr. Chairman, I was surprised when I was served with a subpoena, because I have always volunteered whenever anyone wanted me to come to the Judiciary Committee. I look upon the Judiciary Committee as one of the closest things in my work.

The CHAIRMAN. You should not have been surprised, Mr. Attorney General, because I went down at your solicitation to your Department with members of my staff and asked for this information, and I was very frankly told by yourself and Mr. Peyton Ford that I would not get it.

Attorney General CLARK. Well, I do not agree with that interpretation of it, Mr. Chairman. As a matter of fact, after you left my office on the Monday before you issued this subpoena without giving me any notice at all, I had instructed the various divisions in the Department to gather the information. And I have here, sir, a memorandum that was sent to me, after a conference with your assistant, by three men in my Department, in which they say just what your assistant wished and I told them what we could do about it. We were gathering that information when, on the radio, I was advised that I was subpoenaed to produce 168 very confidential files. They are very confidential, very secret, in that they involve very delicate problems. I only wish that Dean Acheson were here and that it were not necessary that he be in Paris dealing with the many complications of our foreign affairs, so that he might tell you just how delicate a situation this is, insofar as the files that you have subpoenaed and asked me to bring here are concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think he knows any more about it than the witness we have subpoenaed here, Mr. Peurifoy, because Mr. Acheson has not been there the length of time that Mr. Peurifoy has.

Attorney General CLARK. Mr. Acheson is pretty well informed and I have found Mr. Peurifoy, whom I have known very favorably for a number of years, to be exceedingly well informed on these matters.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

¹ Valentin Gubichev, and employe of the UN, arrested in New York on espionage charges.

² Karl Radek, noted Soviet journalist, who was one of those executed in the great Stalinist blood purge.

³ The late Senator Frederick Van Nuys, of Indiana, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee in the 78th Congress.

⁴ Senator Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee in the 80th Congress.

Attorney General CLARK. We work very closely on these matters. We do not work publicly on them, of course; they are matters on which you cannot work publicly.

If what the chairman wants is what I told you last night, sir, what I told you last week and the week before last, general information, then whatever information I can give consistent with the public interest you may rest assured that I will give and give gladly.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Attorney General, you made that same statement to me on Memorial Day. You asked for an interview with me on Memorial Day.

Attorney General CLARK. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You came to my office, did you not? And you asked me to send a member of my staff down to your office on yesterday, and I did. You suggested that. And he stayed down there until 5 o'clock and got nothing and came away. What is the use of making a stump speech here?

Attorney General CLARK. I am not making a stump speech, sir. I am just telling you that I went to your office on Memorial Day because I did not know whether you knew the importance and the delicate nature of this subpoenaed information.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think I have been 16 years on this committee without knowing the nature of a subpoena or the nature of what I am calling for? Do you not give me credit for some sense?

Attorney General CLARK. Definitely, sir. I have a very high regard for the chairman, as I do for all the members of the Judiciary Committee. At the same time, there were four duplications on the subpoena, which rather indicated that it was drawn rather hurriedly, Mr. Chairman. So I thought that as Attorney General I owed myself, the Department, and the Senate, and yourself, sir, the duty of coming up and talking it over with you, and I thought we agreed. Then you suggested that Mr. Arens come down yesterday, which was wholly agreeable to me, and he came down.

The CHAIRMAN. He came directly to your office, did he not?

Attorney General CLARK. That is right. And I called up my first assistant, the Assistant Solicitor General of the United States, too, and an assistant attorney general, whom I instructed in Mr. Arens' presence to give him all the information that they possibly could. Now, it takes time, Mr. Chairman, to get this information. We have many, many problems in the Department of Justice. We prosecute over 50,000 criminal cases every year. And we cannot get up information on 168 names overnight. It takes time. We have been trying to do that. I want to try to, if I can, and I shall give you all possible information consistent with the public interest.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, General. Will you listen to these questions?

Read the questions, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS (reading):

(1) How many Communists or Communist agents are known to the Department to have entered the United States as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments during each of the following periods: The past 5 years, the past 2 years, the past year, the first quarter of 1949; the month of April 1949, the month of May 1949?

(2) How many aliens who entered the United States as affiliates of international organizations, and how many aliens who entered the United States as affiliates of foreign governments, are known to the Department to have been engaged

in espionage or related activities, or other activities of a subversive nature, prior to such entry?

(3) How many of such aliens, in each class, are known to the Department to be engaged or to have been engaged in espionage or related activities, or other activities of a subversive nature, in this country?

(4) Describe a typical pattern of such espionage or other subversive activity, and appraise the extent and scope of such activity.

(5) How many aliens to whom visas have been issued as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments in the course of the last 5 years, have been excluded by the Attorney General from admission into the United States?

(6) Does the Department have knowledge of Communist spy rings now existing in the United States which include as active participants aliens who entered this country as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments?

(7) If so, describe the typical pattern of such spy ring.

(8) To what extent do the records of the Department show espionage or distribution of subversive propaganda and the organization or promoting of subversive groups in the United States to be under the control and direction of aliens who have entered the United States as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments?

(9) To what extent do the records of the Department show espionage or other subversive activity in the United States to be engaged in by persons who are aliens, foreign-born, or of foreign-born parents?

(10) Describe the extent, scope, and nature of the activity or activities of those organizations which have been proscribed by the Attorney General as subversive organizations.

(11) According to the information in the possession of the Department, how many aliens have been deported from the United States in the course of the last 10 years under the statutes which provide for the deportation of subversives?

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Attorney General, a copy of those will be furnished to you.

Attorney General CLARK. I would appreciate that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is: Will you answer them?

Attorney General CLARK. So many as it would be consistent with the public interest for me to answer, I shall answer; yes, sir. Of course, it calls for quite a lot of detailed information. Those that I can answer, as I have consistently said, consistent with the public interest, I shall certainly answer. I will be happy to get up what answers we can insofar as the public interest will permit it.

The CHAIRMAN. When will you be able to furnish that information to the committee, in your best judgment?

Attorney General CLARK. Well, I heard the questions read over for the first time a moment ago, sir. I will, as always, dispatch the procedures in the Department as fast as I can, and I will advise you. I can let you know, possibly, this afternoon or tomorrow.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator DONNELL. Will the Attorney General let the chairman know this afternoon when he can give the information?

Attorney General CLARK. When I can get it; yes. I would rather not guess right now. A lot of this is in detail and you have to break it down by quarters, by months. There is a lot of detail in it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Let the chairman know as early as you can, this week if possible, when it will be convenient for you to come before this committee and furnish us answers to these questions.

Attorney General CLARK. Well, sir, I will do that, answers consistent with the public interest.¹

¹ The testimony of the Attorney General is resumed on p. 298.

Mr. PEURIFOY. Mr. Chairman, do you have another series of questions for the Department of State, or does this include us, too?

The CHAIRMAN. This includes you, too, except that there is a question here to which there is an alternate. The staff director will read the alternate question. That is, one question addresses itself to the State Department.

Will you read that, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. It is an alternate question, as the chairman said, Mr. Peurifoy. All the other questions are the same, except question No. 5. [Reading]:

In how many instances, if at all, has the State Department or any agency or officer thereof insisted upon the entry into this country of an alien concerning whom a recommendation has been made by the Visa Division of the Department that the entry of such alien is against the security interests of the United States?

STATEMENT OF JOHN E. PEURIFOY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

Mr. PEURIFOY. Mr. Chairman, my reaction is the same as the Attorney General's, namely, that I will do everything I can to answer these questions, insofar as the public interest is concerned.

I would like to either read to you or hand to you, sir, a letter addressed to you, by the Acting Secretary, Mr. Webb, concerning the subpoena that was issued to me in the Department.¹

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have charge of these files?

Mr. PEURIFOY. They are under my immediate jurisdiction.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they been removed from your jurisdiction since the subpoena was served?

Mr. PEURIFOY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In any way?

Mr. PEURIFOY. In other words, the head of the Department, of course, is responsible for everything in the State Department.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you the head of that Department?

Mr. PEURIFOY. No, sir; Mr. Acheson is Secretary, and Mr. Webb is the Acting Secretary in his absence. I am Assistant Secretary and under me the security work of the Department of State is carried on.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the files are in your custody?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the subpoena was served on you?

Mr. PEURIFOY. That is correct, sir. It was served on my office, to be technical, but I have accepted it.

The CHAIRMAN. You will not raise the technicality of nonservice?

Mr. PEURIFOY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, whatever information is called for by these questions, you can, from the files and the records under your custody and control, answer the questions?

Mr. PEURIFOY. If, as to these files, it is in the public interest.

The CHAIRMAN. I say: you can answer?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Oh, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, then, how many people are there who have access to these files in your Department? How many employees? How many personnel, one day with another?

¹ The letter referred to appears on p. 171.

Mr. PEURIFOY. I have a Security Division in which there are about 80 or 90 people.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think, Mr. Peurifoy, that those 80 or 90 people, highly trained, undoubtedly, and very worthy of confidence, are any more worthy of confidence than 96 Senators under oath?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Well, certainly I have the greatest respect for—

The CHAIRMAN. I do not care about your respect. I am not asking for that. Do you think they are any more worthy of confidence?

Mr. PEURIFOY. I think the answer to that, sir, is not a question of Senators against the employees of the Security Division. I think the answer is embodied in the letter of the Acting Secretary of State to you.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but I am speaking to you, now. You are the witness under subpoena.

Mr. PEURIFOY. Shall I read this letter?

The CHAIRMAN. No. Not just now. You can read it later on. I just want to ask you again the question: Do you think that the 80 employees that have access to these files, one day with another, are any more worthy of confidence than this committee, as we will put it, the five members who are under oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Well, answering you personally, sir, I would trust the five members of this committee with any information I have, as an individual. But I think that each of us is competent in our respective fields, or let us say, has more judgment in our respective fields, perhaps, than others may have. I am talking about the Senators now. I assume that all the members of your staff have also been security-cleared, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly. Now, Mr. Peurifoy, just one or two more questions. These files being in your custody, you have access to them personally, do you not?

Mr. PEURIFOY. I do, if I have occasion to look at them, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And when you seek to have access to a particular file, you call for that file?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that file has either a key number or a designating initial?

Mr. PEURIFOY. I believe that is right. I am not sure about that. Maybe it is handled alphabetically; I am not sure.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you do not have to call for a file by the name of the party on whom the file is made?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Yes; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. If you call for Covinsky or Maduski or someone else, the clerk knows the file?

Mr. PEURIFOY. That is the way I have to get them, Senator. They may have another system in the Security Division identifying the files.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Mr. Peurifoy, I ask you to take with you to your office the statement that the chairman made at the outset of this meeting, and these questions. The Senate of the United States and the Congress of the United States have before them a very important bill, a bill that is seeking to protect the people of this country. For national security, the bill is introduced, and for no other reason. The staff of this committee, working over a year and a half, through two

Congresses, has found certain information that gave rise to the necessity for information from your Department and from the Department of Justice. That information we believe should be presented to the Senate of the United States, that they may intelligently act upon a bill that is pending, that is introduced for the purpose of protecting the people of this country and this Government. For that reason, we ask you now, in all fairness, to give us full information based on these questions, in answer to these questions that we have propounded.

Mr. PEURIFOY. Mr. Chairman, I want first to assure you and the members of this committee that there is no one in this Government more interested in protecting the national security than I am. I think I have demonstrated that in the past.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we are all equal in that, you and the members of this committee.

Mr. PEURIFOY. I would certainly assume that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. PEURIFOY. As for the second part of your question, I assure you that I will do everything within my power to give this committee such information as we possibly can. And it may be, after examining these questions, that we can do that, sir. If I may be permitted to, I would like to read this to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You may read the letter, certainly.

Mr. PEURIFOY. This is addressed to the chairman. [Reading:]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 31, 1949.

HON. PAT McCARRAN,

Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR McCARRAN: Reference is made to the subpoena duces tecum directed to Assistant Secretary of State John E. Peurifoy by the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Senate Judiciary Committee. The subpoena, returnable June 1, 1949, commands Mr. Peurifoy to appear before the subcommittee and bring with him the files of the Department of State concerning more than 160 persons named in a list attached to the subpoena.

In the opinion of the Department of State, disclosure of materials contained in the departmental files of the type in question would be contrary to the public interest, and would be detrimental to the conduct of the foreign relations of the United States.

It should be noted, in the first place, that these files contain extensive materials that have been obtained by United States diplomatic and consular establishments abroad from confidential sources. Disclosure of these materials, and their sources, would not only hamper the future work of the missions abroad, but would also place many of the sources in personal jeopardy.

Moreover, these files contain intelligence and investigative materials which have been furnished to the Department of State by other agencies of the Government. Section 161 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., title 5, sec. 22) lodges responsibility for the custody, use, and preservation of departmental records and papers with the head of each executive department or agency. Pursuant to this statute, the heads of executive departments and agencies have prescribed regulations concerning their documents and materials. The agencies of the Government prior to making available intelligence and investigative materials to the Department of State have advised this Department that the contents of their reports may not be disclosed without specific prior approval by them. These agencies have declined to approve disclosure of their materials contained in files such as those covered by the subcommittee's subpoena.

In April 1941, the Attorney General considered the question of furnishing, upon request, to the chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Naval Affairs certain reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In an opinion which decided against compliance with the request, the Attorney General made the following statements, which I believe are relevant in considering the subcommittee's subpoena issued to Mr. Peurifoy:

"It is the position of this Department, restated now with the approval of and at the direction of the President, that all investigative reports are confidential documents of the executive department of the Government, to aid in the duty laid upon the President by the Constitution to 'take care that the laws be faithfully executed,' and that congressional or public access to them would not be in the public interest. * * *

"Disclosure of the reports at this particular time would also prejudice the national defense and be of aid and comfort to the very subversive elements against which you wish to protect the country. For this reason we have made extraordinary efforts to see that the results of counter espionage activities and intelligence activities of this Department involving those elements are kept within the fewest possible hands. A catalog of persons under investigation or suspicion, and what we know about them, would be of inestimable service to foreign agencies; and information which could be so used cannot be too closely guarded.

"Moreover, disclosure of the reports would be of serious prejudice to the future usefulness of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. As you probably know, much of this information is given in confidence and can only be obtained upon pledge not to disclose its sources. A disclosure of the sources would embarrass informants—sometimes in their employment, sometimes in their social relations, and in extreme cases might even endanger their lives. We regard the keeping of faith with confidential informants as an indispensable condition of future efficiency."

Authorization for the disclosure of confidential materials contained in or confidential information derived from the files of executive departments and agencies can only be given in accordance with section 161 of the Revised Statutes, referred to above, upon the responsibility of the head of the department or agency concerned. These Federal officers are not alone in their concern for the safeguarding of confidential materials in the executive departments and agencies. Congress itself by appropriate legislation has recognized the need for maintaining the security of such materials.

The Department of State notes that a very large number of the persons named in the subcommittee's list are officials of foreign governments or persons connected with the United Nations whose status has been governed by the Charter and by the headquarters agreement between the United States and the United Nations. Departmental files of the sort covered by the subcommittee's subpoena contain materials that relate to confidential negotiations conducted by the United States in the field of foreign affairs. Disclosure of the contents of such files would seriously embarrass the conduct of foreign relations by the United States, in negotiations with other governments and with the United Nations and in the participation of the United States in the United Nations. As you know, the implementation by the United States of the headquarters agreement has been the subject of close scrutiny in the United Nations General Assembly, and has at times been used for vigorous propaganda attacks upon the United States. It is of great importance to the interests of the United States that no steps be taken which could furnish ammunition for such attacks or which could predispose members of the United Nations against the United States with respect to its implementation of the headquarters agreement.

For the reason stated above, and with the specific approval of the President and pursuant to his direction, I must respectfully refuse to permit disclosure of departmental files of the sort covered by the subpoena, and Mr. Peurifoy will not be permitted to produce them or testify as to their contents.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES E. WEBB,
Acting Secretary.

Senator DONNELL. May I ask if Mr. Peurifoy has stated for the record when he will be able to advise the chairman as to the date at which he will be able to secure and furnish to the chairman and to this subcommittee the information requested, so far as consistent with the public interest?

Mr. PEURIFOY. I will try to do that by late this afternoon or tomorrow, sir.¹

¹ The testimony of the Assistant Secretary of State is resumed on p. 336.

Senator DONNELL. May I ask also, Mr. Chairman, whether the letter from Attorney General Clark has been ordered to be inserted in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. It is so ordered.
(The letter referred to is as follows:)

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, D. C., June 1, 1949.

HON. PAT McCARRAN,

*Chairman, Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization,
Committee on the Judiciary,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I have received a subpoena, bearing the date of the 20th of May 1949, to produce before the Immigration and Naturalization Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate on June 1, 1949, the files of the Department of Justice in the case of each of 168 persons whose names appear on a list attached to the subpoena.

The persons listed are, for the most part, officials or employees of the United Nations or of foreign governments. The treatment of persons in this category relates not only to the conduct of our foreign relations but to the maintenance of our internal security.

Files pertaining to matters of this character are of an extremely confidential nature. After conferring with Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and after careful consideration, I have concluded that it is not in the public interest that they be produced.

On the basis of detailed study, it is the considered judgment of this Department that the President and the heads of executive departments are not bound to produce papers or give information to congressional committees when they deem the papers and information requested to be confidential and their production not to be in the public interest. And the determination of what information and which papers are confidential and the circumstances in which their disclosure would not be in the public interest is solely for the Executive to determine.

The position of this Department is no different from that taken by the House Judiciary Committee in 1879 in the case of George F. Seward. Seward was consul general of the United States in China. He appeared before a House Committee on Expenditures which was in charge of investigating his official conduct. A subpoena duces tecum had been served upon him to produce certain books and papers. Seward refused. He was brought before the House to show cause at its bar why he should not obey the House through its subpoena. The House referred the incident to its Judiciary Committee.

Benjamin F. Butler, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, submitted a report stating that Seward was not in contempt; that in contemplation of law, under our theory of government, all the records of the executive departments were under the control of the President of the United States. Although the House sometimes sent resolutions to a head of a department to produce such books and records, nevertheless, in any doubtful case no head of a department would bring before a committee of the House any of the records of his office without permission of, or consultation with, the President of the United States. The report pointed out that all resolutions directed to the President of the United States, if properly phrased, would contain the clause: "If in his judgment not inconsistent with the public interest" (H. Rept. No. 141, Mar. 3, 1879, 45th Cong., 3d sess., p. 3).

"And whenever the President has returned (as sometimes he has) that, in his judgment, it was not consistent with the public interest to give the House such information, no further proceedings have ever been taken to compel the production of such information. Indeed, upon principles, it would seem that this must be so. The Executive is as independent of either house of Congress as either House of Congress is independent of him, and they cannot call for the records of his action or the action of his officers against his consent, any more than he can call for any of the journals and records of the House or Senate" (Ibid.).

Finally, the report stated that the highest exercise of the power calling for documents would be, in the course of justice, by the courts of the United States, but the House would not permit its journals to be taken from its possession by one of its assistant clerks and carried into a court in obedience to a subpoena

duly issued by the court. The report indicated the perils incident to divulging to any committee of the House "state secrets," to the detriment of the country.

"Somebody must judge upon this point. It clearly cannot be the House or its committee, because they cannot know the importance of having the doings of the executive department kept secret. The head of the executive department, therefore, must be the judge in such case and decide it upon his own responsibility to the people, and to the House, upon a case of impeachment brought against him for so doing, if his acts are causeless, malicious, willfully wrong, or to the detriment of the public interest" (Id. at pp. 3-4).

Since the founding of the Government the Presidents of the United States have, from time to time, held information of various types to be confidential, and have refused to divulge or to permit the divulgence of such information outside of the executive branch of the Government. In 1796, for example, President Washington declined to comply with a request of the House of Representatives to furnish it with a copy of the instructions to ministers of the United States who had negotiated a treaty with Great Britain. The House insisted on its right to the papers as a condition of appropriating funds necessary to implement the treaty. In declining to comply, President Washington stated: "As it is essential to the due administration of the Government that the boundaries fixed by the Constitution between the various departments should be preserved, a just regard to the Constitution and to the duty of my office * * * forbids a compliance with your request." (See Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. 1, pp. 194, 196.) Later, President Jefferson refused to allow two members of his Cabinet to supply documents at the trial of Aaron Burr. In 1825 President Monroe declined to comply with a request from the House of Representatives to transmit to the House certain documents relating to the conduct of naval officers. In 1833 President Jackson refused to comply with a Senate request that he communicate to it a copy of a paper purporting to have been read by him to the heads of the executive departments relating to the removal of the deposits of public money from the Bank of the United States. In 1886 President Cleveland supported his Attorney General's refusal to comply with a Senate resolution calling for documents and papers relating to the removal of a district attorney. Similarly, in 1843, a resolution of the House of Representatives called upon the Secretary of War to communicate to the House the reports made to the War Department by Lieutenant Colonel Hitchcock relative to the affairs of the Cherokee Indians, together with all information communicated by him concerning the frauds which he had been charged to investigate. The Secretary of War advised the House that he could not communicate information which Colonel Hitchcock had obtained in confidence, because it would be grossly unjust to the persons who had given the information. The House, however, claimed the right to demand from the Executive and heads of departments such information as may be in their possession relating to subject of deliberations of the House. President Tyler, in a message dated January 31, 1843, said in part:

"And although information comes through a proper channel to an executive officer, it may often be of a character to forbid its being made public. The officer charged with a confidential inquiry, and who reports its results under the pledge of confidence which his appointment implies, ought not to be exposed individually to the resentment of those whose conduct may be impugned by the information he collects. The knowledge that such is to be the consequence will inevitably prevent the performances of duties of that character, and thus the Government will be deprived of an important means of investigating the conduct of its agents" (Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. 4, pp. 221-223).

The reports of Colonel Hitchcock concerning the delegates of the Cherokee Nation were not communicated by President Tyler to the House. The reasons given by the President for the failure to send the papers and documents referred to were that suggestions, anticipated projects, and views dealing with the personal character of persons would not be of aid to Congress in legislation, and their publication would be unfair and unjust to a Federal official and inconsistent with the public interest.

These are only a few of the precedents to be found in the history of our Government.

The sound public and constitutional policy expressed in these precedents has perhaps its best-known application with respect to congressional requests for information contained in the confidential reports of investigative agencies of the Government and in the files and records relating to the loyalty of Government personnel. With respect to the former, Attorney General Jackson on April

30, 1941, wrote to the chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs declining to furnish that committee with certain reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In his letter, which Attorney General Jackson indicated was written with the approval of and at the direction of the President, he reviewed the practice of a number of his predecessors as Attorney General and of a number of Presidents, which practice was in accord with the position taken. The practical reasons which demand in the interest of sound Government administration that such reports be held confidential were stated by Attorney General Jackson, as follows:

"It is the position of this Department, restated now with the approval of and at the direction of the President, that all investigative reports are confidential documents of the executive department of the Government, to aid in the duty laid upon the President by the Constitution to 'take care that the laws be faithfully executed,' and that congressional or public access to them would not be in the public interest.

"Disclosure of the reports could not do otherwise than seriously prejudice law enforcement. Counsel for a defendant or prospective defendant could have no greater help than to know how much or how little information the Government has, and what witnesses or sources of information it can rely upon. This is exactly what these reports are intended to contain.

"Disclosure of the reports at this particular time would also prejudice the national defense and be of aid and comfort to the very subversive elements against which you wish to protect the country. For this reason we have made extraordinary efforts to see that the results of counter-espionage activities and intelligence activities of this Department involving those elements are kept within the fewest possible hands. A catalog of persons under investigation or suspicion, and what we know about them, would be of inestimable service to foreign agencies; and information which could be used cannot be too closely guarded.

"Moreover, disclosure of the reports would be of serious prejudice to the future usefulness of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. As you probably know, much of this information is given in confidence and can only be obtained upon pledge not to disclose its sources. A disclosure of the sources would embarrass informants—sometimes in their employment, sometimes in their social relations, and in extreme cases might even endanger their lives. We regard the keeping of faith with confidential informants as an indispensable condition of future efficiency.

"Disclosure of information contained in the reports might also be the grossest kind of injustice to innocent individuals. Investigative reports include leads and suspicions, and sometimes even the statements of malicious or misinformed people. Even though later and more complete reports exonerate the individuals, the use of particular or selected reports might constitute the grossest injustice, and we all know that a correction never catches up with an accusation."

It has long been recognized that the personnel records of the Government contain information of a highly confidential nature which is not to be disclosed except where the public interest might require such disclosure. President Tyler declined to comply with a resolution of the House of Representatives which called upon him and the heads of departments to furnish information regarding such members of the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Congresses as had applied for office. In so doing, President Tyler stated:

"Applications for office are in their very nature confidential, and if the reasons assigned for such applications or the names of the applicants were communicated, not only would such implied confidence be wantonly violated, but, in addition, it is quite obvious that a mass of vague, incoherent, and personal matter would be made public at a vast consumption of time, money, and trouble without accomplishing or tending in any manner to accomplish, as it appears to me, any useful object connected with a sound and constitutional administration of the Government in any of its branches.

"In my judgment a compliance with the resolution which has been transmitted to me would be a surrender of duties and powers which the Constitution has conferred exclusively on the Executive, and therefore such compliance cannot be made by me nor by the heads of departments by my direction" (Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. 4, pp. 105-106).

The Constitution lodges the executive power in the President. Among his duties conferred upon him by the Constitution and statutes is that of appointing those persons who are to aid him in executing the laws. It is within the President's discretion whether information which has been elicited for the pur-

pose of enabling him to discharge his duty may be divulged by the executive branch. William Howard Taft, following his term as President and prior to his appointment as Chief Justice, wrote with respect to this subject in his book, *Our Chief Magistrate and His Powers*, at page 129.

"The President is required by the Constitution from time to time to give Congress information on the State of the Union, and to recommend for its consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient, but this does not enable Congress or either House of Congress to elicit from him confidential information which he acquired for the purpose of enabling him to discharge his constitutional duties, if he does not deem the disclosure of such information prudent or in the public interest."

In this connection it is not inappropriate to call attention to the admonition of President Washington in his Farewell Address:

"It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism * * *" (Richardson, Messages and Papers of the Presidents, vol. 1, p. 239).

Moreover, as pointed out by Attorney General Jackson in the opinion above referred to, "This discretion in the executive branch has been upheld and respected by the judiciary. The courts have repeatedly held that they will not and cannot require the Executive to produce such papers when in the opinion of the Executive their production is contrary to the public interest. The courts have also held that the question whether the production of the papers would be against the public interest is one for the Executive and not for the courts to determine." Ample judicial authority is cited in Attorney General Jackson's opinion. But particular attention is called to *Boske v. Comingore* (177 U. S. 459), where the Supreme Court upheld regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury limiting the use to which certain internal-revenue records could be put, saying (at pp. 469-470):

"* * * we do not perceive upon what ground the regulation in question can be regarded as inconsistent with law, unless it be that the records and papers in the office of a collector of internal revenue are at all times open or right to inspection and examination by the public, despite the wishes of the Department. That cannot be admitted. The papers in question, copies of which were sought from the appellee, were the property of the United States, and were in his official custody under a regulation forbidding him to permit their use except for purposes relating to the collection of the revenues of the United States. Reasons of public policy may well have suggested the necessity, in the interest of the Government, of not allowing access to the records in the offices of collectors of internal revenue, except as might be directed by the Secretary of the Treasury. The interests of persons compelled, under the revenue laws, to furnish information as to their private business affairs would often be seriously affected if the disclosures so made were not properly guarded."

The views set forth herein should not be construed as establishing a policy on the part of this Department of never furnishing information or documents to congressional committees upon their request. Each request will be considered on its merits, and will be complied with in appropriate cases where in the judgment of this Department the public interest will not be adversely affected and where the action would be consistent with the policies, orders, and directives of the President. As Attorney General Jackson pointed out in his opinion above referred to:

"Of course, where the public interest has seemed to justify it, information as to particular situations has been supplied to congressional committees by me and by former Attorneys General. For example, I have taken the position that committees called upon to pass on the confirmation of persons recommended for appointment by the Attorney General would be afforded confidential access to any information that we have—because no candidate's name is submitted without his knowledge and the Department does not intend to submit the name of any person whose entire history will not stand light. By way of further illustration, I may mention that pertinent information would be supplied in impeachment proceedings, usually instituted at the suggestion of the Department for the good of the administration of justice."

It is stated in the press that you intend to release certain confidential information contained in your files relating to internal security matters. Since the

Federal Bureau of Investigation is charged with protecting the internal security of the United States. I most sincerely urge upon you that before such information is made public the matter be cleared with this Department. If you have any information which you believe should be furnished to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, I should be glad to receive it for appropriate action.

On May 16, 1949, at a conference in this Department I advised you of the type of information we could furnish your committee and it was agreed, I thought, that we should prepare it. It is now being prepared. You will be informed as soon as this work has been completed, and at that time we will make available to you as much of the material as then proves possible, consistent with the public interest.

I desire, of course, to cooperate with your committee at all times. I am convinced, however, that it is my duty in the public interest to take the position stated in this letter. The President has reviewed the matter and has advised me that he not only concurs in this position but directs me to take it.

Sincerely yours,

TOM CLARK, *Attorney General.*

The CHAIRMAN. The matters sought by this committee are set out in the questions propounded to the respective officers who have responded to the subpoena.

Senator DONNELL. May I ask one further question, if you will permit an interruption?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. I was not clear as to whether the alternate question that was asked of Mr. Penrifoy was in substitution for a question to the Attorney General, or whether it was in addition.

The CHAIRMAN. It was in substitution. He will immediately see that. One is to the Department of Justice and the other is to the Department of State.

There being nothing further to come before the committee at this time, the committee stands adjourned.

Attorney General CLARK. Mr. Chairman, I am here out of respect to the committee. You said a moment ago that I was here in response to the subpoena and you can view it that way if you wish, but I have a high respect and regard for the great Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, for its chairman, and for its members, and I am here in response to that high regard and respect that I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir.

(Whereupon, at 11:15 a. m., the committee recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION
AND NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2 p. m. in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland, Wiley, Langer, and Donnell.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee, Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members; Robert B. Young, professional staff, Committee on the Judiciary.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE PIRINSKY, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, THE AMERICAN SLAV CONGRESS¹

Senator EASTLAND. The committee will come to order.

The first witness is Mr. George Pirinsky.

At this point in the record we will insert the subpoena duces tecum issued to Mr. Pirinsky.

(The subpoena duces tecum is in the files of the subcommittee.)

Senator EASTLAND. Will you stand, please?

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth so help you God?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. PIRINSKY. My full name is George Pirinsky. I am the executive secretary of the American Slav Congress, whose headquarters are 205 East Forty-second Street, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Have you always used the name of George Pirinsky?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I have used the name Pirinsky and also I used the name of George Nikolov Zaikov.

Mr. ARENS. You are here in answer to a subpoena duces tecum, Mr. Pirinsky?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes. I would like to make a statement in connection with the subpoena.

Mr. ARENS. You may proceed.

Mr. PIRINSKY. On May 27, I was served with a subpoena, issued by this subcommittee, commanding me to appear before you today and to bring with me certain records of the American Slav Congress.

¹ Accompanied by Joseph Forer, attorney.

This subpoena is extremely broad in its scope, does not specify any documents with any particularity, or even with reference to any time, and is vaguely worded. Nothing in this subpoena indicates, nor have I been informed of, the purpose for which this material is sought. In addition, the subpoena apparently directs the preparation of lists and copies, rather than merely the production of existing records.

Under these circumstances, it is a fair inference that the subpoena is merely a fishing expedition designed to harass and interfere with the functioning of a going organization.

Nevertheless, I have brought a mass of material with me, which I now deliver to the subcommittee. If this material is not adequate for the purposes of the subcommittee, I should be glad to consider supplementing it if the subcommittee will inform me what else it wants and why.

Since the subcommittee seems to be interested in the American Slav Congress, I wish to state a few words concerning this organization. The basic principles of our organization are stated in the constitution, which was adopted at our Second American Slav Congress in Pittsburgh, in the fall of 1942. I feel confident that when you examine the constitution of the American Slav Congress—

Senator EASTLAND. I suggest that part of the statement is not responsive to the subpoena duces tecum. Now, the witness is under oath, and you, Mr. Arens, may proceed to ask questions.

Mr. PIRINSKY. Senator, I just want to tell you in one paragraph the purpose of the constitution I am bringing here, of the organization, of what it says.

Senator EASTLAND. Of the constitution of the organization that you are bringing?

Mr. PIRINSKY. That is right.

Senator EASTLAND. You may proceed.

Mr. PIRINSKY. I feel confident that when you examine the constitution of the American Slav Congress, a copy of which is in the material I have given you, you will find that its principles and aims are dedicated to the promotion of the democratic traditions of the United States and the provisions of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The purpose of the American Slav Congress is stated clearly in article 2 of our constitution, which says:

The American Slav Congress is a nonpartisan organization of freedom-loving Americans of Slav origin, dedicated to the strengthening of the democratic processes in the cultural, political, social, and economic advancement of our country and its friendship and cooperation with the Slav nations of Europe for the establishment and preservation of a just and durable peace for all democratic nations of the world.

The American Slav Congress is the organization under whose leadership millions of Slavic-Americans made an outstanding contribution to the war effort of the country, for which the late President Roosevelt commended it very highly. In a letter, referring to the contribution of Americans of Slav descent to the building of America and the activities of the American Slav Congress, Roosevelt wrote:

You who have helped to build the United States in factory and on farm, and have contributed so richly to the national culture, need not be told the meaning of America, nor of her blessings. And you who send your sons into battle and forge the weapons of war that spell victory need not be cautioned to keep your courage high and your faith firm.

The American Slav Congress remains true to Roosevelt's domestic and foreign policies of social improvements at home and friendship and cooperation with all freedom-loving peoples abroad.

We especially supported and continue to fight for his policy of friendship between the American people and the peoples of the Slavic countries, with whose devotion to the cause of freedom and peace we feel well acquainted. We believe that a policy of friendship and cooperation between 145,000,000 Americans and 300,000,000 Slavs in Europe—the two main forces that brought about the defeat of the Axis Powers—cannot but result in friendship and cooperation among all freedom-loving peoples of the world for the building of a just and lasting peace. We consider this to be the key to the solution of the present division of Europe and the world into hostile camps and the turning of the tide toward understanding and peace.

The organization was built mainly on a meeting at which former Attorney General Francis Biddle was present, on December 7, 1941, in Detroit, Mich. It was a defense-bond rally organized jointly with the Treasury Department and the Slavic groups in the city of Detroit. It was at that rally that Mr. Biddle, before speaking, was called to an emergency meeting at the White House and, before leaving told us of the attack at Pearl Harbor.

He appealed to our people gathered at the banquet there to unite their forces and do everything possible to help speed the day of victory over the Axis aggressors. So it was in response to that call—although some beginnings were made before in founding the Slav Congress in Pittsburgh in 1938—that the American Slav Congress came into existence on a Nation-wide scale.

About a few months later, a Nation-wide convention was called in Detroit, with 3,000 delegates. Mr. McNutt¹ was the principal speaker sent from Washington to address the convention. We were urged to help win the battle of production. American Slavs constituted about 50 percent of the workers in heavy industry and thus we were in a position to make a contribution to the winning of the battle of production, which we did.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if we could now interrogate the witness on the subject matter here?

Senator EASTLAND. I suggest the witness finish his statement, and then you may proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. FORER. Mr. Chairman, I am appearing as counsel. I wonder if you would explain for my benefit and also for the purpose of the record, just what participation it is the practice of this subcommittee to allow counsel?

Senator EASTLAND. Do you mean what participation is allowed you, sir?

Mr. FORER. That is correct, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. You may advise the witness.

Mr. FORER. That is exactly what I want to find out; that is, what participation is allowed.

Senator EASTLAND. You may advise the witness as to his rights.

Mr. FORER. And nothing else?

Senator EASTLAND. You may advise him as to his rights.

Would you kindly identify yourself for the record?

¹ Paul V. McNutt, Federal Security Administrator.

Mr. FORER. Of course, sir. My name is Joseph Forer. I practice law in the District of Columbia; my office address is 1105 K Street N.W., Washington, D. C.

Mr. ARENS. Are you the counsel for Mr. Pirinsky?

Mr. FORER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been the counsel for Mr. Gerhart Eisler?

Mr. FORER. Yes, but what does that have to do with this?

Mr. ARENS. Have you been the counsel for Emil Costello?

Mr. FORER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been counsel for Claudia Jones?

Mr. FORER. Just a minute.

Mr. Chairman, I object to this line of questioning. It obviously has one purpose, to smear Mr. Pirinsky. I will not participate any further in it.

Senator EASTLAND. I do not think that questioning has anything to do with the issue. You may put a statement in the record, if you desire.¹

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Pirinsky, when did you first gain admission into the United States?

Mr. PIRINSKY. In 1923, August 1.

Mr. ARENS. Are you still an alien?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PIRINSKY. To this question, I would like to say the following: That I have an immigration deportation trial on the 21st of this month, and I feel that it would be unfair to ask me now to answer this question. I will take the stand then and state my political beliefs.

Mr. ARENS. You are under a deportation order at the present time?

Mr. PIRINSKY. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What is the membership of the American Slav Congress?

Mr. PIRINSKY. We do not have dues-paying members. It is not an individual-membership organization. The American Slav Congress is a very loose federation of cooperating organizations which come and go any time they want to. We just issue an appeal to all of the Slavic organizations, as during the war, for instance, to send delegates to a convention. Actually, there is no affiliation fee; there is nothing—just those that come to take part in discussions, as, at that time, the main question of winning the war, and then they go home. When we issue some appeal, those who agree with the policies and the program of the Congress participate in one or other forms. It is not a dues-paying organization, and has no membership list.

Mr. ARENS. How many persons are affiliated with the American Slav Congress even though they may not be actual members?

Mr. PIRINSKY. We don't know ourselves, because sometimes the national organization or some organizations send one or two representatives. We really have not figured out how many members there are in the organizations that have sent delegates or observers to our convention.

Mr. ARENS. What publications are issued by the American Slav Congress?

¹ The statement detailing the record of Joseph Forer appears on p. 216.

Mr. PIRINSKY. The Slavic American, a magazine.

Mr. ARENS. What is the extent of its circulation?

Mr. PIRINSKY. It is about 8,000 copies.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a mailing list with you, of the publication?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I was not asked to bring any mailing list of the publication.

Mr. ARENS. Have you, since you were admitted into the United States, made any trips to Soviet Russia?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No; I haven't.

Mr. ARENS. What contacts, if any, have you had with affiliates of international organizations or with affiliates of consulates or embassies who have come from behind the iron curtain?

Mr. PIRINSKY. We had a convention in 1946 in New York, and we invited representatives of the Slavic Committees of Europe to come to the convention and bring us greetings from the people that fought on our side during the war. We don't have any organizational ties. We have gone to the embassies to ask them to cooperate with us in bringing such guests or fraternal delegates from there, or asking them to send us some publications. We don't have organizational ties. We have exchanged greetings with them on various occasions and, as I stated, a few of them came to the conference and they spoke at Madison Square Garden; they spoke at our convention there as guests from Europe. They were mostly people that were in the underground liberation movement during the war. For instance, General Koslov,¹ one of them, was the leader of the White Russian partisans. He used to tell us how he went to the meetings of the Slav Committee in Moscow over German lines. Others were from the other Slav countries; Reverend Fiala² from Czechoslovakia. I am not sure that is the right spelling.

Senator EASTLAND. You are a citizen of what country?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I was born in Macedonia at the time that was under Turkey. In 1912, the Balkan War broke out; and, after that, the Second Balkan War, and Macedonia was divided between the three Balkan countries that fought Turkey. My part of Macedonia was given to Bulgaria; so at that time I became a citizen of Bulgaria, because of that division of the country. That was under King Boris. I have not renewed my citizenship in Bulgaria; so, actually, I am a citizen of the world.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Pirinsky, who is G. Dimitrov?

Mr. PIRINSKY. G. Dimitrov?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir; George Dimitrov.

Mr. PIRINSKY. Are you referring to the present Prime Minister of Bulgaria?

Mr. DEKOM. The former secretary general of the Comintern.

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't know him. I read in the newspapers that he is the Prime Minister of Bulgaria.

Mr. ARENS. What contact have you had with him?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I have had no contact.

Mr. ARENS. Have you written articles for the Daily Worker in New York?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes.

¹ Gen. Vasili Koslov.

² Frantisek Fiala.

Mr. ARENS. Did you write an article under date of August 31, 1935?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't recall.

Mr. ARENS. How frequently have you written articles for the Daily Worker?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Very rarely.

Mr. ARENS. What records have you produced in evidence in answer to the subpoena duces tecum?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I have all the press releases, all the pamphlets of the meetings, the financial reports, bank statements.

Mr. ARENS. Has not Mr. Dimitrov sent greetings and messages to the American Slav Congress?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes. He did at the time of the Third Congress, when they had those delegates.

Mr. ARENS. Have you received any messages or greetings from Mr. Stalin?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Mr. Stalin also sent greetings to that Congress, expressing the wish for friendship between the American people and the people of the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a member or have you ever been a member of the Macedonian-American People's Union?

Mr. PIRINSKY. The Macedonian-American People's League. Yes. I am the national secretary since it was founded.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a member or have you been a member of the United Committee of South Slavic Americans?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes; I was a member.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been or are you now a member of the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No; it is not existing now.

Mr. ARENS. Were you at one time a member?

Mr. PIRINSKY. The Yugoslav committee? Yes; I was.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not these organizations have been listed by the Attorney General as subversive organizations?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I think they have been.

Mr. ARENS. And the American Slav Congress has been listed?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Outrageously, yes. We protested, and we stated that there is no basis for such listing of the American Slav Congress by the Department of Justice, whose former chief was the one that initiated it.

Mr. ARENS. Have you written eulogies on George Dimitrov in certain publications?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes. At the time of the Leipzig trials, I praised him very highly for his courage to stand up against the Nazi when he called for the fight against fascism.

Mr. ARENS. Who are the members of the board of directors of the American Slav Congress, or the controlling group?

Mr. PIRINSKY. We have the officers; that is, the executive committee—Mr. Leo Krzycki.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he now?

Mr. PIRINSKY. He went as a delegate to the Paris Congress for Peace, and I understand he is returning to the country.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not he is a citizen?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I believe he is. He is American-born.

Then we have Prof. Jan Marsalka. He is also a delegate to that Congress, and I understand they are returning together.

Then, Stanley Nowak, from Detroit, is the national secretary. I am the executive secretary. Sam Nicolauk is the treasurer. Charlie Musil is the financial secretary. These are the officers of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. ARENS. What do you do for a living, Mr. Pirinsky?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I am a full-time paid executive secretary of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. ARENS. You are paid by the American Slav Congress?

Mr. PIRINSKY. That is right; since Pearl Harbor Day.

Mr. ARENS. What are the dues of the organization or the source of income of the organization?

Mr. PIRINSKY. There are no dues. We just appeal to Slavic Americans and to organizations, whoever wish to support the program of the American Slav Congress, to contribute.

Mr. ARENS. By whom were you elected or appointed?

Mr. PIRINSKY. By the national conference.

Mr. ARENS. The Slavic American journal follows the party line of the Communist Party; does it not?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No; it doesn't. It follows the program of the American Slav Congress.

Senator EASTLAND. What is the difference between the program of the Communist Party and the program of the Slav Congress?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Is that the purpose of this hearing, to discuss the differences?

Senator EASTLAND. No, sir; I would like to get that information.

Mr. PIRINSKY. The main purpose of the program of the American Slav Congress during the war was to help win the war. After the war, we felt that we should continue the efforts to help build a lasting peace. That is the basic policy of the American Slav Congress. I would like to see the people of the United States and the people of the Slavic countries in friendship and cooperating. Here at home, we were consistently following the policy of the late President Roosevelt, who wrote a few messages to the congress, and President Truman also was to come to address the second congress in Pittsburgh. I wrote him a letter, and he replied that he would try by all means to be at the congress, but Mr. Ickes¹ came, because of a previous engagement by President Truman. The letter he sent is dated August 11, 1944, when he was a Senator.

Mr. ARENS. What is the difference, Mr. Pirinsky, between the party line of the Communist Party and the basic tenets or positions of the American Slav Congress?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I know what the policy of the American Slav Congress is, and that is what I stand for and feel responsibility for carrying out the policies. Outside of that, I am not responsible. I don't think that is the purpose of the hearing.

Mr. ARENS. You were one of the organizers of the Macedonian-American Peoples League?

Mr. PIRINSKY. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What is the purpose or objective of that organization?

Mr. PIRINSKY. The main objective of that organization—it was founded in reaction against a situation that existed among Macedo-

¹ Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior.

nian-Americans here. Some Fascist leaders, Macedonians who were living in Bulgaria, came to this country and founded the Macedonian Political Organization, with headquarters in Indianapolis. These people were telling our Americans of Macedonian descent that Hitler will be the one to liberate Macedonia. At the same time they were carrying on assassinations of progressive Macedonian leaders. So, our organizations came into being as a reaction on the part of Macedonian Americans of their indignation and the protest of the policy of that organization. So, we formed the Macedonian People's League to fight against this policy of fascism that was being injected into the minds of our people, and also to protest against the assassinations and killings.

Generally, we support the fight of the Macedonian people for freedom. After the two Balkan wars, Macedonia remained oppressed. It was divided between the three Balkan countries, and we felt that whatever moral support can be given here to encourage this people to continue to work for their national independence should be done by us.

SENATOR EASTLAND. That is the policy of the Tito Government; is it not?

MR. PIRINSKY. That was a long time before we even knew of Tito.

SENATOR EASTLAND. Today it is to "liberate" Macedonia; is it not? Is that not the policy of the Russian Government and the policy of Tito?

MR. PIRINSKY. It is the policy—Macedonia, for instance, is divided between the three countries now. Some Macedonians are in Greece.

SENATOR EASTLAND. That is right.

MR. PIRINSKY. Some are in Bulgaria and some in Yugoslavia.

SENATOR EASTLAND. One of the aims in the civil war in Greece of those who have revolted against the Greek Government is to liberate Macedonia; is it not?

MR. PIRINSKY. I don't think that is the aim of the civil war. I think the civil war in Greece started in December 1944, when the British troops intervened in the internal life of Greece and imposed again the King back to the Greek people that they had rejected.

SENATOR EASTLAND. Is it not one of the aims of the revolutionary leaders of Greece to liberate Macedonia from Greece?

MR. PIRINSKY. Senator, the history of the Macedonian movement is a long one.

SENATOR EASTLAND. Answer my question, please. Is that or is that not one of the aims?

MR. PIRINSKY. I haven't read in the newspapers that that is the aim of the people that are fighting in Greece now, to liberate Macedonia. I think the Macedonians are participating in that fight, and these Macedonians want to see a democratic Greece and to live in peace with the people of Greece. That is, I view the events that are taking place that way.

SENATOR EASTLAND. Do you think they want to liberate Macedonia; that is, take Macedonia from Greece?

MR. PIRINSKY. Who? The Macedonians?

SENATOR EASTLAND. Yes.

MR. PIRINSKY. All Macedonians, I understand, want to unite into one Macedonia that will not be a part of any Balkan state, but will have independence like other nations.

Senator EASTLAND. That is right; they are fighting on the side of the guerrillas in Greece.

Mr. PIRINSKY. I understand many Macedonians have joined.

Senator EASTLAND. That is the Macedonian liberation movement; is it not?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No; it is not.

Senator EASTLAND. It is to free Macedonia; is it not?

Mr. PIRINSKY. As far as I know, there is no Macedonian liberation movement now.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you not say that your organization favored an independent Macedonia?

Mr. PIRINSKY. To free Macedonia, yes; we do.

Senator EASTLAND. That is one of the issues in the civil war.

Mr. PIRINSKY. No; I think the main issue in the civil war is to abolish monarchy and establish their own democratic government there. In such a Greece, I understand that the Macedonians will be also given the right to speak their language and to live as free citizens. The Macedonians were oppressed by the Greek King before and now. They resent this oppression like the American people here resented the British oppression in 1776. As a matter of fact, the slogan of the Macedonians, when I was there, was the same as the slogan of Patrick Henry: "Give me liberty or give me death."

Senator EASTLAND. What is the slogan now? We are talking about the civil war in Greece at this time.

Mr. PIRINSKY. I think the civil war in Greece was provoked by the British intervention.

Senator EASTLAND. There are no British soldiers now in Greece; are there?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I think there are some still—quite a few there, helping in the training, and things like that.

Senator EASTLAND. That is the reason there is a civil war there now, because of the British soldiers there now; is that right? Is that what you say?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Because the British intervened and tried to impose the king back to the Greek people. I think that was the main reason for the civil war.

Mr. ARENS. What is the membership of the Macedonian-American People's League in the United States?

Mr. PIRINSKY. About 500, approximately.

Mr. ARENS. What literature or publications are issued by this organization?

Mr. PIRINSKY. It doesn't have any publications. It reports its activities, or it writes about its activities, in a newspaper in Detroit, the Narodna Volya, but it does not have its own publication. That is an independent publication in Detroit.

Mr. ARENS. Do you receive any money for your services in that organization?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No, unless they call me to a meeting. They pay the expenses. I used to be paid by the Macedonian People's League before Pearl Harbor Day. I am now and used to be national secretary of the organization. Then, after that dinner at Pearl Harbor Day in Detroit, Mich., I was in charge of the arrangements committee, and it was decided to form the Slav Congress; so I became a paid functionary of the American Slav Congress after Pearl Harbor.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been a special correspondent for Narodna Volya, the Communist paper in Detroit?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Not a special correspondent, but I have written articles.

Mr. ARENS. Will you please explain the documents which you have brought to the committee in response to the subpoena? Will you please identify them?

Mr. PIRINSKY. This is the stationery of the American Slav Congress, the national committee.

Senator EASTLAND. That will be received in the record as exhibit No. 1 at this point.

(The document was marked "Pirinsky Exhibit 1" and appears in Appendix VI, page A85.)

Mr. PIRINSKY. These [indicating] are the employees of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. ARENS. That will be marked "Exhibit No. 2" in the record at this point.

(The document was marked "Pirinsky Exhibit 2" and appears in appendix VI, page A85.)

Mr. ARENS. By the way, what is your salary as executive secretary of the American Slav Congress?

Mr. PIRINSKY. \$75 a week.

Mr. ARENS. What is the position of each of the other employees who are listed on exhibit 2?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I stated already that Mr. Musil is the financial secretary. He works on a magazine. Others are office workers.

Mr. ARENS. What is the next document?

Mr. PIRINSKY. This is the financial statement from the inception to December 31, 1945.

Mr. ARENS. That will be marked "Exhibit No. 3" in the record at this point.

Is the American Slav Congress tax-exempt?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No.

Senator EASTLAND. Are donations to the American Slav Congress tax-exempt?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I beg your pardon?

Senator EASTLAND. Are donations to the American Slav Congress tax-exempt?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No; they are not tax-exempt.

Mr. ARENS. What the Senator means is: If someone makes a contribution to the American Slav Congress, can he deduct that as a contribution for tax-exemption purposes?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't think so.

Mr. ARENS. Exhibit No. 4 is the American Slav Congress financial report for the year 1946. Exhibit No. 5 is the American Slav Congress financial report for 1947. Exhibit No. 6 is the American Slav Congress financial report for 1948.

(The documents were marked "Pirinsky Exhibits 3, 4, 5, and 6," and appear in appendix VI, page A85 et seq.)

Mr. ARENS. Let the record show that the witness has submitted copies of the Slavic American for the fall of 1948, summer of 1948, spring of 1948, the winter of 1947, the fall of 1947.

Mr. PIRINSKY. Here is the minutes of the first convention that was called in Pittsburgh, Pa., 1938, that is, the Tri-State Conference of Slavic Organizations.

This is a pamphlet dealing with the first Nation-wide conference at Detroit, Mich., at which Mr. McNutt spoke.

Here are two copies of the Voice of the American Slav.

Mr. ARENS. This must be another publication in addition to the Slavic American?

Mr. PIRINSKY. There were just these two copies, as I understand.

Here is a folder, and here are program books after each conference or convention.

Mr. ARENS. We will identify all the publications, which have been furnished and described by the witness, as "Exhibit No. 7."

(The documents were marked "Pirinsky Exhibit 7" and filed for the information of the subcommittee. A list of the publications appears in appendix VI, p. A105.)

Mr. PIRINSKY. Here are all the press releases and resolutions of which we happened to have copies.

Mr. ARENS. That will be exhibit No. 8.

(The documents were marked "Pirinsky Exhibit 8" and filed for the information of the subcommittee; constitution in appendix VI, p. 106.)

Mr. PIRINSKY. Here are the bank statements.

Mr. ARENS. That will be marked "Exhibit No. 9."

(The documents were marked "Pirinsky Exhibit 9" and filed for the information of the subcommittee.)

Mr. FORER. You will want that back, Mr. Pirinsky.

Mr. PIRINSKY. We especially want that back; that is, the bank statements and receipts.

Mr. ARENS. We will send this back to you. Will it be agreeable to you if this be returned to your attorney or do you desire that it be directly returned to the American Slav Congress?

Mr. FORER. No; I suggest that it go directly to the American Slav Congress.

Mr. PIRINSKY. I think it should be returned to the American Slav Congress.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Pirinsky, is it your testimony that you were one of the organizers of the Macedonian-American People's League?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you or did the organization receive, in recognition, the greetings of the secretary general of the Comintern?

Mr. PIRINSKY. We received a greeting from George Dimitrov to our conference in Chicago immediately after he came back from the trial in Leipzig. He was not, as far as I know from reading the newspapers at that time, the secretary general. He had just been liberated from the Fascist jail in Germany, and coming back and hearing of our conference he sent a greeting. He stated in the greeting that his parents are Macedonians; so he feels that it was proper for him to send a greeting.

Mr. DEKOM. Did that greeting from Dimitrov contain the following statement:

Only the Soviet system, as the experiences of the great Soviet Union glaringly proved, can guarantee the final liberation and the complete national unification. In this spirit, I wholeheartedly wish success to your convention?

Mr. PIRINSKY. The national liberation and unification of Macedonia?

Mr. DEKOM. I am quoting from the Daily Worker of August 31, 1935.

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't recall the exact content of the greeting. It was a greeting.

Mr. DEKOM. Where did the greeting originate? From what country and what city did it originate?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I think it came from the Soviet Union, since he went there after he was liberated from Germany.

Mr. DEKOM. Was this greeting part of an article written by you for the Daily Worker?

Mr. PIRINSKY. It might have been; I don't recall.

Mr. DEKOM. May I show you the issue and ask you if it was?

[The Daily Worker of August 31, 1935,¹ was shown to the witness.]

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know a person by the name of Peter Grigorov?

Mr. PIRINSKY. In my course of activities I know thousands of people throughout the country, but I don't know if I am brought here to be questioned as to whom I know and whom I don't know.

Senator EASTLAND. Answer the question, please.

Mr. PIRINSKY. I know many people throughout the United States. Yes; I know him.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you tell us where he is now?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I think he is in Bulgaria.

Mr. DEKOM. Does he or did he hold, to your knowledge, an official position?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't know what position he has there.

Mr. DEKOM. You say he does or does not?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Maybe he does; I don't know. I haven't been in Bulgaria.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know a man by the name of Victor Sharenkov?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes; I do.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know what he did in this country?

Mr. PIRINSKY. He was president of the Bulgarian-American People's League and also he edited the paper in Detroit.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you name the paper?

Mr. PIRINSKY. The Narodna Volya.

Mr. DEKOM. Is the Bulgarian-American People's League one of those listed by the Attorney General as subversive?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Where is Victor Sharenkov now?

Mr. PIRINSKY. In Bulgaria, I think. I read in the paper he has returned.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know a man by the name of Boleslaw Gebert or "Bill" Gebert?

Mr. PIRINSKY. What is the purpose of asking me? I told you I know thousands of people.

Senator EASTLAND. Answer the question, please.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know a person by the name of Boleslaw Gebert?

¹ The full text of the article will be found in appendix VI, p. A108.

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes; he is the president of the Polonia Society. He also participated in the activities of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. DEKOM. He participated in the activities of the American Slav Congress?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I think he attended the convention.

Mr. DEKOM. The Polonia Society that you mentioned, is that part of the International Workers Order?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I believe so.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not it is listed by the Attorney General as subversive?¹

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Where is Boleslaw Gebert now?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. You do not know that he is in Poland now?

Mr. PIRINSKY. It might be. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know Alexander Rizov?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes; I do.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you tell us what his activity here was and your connection with him?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I understand he was a student.

Mr. DEKOM. Where is he now?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I think in Bulgaria.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know a man by the name of Mirko Markovich?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes; I do.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you tell us what he did here?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I think he was editor of a Serbian paper in Pittsburgh.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you give us the name of the paper?

Mr. PIRINSKY. The Slobodna Rec.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I think he is in Yugoslavia?

Mr. DEKOM. He is in Yugoslavia?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not he has recently been arrested for Cominform activities in Yugoslavia?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know a man by the name of Anthony Minerich?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know anything of his activities?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I think he works on a Croatian paper in Pittsburgh.

Mr. DEKOM. And the name of that paper is?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Narodni Glasnik.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know that he was an official of the Young Communists' League and of the Communist Party?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I do not know that.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you know a man by the name of Stephen Loyen or Stjepan Lojen?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I think he has attended also the Conference of the Slav Congress, but I don't recall exactly.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't know.

¹The International Workers Order is listed as "Communist" by the Attorney General, see appendix II, p. A8.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Chairman, we will introduce into the record the fact that Stephen Loyen is now in Yugoslavia.¹

Mr. PIRINSKY, in the latest issue of the Slavic American, whose picture is that on the front page?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Fadeyev.²

Mr. DEKOM. Would you identify him for the committee?

Mr. PIRINSKY. He was one of the delegates to the peace conference.

Mr. DEKOM. From what country?

Mr. PIRINSKY. From the Soviet Union.

Mr. DEKOM. He was the Soviet delegate to the recent peace conference in New York?³

Mr. PIRINSKY. That is what I read in the newspapers. I did not meet him.

Mr. DEKOM. Did the American Slav Congress ever send any delegates to a foreign country for any activity?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes; we sent fraternal delegates to the congress in Belgrade, in 1946.⁴

Mr. DEKOM. Would you name the delegates?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't recall all of their names.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you submit them for the record, as soon as you can refresh your memory?

Mr. PIRINSKY. You will find them in some of the material that I submitted, because we published all this. This is all a public record.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know Steve Nelson?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes; I know him.

Mr. DEKOM. Could you identify him?

Mr. PIRINSKY. What do you mean?

Mr. DEKOM. Is he the same Steve Nelson who is the Communist Party organizer in Pittsburgh?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you tell us your connection with him?

Mr. PIRINSKY. He is a Croatian; he is a Slav. I have met him in some of the restaurants in New York where Yugoslavs eat there.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been to the Yugoslavenski Dom⁵ in New York City?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What has been your connection with the Yugoslavenski Dom in New York City?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I am one of the members of the corporation.

Mr. DEKOM. Who is the president of that?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I go there mostly for meetings of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. ARENS. It is a fact—is it not—that the Yugoslavenski Dom is Communist-controlled?

Mr. PIRINSKY. That I wouldn't say.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a stockholder in the Yugoslavenski Dom?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes.

¹ Stephen Loyen's return as a repatriate to Yugoslavia is reported in the newspaper *Slobodna Dalmacija* (Free Dalmatia), official organ of the (Communist) People's Front of Dalmatia, September 1, 1947, p. 1.

² Alexander A. Fadeyev (Fadeev), secretary general of the Union of Soviet Writers.

³ Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, March 25-27, 1949.

⁴ The first postwar All-Slav Congress.

⁵ Also known as the Yugoslavenski-Americki Dom or the Yugoslav-American Home.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been a stockholder in the Yugo-slavenski Dom?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Since it was organized. I bought a share for \$50.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you ever heard of a Bulgarian Communist newspaper called Saznanye?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you tell us what your connection with Saznanye was?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I was contributing to the paper.

Mr. DEKOM. You mean money or articles?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Articles.

Mr. DEKOM. Under what name were you contributing articles?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Under my name and the name that I have from the old country. In the old country, my name was George Nikolov Zaikov. They usually have three names there. When I came to this country, I started to write in the newspapers under the name of Pirinsky in order to save my younger brother and other members of the family who are living in Fascist Bulgaria and who were being prosecuted because I was opposing the Fascist government.

Senator EASTLAND. You came to this country in 1926?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No; 1921.¹

Senator EASTLAND. You changed your name at that time?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I did not change it. I started to write under this name.

Senator EASTLAND. In 1921?¹

Mr. PIRINSKY. Around 1924, 1925, or 1926; I don't recall now.

Senator EASTLAND. Did Bulgaria have a Fascist government at that time?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes; before I left the country. I left the country on the 10th of July 1923.

Senator EASTLAND. You wrote under this name, now, frankly, because you were a Communist and you thought your people in Bulgaria would be prosecuted for that reason?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I started writing under this name—first I started writing poetry at that time. I felt that I would use some other name. I think this is usually done by writers. The political purpose was because in 1923, on June 9, the Fascist forces overthrew, through a coup d'état, the Peasant government. I was just graduating from high school.

Senator EASTLAND. It was a government that was violently anti-Communist; was it not?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Which?

Senator EASTLAND. The government in Bulgaria at that time.

Mr. PIRINSKY. It was pro-Nazi. Professor Tsankov² and the others sold Bulgaria to Hitler.

Senator EASTLAND. But Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933.

Mr. PIRINSKY. Before that they established fascism in Bulgaria; that is, before Germany.

Senator EASTLAND. And sold Bulgaria to Hitler in 1924? That is what you are testifying.

Mr. PIRINSKY. I also said that the Bulgarian Fascists started even before Hitler.

¹ The witness subsequently stated this date was 1923.

² Prof. Aleksander Tsankov, last Bulgarian Prime Minister during Nazi occupation.

Mr. ARENS. In the Yugoslavenski Dom organization, is there a split at the present time between the Tito faction and the Cominform faction?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't know, because I have not attended any meeting. I just bought a share of \$50.

Mr. ARENS. By faction, do you sympathize with the Tito faction or the Cominform faction?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I have not been at any of their meetings to discuss the question.

Mr. ARENS. When was the last time that you were in attendance at one of the meetings?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I was in the Yugoslavenski Dom three days ago, but it was at a meeting of the American Slav Congress. I spoke there. I have not attended the meetings of the corporation.

Mr. ARENS. Which group do you sympathize with in your views, the Tito faction or the Cominform faction?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Is that the purpose of this hearing?

Senator EASTLAND. I do not think that is pertinent. You do not have to answer that question.

I would like to know what dealings, if any, you have had with officials and parties or representatives of the Russian Embassy, the Polish Embassy, the Yugoslav Embassy, the Czechoslovak Embassy, the Rumanian Legation, the Bulgarian, or Hungarian Legations?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Some of these embassies I have not been to at all. I don't know anybody. The other embassies, like the Soviet Embassy, I have gone there to ask them—especially around the Third Congress of the American Slav Congress—to help us bring some of these cultural forces here to attend our conference and bring greetings. For cultural relations with the Slavic countries, we go sometime and ask them also for some of their publications, so that we can read also from their side what is taking place.

Senator EASTLAND. Whom did you contact at the Russian Embassy?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't know the people. I haven't been there for about 3 years. At the time our delegates were here, they had a reception for the delegates.

Senator EASTLAND. What other embassies have you had contact with?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I have been in the Yugoslav Embassy.

Senator EASTLAND. Whom did you contact there?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Mr. Kosanovic,¹ the Ambassador.

Mr. ARENS. What was the purpose of your contacting him?

Mr. PIRINSKY. To establish this cultural relation with Yugoslavia, to ask them to send delegates to the conference of the American Slav Congress.

Senator EASTLAND. Have you been contacted in the United States by any agent or representative of the Communist Party of any country in the world, and have you been contacted in the United States by any representative or agent of any foreign government?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Some of these people have written us and some of them also came to the office for a copy of the Slavic American.

Senator EASTLAND. Who was that?

¹ Sava N. Kosanovic.

Mr. PIRINSKY. From the Yugoslav Embassy, nobody has come, as I remember. From the Soviet Embassy, I don't recall of anybody coming to the office here.

Senator EASTLAND. You say no one from the Soviet Embassy has contacted you?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Nobody has come to the Slav Congress.

Senator EASTLAND. Have they contacted you anywhere?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No; I have come to ask them for this material. I have come to their consulates.

Senator EASTLAND. Have you been contacted by any representative of the Soviet Embassy, the Soviet Government, or Communist Party in any other place in this country?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't recall. If they wanted some publication or things like that, maybe I have given it to them, but I don't recall of anyone coming to the office of the Slav Congress to contact us.

Senator EASTLAND. Have you been contacted by any representative, any agent, any employee of the United Nations?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't recall. I went to the United Nations a few times and I spoke there in the lobby with some of the Slavic representatives there. I was interested in this situation in Greece and I spoke to them of it.

Senator EASTLAND. To whom did you speak?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I spoke to the Yugoslav delegates, to the Bulgarian Professor Mevorah,¹ who was here at that time.

Senator EASTLAND. What was the purpose of that meeting?

Mr. PIRINSKY. The United Nations? They were discussing the Balkan situation; the Balkan Commission had made a report on Greece.

Senator EASTLAND. What did you have to do with it?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I didn't have anything to do with it. I wanted to find out what the situation was in Greece and what their stand was; that is, are they against or for the Greek Government there.

Senator EASTLAND. What was your position?

Mr. PIRINSKY. My position is that of representative of the Macedonian-American People's League. I am strongly opposed to the present regime in Greece.

Senator EASTLAND. Have you been contacted by any agent or representative of the Communist Party or any affiliated organization?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't know which are the affiliated organizations of the Communist Party. I have spoken in the Yugoslav Home² there with Steven Nelson, for instance.

Senator EASTLAND. Have you ever been employed by the Communist Party?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No; never.

Senator EASTLAND. Have you ever been affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. PIRINSKY. That was the question that came up at the beginning, and I stated that I am having immigration hearings on that question.

Senator EASTLAND. Were you ever contacted by Gerhart Eisler?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No.

Senator EASTLAND. Were you ever contacted by J. Peters?

¹ Nissim Mevorah, Bulgarian Minister to the United States.

² Also known as the Jugoslavenski-Americki Dom or the Yugoslav-American Home.

Mr. PIRINSKY. No.

Senator EASTLAND. Did any representative of an international organization from any of the Iron Curtain countries—and by that I mean the Balkan satellites of Russia—ever contact you in the United States?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No. They came to our conventions as delegates.

Senator EASTLAND. That is the only time you were contacted?

Mr. PIRINSKY. The only time I met with these people, that I recall. I might have on other occasions where I have asked them for their publications or they have asked for our publications, but I don't recall.

Mr. DEKOM. Have any members of the legations, consulates, or the United Nations delegates or officials of iron curtain countries, other than the delegates at the 1946 convention, spoken before any of the Slav Congress meetings?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Not that I recall.

Mr. DEKOM. You do not recall?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you give us the names of all delegates who came there in 1946?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I think they are mentioned here in this folder that I gave you, dealing with the Third American-Slav Congress. All their names are there; their pictures are there, and some of their statements. I do not recall all of them.

Mr. DEKOM. What is your connection, that is, the connection of your organization and not you personally, with the All-Slav Committee in Moscow, or the All-Slav movement in Moscow?

Mr. PIRINSKY. We don't have any connection. We exchange greetings, usually on the occasion of New Year, and so forth. Sometimes we write them for their publications.

Mr. DEKOM. Has there ever been any connection between them?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No organizational connection. The American Slav Congress is fully independent.

Mr. DEKOM. Has any action of the American Slav Congress ever been taken in response to an appeal or a request of the All-Slav Committee or Congress in Moscow?

Mr. PIRINSKY. During the war, they appealed to all Slavs throughout the world to fight fascism. We were in full agreement with that. That was our purpose.

Senator EASTLAND. Before Germany attacked Russia?

Mr. PIRINSKY. There was no Slav Congress at that time, Senator.

Senator EASTLAND. You were with the Macedonian People's League at that time, were you not, in 1940 and 1941?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. Before Germany attacked Russia, what was the position of that organization?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't recall exactly what was the position. We have been opposed to fascism since the organization was founded.

Senator EASTLAND. But when Germany and Russia were allies, was not the Macedonian People's League favorable to Russia and the Nazis at that time?

Mr. PIRINSKY. We never have been favorable to the Nazis. We always have opposed the Nazis.

Senator EASTLAND. Did it not support that combination of those two countries?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't think so; I don't recall.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you not write anything around that time?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't recall if I have written anything around that time. Maybe I have.

Senator EASTLAND. You say maybe you have?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Maybe I have; I don't recall.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Pirinsky, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I decline to answer this question on the basis of self-incrimination in connection with the trial that I have.

Senator EASTLAND. Is it a crime to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No. I have stated my views on many occasions very openly, but I feel in view of that trial—

Senator EASTLAND. What are the views that you have stated Mr. Pirinsky?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I have that trial and I think that question I will answer then, 2 weeks from now.

Senator EASTLAND. Mr. Pirinsky, I want you to answer that question.

Mr. PIRINSKY. I beg your pardon?

Senator EASTLAND. I want you to answer that question.

Mr. PIRINSKY. Which question?

Mr. ARENS. The question is: Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

(Mr. Pirinsky consults with his counsel, Mr. Forer.)

Mr. PIRINSKY. I refuse to answer, as I say, on the ground that it might incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Is it a crime to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Not at all; I don't consider it a crime.

Mr. ARENS. Then how could you be incriminated by answering the question, assuming you answered the question affirmatively?

Mr. PIRINSKY. With this witch hunting going on throughout the country, and then, I don't want to establish any precedent for anybody being hauled here and asked about his political opinions. This is the only reason.

Mr. ARENS. If you are not a member of the Communist Party, how could you incriminate yourself by answering the question?

Mr. PIRINSKY. It is very hard to say in the present situation.

Mr. FORER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the Chair to rule on whether he considers it proper when a man claims a constitutional privilege that counsel for the committee should try to talk him out of the claim of privilege?

Senator EASTLAND. I think he has the right to show that it is no crime. If it does not incriminate him, he is not privileged. He is in contempt of Congress.

Mr. FORER. In all deference to the committee, the man has claimed his privilege and is here acting on the advice of counsel. At that point I think you should recognize that he is privileged or rule that you do not recognize that he is privileged and not try to talk the witness into doing something else.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to submit respectfully to the acting chairman of the subcommittee that in a court of law if a witness claims that his answer would incriminate him, counsel has a right to interrogate the witness upon the area in which he would be incriminated if he should answer the question.

Mr. FORER. That is not the case at all, Mr. Chairman.

Senator DONNELL. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that we go into executive session to discuss that.

Senator EASTLAND. Very well. The committee will proceed into executive session.

(Whereupon, the committee proceeded into executive session.)

Senator EASTLAND. You are excused, Mr. Pirinsky, but you are not discharged. We will have some more questions for you in a minute.¹

Mr. Alfred A. Neuwald, alias Mathew Török.

**TESTIMONY OF ALFRED A. NEUWALD (OR MÁTYÁS TÖRÖK),
NEW YORK, N. Y.**

Mr. ARENS. Will you be sworn, Mr. Török?

Senator EASTLAND. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. NEUWALD. I do.

Senator EASTLAND. The subpoena issued to Mr. Neuwald will be placed in the record.

Mr. ARENS. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. NEUWALD. Alfred A. Neuwald.

Mr. ARENS. What other names have you gone under in the course of your lifetime, Mr. Neuwald?

Mr. NEUWALD. I used to write some Hungarian articles under the name Mathew Török, which is Hungarian. That is all.

Mr. ARENS. Would you speak a little louder, please. I have a little difficulty hearing you or understanding you.

Mr. NEUWALD. I have a sore throat.

Mr. ARENS. I see.

Mr. NEUWALD. Mathew Török.

Senator EASTLAND. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes, sir, Mr. Forer.

Mr. ARENS. Will the counsel kindly identify himself?

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer. I believe I identified myself previously in connection with the previous witness. The same identification will serve.²

Mr. ARENS. What is your occupation or business?

Mr. NEUWALD. Right now, I am unemployed since December.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment prior to that time?

Mr. NEUWALD. I was manager of a transport company in New York City.

Mr. ARENS. What was the name of the transport company?

Mr. NEUWALD. Danubia Transport Co., Inc.

Mr. ARENS. What did this transport company do?

¹ The testimony of George Pirinsky is resumed on p. 207.

² See p. 181.

Mr. NEUWALD. Almost exclusively shipping relief packages to Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and that is all.

Mr. ARENS. What contacts did you have in the course of your association with this firm with the Hungarian Legation in Washington?

Mr. NEUWALD. I had some contacts, not only out of this connection. For a while in 1947, it was planned, we heard from Hungary, that duties will be imposed on packages to Hungary, various packages to Hungary, so I did my best to persuade the Hungarian consulate and especially the Hungarian Legation not to impose duties, because that would add to the hardship of the Hungarian people, because many people couldn't send packages from here to Hungary when the duties would make it more expensive.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us about your contacts with the Hungarian Government representatives in this country in recent years, that is, since the war?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes. I am not prepared much about the dates, but I will try to recall as good as I can.

I don't know the date exactly, but I think the first contact I really had with the legation was when the wife of the Hungarian President, Zoltan Tildy, Mrs. Tildy, visited this country. At that time a kind of reception committee came together of Hungarian-Americans, and a smaller committee of five was appointed to talk to Mrs. Tildy and talk to the committee and arrange a meeting in New York, where Mrs. Tildy could talk to the Hungarians, the Americans of Hungarian descent. I was one of that committee of five. I remember the other names, the Reverend Takaro,¹ the Baptist Reverend Kocsis—²

Senator EASTLAND. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. NEUWALD. I am not yet. I am very sorry.

Mr. ARENS. I just wanted him to explain what he was doing there, Senator. The rest of those names, please.

Mr. NEUWALD. There are two. I think Mr. Abris Silverman, an art dealer, Fifty-seventh Street. That much I remember. Then we had long discussions—

Mr. ARENS. You have two more names, I believe.

Mr. NEUWALD. Five altogether, myself included. I think that is four. I don't remember the five.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you try to refresh your recollection and get the name of the fifth member for the committee?

Mr. NEUWALD. I will try and if I remember I will tell you. But right now I don't remember the fifth. I am not prepared. I didn't know why I was coming here.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir. May I ask you when did you gain admission into the United States?

Mr. NEUWALD. In 1934, January 31, I came as an immigrant. Before that, I came here as a visitor.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. NEUWALD. I was born in Hungary in a part of Hungary which later became Czechoslovakia. So I became automatically a Czechoslovakian citizen. When I came to this country, I traveled with a Czechoslovak passport.

Mr. ARENS. What association do you have with persons of Hungarian origin who are in the United States?

¹ Rev. Geza Takaro, whose testimony appears on p. 864.

² Rev. Emery Kocsis.

Mr. NEUWALD. I have been secretary, first, in Los Angeles, of a branch of the Hungarian-American Council for Democracy.

Mr. ARENS. Now tell us about that organization and move on to the next organization.

Mr. NEUWALD. I recall that, I think in 1943 in Chicago, a meeting came together and issued a statement in which they declared that Americans of Hungarian descent should do their utmost to help the war efforts of the United States and help to liberate Hungary from the Fascists and Hitler. This publication was published in Hungarian and I think in American-language papers, some English-language papers. That was all that we had.

Mr. ARENS. What was the membership of the organization?

Mr. NEUWALD. No membership of the organization. We never had membership of the organization.

Mr. ARENS. But you were secretary of the organization.

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes; branch secretary of the Los Angeles branch because I lived there until 1945.

Mr. ARENS. Did that organization work among persons of Hungarian descent?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes. The whole activity of this organization was to hold meetings and talk to the people, to do your best to buy your war bonds, to save, the usual war work, but we never had any organization, just a few people, a president and secretary and treasurer.

Mr. ARENS. Who were the other members of the organization, other officers, other than yourself?

Mr. NEUWALD. The national president was a wonderful man you all know, Bela Lugosi, who was a star of Hungarian descent. The national secretary was a man, Dr. Moses Simon. Back in Hollywood, the chairman was a very well-known playwright, the author of Ninotchka and many other films. His name is Melchior Lengyel. I was secretary of that branch. The treasurer was a Mr. Deutsch. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Is your organization still in existence?

Mr. NEUWALD. No. Long ago it stopped to exist.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us about some other organizations with which you have been affiliated.

Mr. NEUWALD. I think in 1944, I am sure, in the summer, I had a long conversation with the Catholic priest of Los Angeles, Mátyás Láni, and a gentleman from Washington. His name is Dr. Tibor Kerekes. He is a professor of the Georgetown University. We came to the conclusion that a relief organization should be prepared for the people of Hungary in case the war should end victoriously, naturally, and all Hungarians in this country should join the efforts and send relief to the people of Hungary.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you send those packages?

Mr. NEUWALD. Not only packages, but clothing, a relief organization.

Senator EASTLAND. Were they sent to the government or to individuals in the country?

Mr. NEUWALD. Not individuals. It should be organized somehow so that the most needy people should get the aid.

Senator EASTLAND. Who handled it over there?

Mr. NEUWALD. I will come to it if you will allow me, Senator.

Mr. ARENS. Is this the Hungarian-American Council for Democracy you are speaking about?

Mr. NEUWALD. I am speaking about the relief organization which was formed, and later in 1945, I think, the first days of April 1945, I became the associate secretary of that relief organization. For that organization I worked for exactly 1 year. I was not rehired because it started to save on expenses.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you how many persons of Hungarian descent in the United States did you make contact with for this organization you are talking about now?

Mr. NEUWALD. Personally, I really can't count, because we had meetings, relief meetings. Right now, I am sometimes embarrassed because people know me and I don't know them.

Mr. ARENS. I don't mean how many you knew personally, but how many persons were contacted by the organization through their mailing lists or their meetings?

Mr. NEUWALD. I think all Hungarian organizations in this country have been contacted.

Mr. ARENS. How many persons, though?

Mr. NEUWALD. I don't want to make any hasty statement. The number of Hungarians in this country and the number of members in the organization is a big question mark to all of us. Some say there are a million Hungarians here. Others say only half a million. Some say this organization has 50 members. Others say 4,000. We don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Did your organization undertake to contact as many persons of Hungarian descent in the United States as possible?

Mr. NEUWALD. Correct. All the reverends, all the organization secretaries, all the churches were asked to go to the members, collect clothing, collect money, and we should through our organization send it to Hungary. Now I come to the distribution. This relief organization was under the control of the President's War Relief Organization,¹ a committee here in this country, here in Washington. As much as I know, we did have a permit to send all these shipments to Hungary. The relief organization established its own office in Budapest.

Senator EASTLAND. Your organization?

Mr. NEUWALD. The relief organization.

Senator EASTLAND. Your relief organization?

Mr. NEUWALD. It was all Hungarians. It was not mine. I was secretary. I was paid by the organization.

Senator EASTLAND. It had its own office in Hungary?

Mr. NEUWALD. It had a representative, a small office in Hungary. By the way, at the beginning, now I recall, the military representative of the United States, Colonel Kovacs,² did wonderful work overseeing the distribution of the relief material to the people of Hungary.

Mr. DEKOM. You testified a moment ago you were an official of the Hungarian-American Council for Democracy, of which Bela Lugosi was national president.

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that one of the organizations listed by the Attorney General as Communist?

¹ President's War Relief Control Board.

² Col. George Kovacs.

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes. Later it became. When this listing came out, the council created—it didn't exist. It was just a paper name.

Senator EASTLAND. Have you ever done work for the Communist Party?

Mr. NEUWALD. No; I never did.

Senator EASTLAND. What Communist-front organizations are you affiliated with?

Mr. NEUWALD. I am not affiliated with any organization which to my knowledge is Communist.

Mr. DEKOM. What was your connection with the International Workers Order?

Mr. NEUWALD. I knew the secretary. I knew several members of it. I think I have—I don't know whether I still have, because I didn't pay my things for a thousand dollars insurance in this organization—

Mr. DEKOM. You were affiliated with that organization as a member or policyholder?

Mr. NEUWALD. If you call that to have a \$1,000 insurance policy, then I have a \$1,000 policy.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not that organization has been listed as Communist by the Attorney General of the United States?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes; I do. I know it has.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know a man by the name of John Florian, or Florian János?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes; I know him.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you identify him, please?

Mr. NEUWALD. I think he is back in Hungary now. He was the first secretary of the Hungarian Legation and I met him several times.

Mr. DEKOM. What was the nature of your relationship with Mr. Florian?

Mr. NEUWALD. That question leads me to another organization which I was working for and with. That was in 1947, when about the same people, the same reverends, the same Americans of Hungarian descent, came together and decided that in the view of the fact that 1948 would be the centennial year of Louis Kossuth's revolution against the Hapsburgs we should celebrate the centennial here in the United States. At that time we came with this idea to the minister from Hungary, Prof. Rustem Vámbéry, and made the first contact with the legation regarding the celebration. We made the first contact with him and with the legation that the Hungarians would like to celebrate this centennial here in this country. At that time I think I met him for the first time. I am not sure, because it wasn't important to me, but I think I met him.

Senator EASTLAND. You say you never have done any work for the Communist Party?

Mr. NEUWALD. I never have.

Senator EASTLAND. Have you ever been affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. NEUWALD. Being an alien, Senator, I think I should be excused from answering this question because it might incriminate me. I don't want to seem—

Senator EASTLAND. Who told you to say that?

Mr. NEUWALD. I asked my counsel just before.

Senator EASTLAND. Is he your counsel?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. Did you employ him?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. When did you employ him?

Mr. NEUWALD. Just yesterday.

Senator EASTLAND. Who sent you to him?

Mr. NEUWALD. Do I have to answer that?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes; you have to answer that.

Mr. FORER. Mr. Chairman—

Senator EASTLAND. You keep quiet. Wait a minute. I want you to answer that question.

Mr. NEUWALD. I went up to a lawyer I know in New York.

Senator EASTLAND. Who was that lawyer?

Mr. NEUWALD. Martin Popper.

Senator EASTLAND. He can decline if he wants to, but if he declines it is at his peril.

Mr. FORER. I am advising him of his rights.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NEUWALD. I refuse to answer this question because it might incriminate me.

Senator EASTLAND. You refuse to answer?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you prefer to be called Török or Neuwald?

Mr. NEUWALD. Neuwald.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you tell us what type of connection, what type of work or service, or what activities you engaged in, in connection with Mr. Florian of the Hungarian Legation?

Mr. NEUWALD. I was informed, as secretary of the centennial committee, that finally the Hungarian Government would give a visitor's visa to all those Americans of Hungarian descent who would go to Hungary to the centennial celebrations in Hungary. The Legation asked me, Florian and Dr. Sik,¹ the Minister from Hungary, asked me whether I would be kind enough to give them information as the Secretary of the centennial committee, whether the persons they were going to ask could be regarded as visitors, centennial visitors to Hungary, in which case they would get a visa.

Mr. DEKOM. Isn't it a fact that your function was to pass on the reliability, as far as the Communists were concerned, of the people who went over, that you would be consulted to pass upon visa applications?

Mr. NEUWALD. Absolutely not. The matter of fact is that I recall I don't know how many hundreds and hundreds of such yellow sheets have been shown to me. I remember I think, except two or three cases, I always said, yes; these people should be accepted as centennial visitors, because I really did my utmost to help these people to go back to Hungary and visit Hungary after so many years of war and trouble from Europe.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you tell the committee why a Communist official would have you, who are presumably an American immigrant,

¹ Andrew Sik.

pass upon visa applications of other American citizens of Hungarian descent?

Mr. NEUWALD. I don't know what you mean.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Florian was an admitted member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NEUWALD. To me Mr. Florian was sitting in the consulate of Hungary and asked me, as the secretary of the organization, my opinion, which was 99 percent affirmative, yes, those people should go.

Senator EASTLAND. He was requested to leave this country by the Government of the United States; was he not?

Mr. NEUWALD. I think I read it in the paper but I am not sure whether that is the case or not.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not Mr. Florian was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NEUWALD. I know it from the papers that he was always called a member of the Communist Party but I never discussed with him this point.

Senator EASTLAND. Is it not true, now, that you are the head of the Hungarian branch of the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. NEUWALD. I was what?

Senator EASTLAND. It is true, is it not, that today you are the head of the Hungarian branch of the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. NEUWALD. That is absolutely not true.

Senator EASTLAND. You say under oath that that is false?

Mr. NEUWALD. I say it under oath.

Mr. ARENS. Will you then answer the question, Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NEUWALD. I still have to refuse because it may incriminate me.

Senator EASTLAND. Were you in the Army during the First World War?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. The army of what country?

Mr. NEUWALD. I was in the Hungarian Army.

Senator EASTLAND. Were you in combat?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. You came to this country in what year?

Mr. NEUWALD. I immigrated to this country in 1934.¹

TESTIMONY OF PAUL MARIK, FORMER CONSUL GENERAL OF HUNGARY

Mr. ARENS. Will Mr. Marik please come forward?

Would you kindly be sworn?

Senator EASTLAND. Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MARIK. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Marik, would you kindly state your full name for the record?

Mr. MARIK. Paul Marik.²

¹ The testimony of Alfred Neuwald is resumed on p. 207.

² The witness appeared under subpoena.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly identify yourself by occupation and residence?

Mr. MARIK. I was a former Hungarian consul general in Cleveland, Ohio. Before that, I was counselor of the Hungarian Legation here and for a time I was Chargé d'Affaires at the Hungarian Legation.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you associated in these respective capacities which you have referred to?

Mr. MARIK. Since December 1945.

Mr. ARENS. When did you sever your connections with the Hungarian Government?

Mr. MARIK. I severed connections in February 14, 1948.

Mr. ARENS. Why did you sever your connection?

Mr. MARIK. For political reasons.

Mr. ARENS. What do you mean by that?

Mr. MARIK. For political reasons, the Cardinal Mindszenty trial.

Mr. ARENS. Are you personally acquainted or do you know the witness who has just been speaking?

Mr. MARIK. Yes; I met him several times. I didn't know him as Mr. Neuwald. I used to know him as Mr. Török.

Mr. ARENS. Upon what occasions have you met him or had contact with him?

Mr. MARIK. I had contact with Mr. Török as director of the Danubia Transport Co., New York, and also as the secretary of the centennial committee in New York.

Mr. ARENS. What committee is that?

Mr. MARIK. The centennial committee was formed in New York under the patronage of Minister Vámbéry¹ to celebrate the anniversary of the 1848 revolution.

Mr. ARENS. Upon what occasions have you seen him in the consulate where you were employed or engaged?

Mr. MARIK. He never appeared at the consulate where I was employed or engaged, because I was in Cleveland and I had nothing to do with the New York consulate. I saw Mr. Török once up in the consulate in New York, when I visited the New York consulate on official business connected with the Cleveland and the New York consulates.

Mr. ARENS. What was the nature of his business at that consulate? Do you know?

Mr. MARIK. I couldn't tell you what was the nature. I know he called on Mr. Florian who was in charge of issuing visas there.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you ever seen them together?

Mr. MARIK. I saw them at the time up at the consulate in New York; Mr. Florian had some documents in his hand, I believe; I am not positive. There was a third man present, a clerk called Mr. Cserna.²

Mr. DEKOM. What were they doing?

Mr. MARIK. They were sitting in a room. I entered the room only to say "hello" and "goodby" to Mr. Florian, and there I saw Mr. Török and the third man.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you ever seen them passing or studying visa applications?

¹ Rustem Vámbéry.

² Zoltan Cserna.

Mr. MARIK. No; not as far as I know.

Mr. DEKOM. What is your knowledge on that subject?

Mr. MARIK. The Hungarian Government in 1947 steadfastly refused to give visas to American citizens. On the other hand, the Hungarian World Federation in Budapest invited Hungarians all over the world to come and visit Hungary in 1948. The visa applications started to stream into the New York consulate and they were referred back to Budapest. Those applications were submitted to Budapest and they were refused. Then Mr. Török and some of the other members of the committee protested at the Legation, saying that the Hungarians are invited to go over to Hungary and they are refusing to give them visas. Minister Vámbéry forwarded the protest to Hungary and was instrumental in obtaining the Ministry's permission to issue a limited number of so-called centennial visas for American citizens of Hungarian origin who wanted to visit Hungary in 1948. Then Mr. Florian was sent up to New York to pass on those applications. I later became the consul general at Cleveland but I was not authorized to pass on those applications. All the visa applications had to be forwarded to New York, to the consulate there.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know why that procedure was established?

Mr. MARIK. I have no exact knowledge, but I presume it was so that Mr. Florian, who was known to be a trusted member of the Hungarian Communist Party, should pass on those applications.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not Mr. Florian was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MARIK. Oh, yes. He was very proud of it.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know his connection with the Hungarian secret police?

Mr. MARIK. Rumors in Budapest had it that he was connected with the Hungarian secret police. I don't know whether it is true or not. It is just rumors.

Mr. ARENS. We don't want rumors. We want only knowledge that you have.

Mr. DEKOM. What is your knowledge of the role of Mr. Török in the issuance of these visas?

Mr. MARIK. Nothing definite, except what I heard and read of Mr. Alth's statement. Mr. Alth,¹ by the way, is the former Hungarian consul in New York. I have a very high regard for his integrity.

Mr. DEKOM. Where is he now?

Mr. MARIK. In Houston, Tex. He resigned from the service.

Senator EASTLAND. You say Mr. Florian was a Communist?

Mr. MARIK. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you know anything about this gentleman's connection with the Communist Party?

Mr. MARIK. No. I know that Mr. Török was secretary of the American-Hungarian Council for Democracy, which later was named a subversive organization, but I did not know and couldn't say whether he was a member of the Communist Party or not.

Senator EASTLAND. Was he considered a Communist around the table?

Mr. MARIK. He was considered an extreme radical, I should say.

Senator EASTLAND. A fellow traveler with the Communists?

¹ Aurel Alth.

Mr. MARIK. Yes. Whether he was actually a member of the Communist Party, I have no knowledge.

Senator EASTLAND. But an extreme radical?

Mr. MARIK. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. Was this gentleman, Mr. Török, around the consulate frequently?

Mr. MARIK. I can't speak for the consulate in New York. As I say, I was not stationed there. The members of the consulate would be able to tell you that information. I was in New York only for 1 day for a short visit when Mr. Florian was there.

Senator EASTLAND. He constantly associated with Communists?

Mr. MARIK. I beg your pardon?

Senator EASTLAND. He constantly associated with Florian and other Communists?

Mr. MARIK. That was in New York and I wouldn't be able to tell you. I will have to emphasize that I was stationed here in Washington and also in Cleveland, Ohio, rather than New York. All this that we are referring to, sir, has taken place in New York.

Mr. DEKOM. Was he ever to your knowledge at the Legation in Washington?

Mr. MARIK. Oh, yes; he called in 1946, when the Legation was established. I believe Mr. Török was there. Then he was there again sometime in 1947.

Senator EASTLAND. What name did he use then?

Mr. MARIK. Always Török. This is the first time I heard that he was called Neuwald.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE PIRINSKY AND ALFRED NEUWALD— Resumed

Mr. DEKOM. Is any member of your family, Mr. Neuwald, in Hungary now, any member of your immediate family?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes; my only sister. Not my only; the only sister living is in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and remaining alive. That sister is my oldest sister. The others have been killed by Hitler. She is 70 years old. She has two daughters. A brother of mine is now in Hungary. His name is Eugene Neuwald. He is visiting there.

Mr. DEKOM. Your brother?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes; my brother.

Mr. DEKOM. He is visiting Hungary?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. No other members of your immediate family?

Mr. NEUWALD. Nobody else. The sister of mine and two daughters of hers, and a brother who is visiting there.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you or your wife been in Hungary since the war?

Mr. NEUWALD. I have been in 1947 for exactly 19 days, for business reasons for my company, Danubia Transport. I spent 19 days there.

Mr. DEKOM. Your wife has not been in Hungary; is that your testimony?

Mr. NEUWALD. My wife was never in Hungary.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you provide any travel facilities, I mean steamship tickets or things of that sort for persons who wanted to go abroad?

Mr. NEUWALD. No. We planned to have some facilities for these people. We talked to the steamship companies to make reservations

but the whole thing didn't work out, this whole plan. This committee gave up that undertaking.

Mr. DEKOM. You only handled parcels. You did not take care of travel arrangements; is that true?

Mr. NEUWALD. There was an organization; there was a company here, not a business company, the name of which was Travel to Hungary, Inc., which I helped establish and which did not sell but tried to facilitate to get tickets through steamship lines.

Mr. DEKOM. How did the company earn its money? Did it get a percentage or how?

Mr. NEUWALD. It tried to make a service charge, but the end result was that we lost lots of money and had to make it good.

Mr. DEKOM. Did John Florian ever consult with you with reference to any person who wanted to travel to Hungary?

Mr. NEUWALD. The only consultation which, as I told you before, was a certain amount of these visa applications had been shown to me as the secretary of the centennial committee. The question was, Do you or don't you regard this person as a bona fide centennial visitor?

Mr. DEKOM. What other kind of persons would there have been, other than bona fide centennial visitors?

Mr. NEUWALD. Business travelers, commercial things, making some other visits in Hungary.

Mr. DEKOM. For example? Commercial, business?

Mr. NEUWALD. To visit the family and having visits with the family having nothing to do with the celebrations there.

Mr. DEKOM. Then you were consulted on the issuance of visas?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. By Mr. Florian?

Mr. NEUWALD. By Mr. Florian.

Mr. DEKOM. I see.

Senator EASTLAND. He testified to that.

Mr. NEUWALD. I have forgotten the name you mentioned before.

Mr. MARIK. Alth? Cserna?

Mr. NEUWALD. Cserna, I emphasize very much—

Senator EASTLAND. Why were you selected?

Mr. NEUWALD. Because I was secretary of that centennial committee.

Senator EASTLAND. Because they knew you would select the kind of people, the type of people that they desired. That is true, too, is it not?

Mr. NEUWALD. No. If they had that idea in mind, Senator, very soon they had to give up that idea, because, as I mentioned before, maybe except two or three people, everybody was recommended. I was one of those people.

Senator EASTLAND. Has an attempt ever been made to deport you?

Mr. NEUWALD. No; not any question ever. They never questioned me. This is the first questioning since I have been in this country in front of any official body.

(Brief recess for executive session.)

Senator EASTLAND. The committee will come to order. Let the record show that a majority of the subcommittee is now present, Senator Langer, Senator Donnell, Senator Eastland being in attendance.

Mr. Neuwald, will you please stand? Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before the Immigration Subcommittee

of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. NEUWALD. I do.

Senator EASTLAND. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NEUWALD. Senator, as I stated before, I have to refuse to answer this question because it might incriminate me.

Mr. YOUNG. On what grounds are you relying in standing mute, sir?

Mr. NEUWALD. What is that?

Mr. YOUNG. Upon what grounds are you relying when you stand mute?

Mr. FORER. He stated them already.

Senator EASTLAND. I want the record to show there is a quorum present. Why do you refuse to answer the question, Mr. Török?

Mr. NEUWALD. I am not legally educated enough to explain that. My conviction is that if I answered that question—

Senator EASTLAND. You understand the question.

Mr. NEUWALD. I understand the question. I think it might incriminate me later.

Senator EASTLAND. Is it a crime to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NEUWALD. I don't think it is a crime in this country to be a member.

Senator EASTLAND. How would it incriminate you?

Mr. FORER. May I make the same objection I made before?

Senator EASTLAND. No, sir.

Mr. NEUWALD. I am afraid to touch this question because it might incriminate me whatever I say.

Senator EASTLAND. What political organizations do you belong to in the United States, Mr. Török?

Mr. NEUWALD. On the same ground I would refuse to answer this question. It might incriminate me.

Senator EASTLAND. What subversive organizations in the United States do you belong to?

Mr. NEUWALD. I don't regard organizations subversive. I stated before, I have been secretary of the Hungarian-American Council for Democracy which became, was at least in the opinion of Attorney General Clark, subversive. I have an insurance policy from the—

Senator EASTLAND. Is that the only organization you belong to, of which you are a member?

Mr. NEUWALD. I have an insurance policy from the International Workers Order, \$1,000 insurance.

Senator EASTLAND. Are you now or have you ever been a Communist?

Mr. NEUWALD. I have to refuse to answer on the same grounds. It might incriminate me.

Senator EASTLAND. What contact, if any, have you had with agents or representatives of the Russian Government?

Mr. NEUWALD. Never any.

Senator EASTLAND. What contacts have you had with agents or representatives of the International Communist movement?

Mr. NEUWALD. Knowingly, I have never had any contact. If I met one, I didn't know that he is a member of any organization.

Senator EASTLAND. Your attorney is present. You have an attorney present?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. On the advice of the attorney you stand mute and refuse to answer the question about your political affiliations.

Mr. NEUWALD. That is right.

Senator EASTLAND. Mr. Pirinsky?

Mr. FORER. Is this witness excused?

Senator EASTLAND. He can sit back there. I am not going to excuse him.

Senator LANGER. I would like to ask him a few questions if I may.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before the Immigration Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I do.

Senator EASTLAND. What is your name?

Mr. PIRINSKY. George Pirinsky.

Senator EASTLAND. What is your office with the American Slav Congress?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I am the executive secretary of the American Slav Congress.

Senator EASTLAND. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Pirinsky?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I have stated already that I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might incriminate me. I explained I have an immigration case in 2 weeks based on this matter.

Senator EASTLAND. Is it a crime to be a Communist?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I don't think so.

Senator EASTLAND. Why do you decline to answer?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I stated already, in view of this hysteria and witch-hunting that is taking place about the country, I don't want to contribute to it in any way.

Senator EASTLAND. You do not think the American people should protect themselves from the traitors?

Mr. PIRINSKY. Well, I wish I was in another position to have a discussion of that, but I am not in position here to debate it.

Senator EASTLAND. Are you now or have you ever been a Communist?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I say I refuse to answer that.

Senator EASTLAND. Are you now or have you ever been affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States?

Mr. PIRINSKY. The same answer.

Senator EASTLAND. You decline to answer on the advice of your attorney, is that true?

Mr. PIRINSKY. That is correct.

Senator EASTLAND. He is present?

Mr. PIRINSKY. That is right.

Senator EASTLAND. Senator Langer?

Senator LANGER. What did you say your name was?

Mr. NEUWALD. Alfred A. Neuwald. N-e-u-w-a-l-d.

Senator LANGER. How long have you been here in the United States?

Mr. NEUWALD. I emigrated to this country in 1934.

Senator LANGER. You are a citizen of this country?

Mr. NEUWALD. I am not a citizen.

Senator LANGER. You never took out your first papers?

Mr. NEUWALD. I have the first papers.

Senator LANGER. When did you get them?

Mr. NEUWALD. Almost immediately when I came to this country I applied for the first papers.

Senator LANGER. Almost immediately?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes.

Senator LANGER. Could you give us the year and the place?

Mr. NEUWALD. In New York City. I don't remember exactly the year.

Senator LANGER. Approximately, the approximate time.

Mr. NEUWALD. Approximately 1935.

Senator LANGER. Did you try to get your second papers?

Mr. NEUWALD. Senator, it has a little story if you don't mind my telling you.

Senator LANGER. Go ahead and tell your story.

Mr. NEUWALD. I wrote and published several travel books between that time when I came until 1938, and I was engaged in hotel publicity. So between 1934 and 1938, the middle of the year 1938, I think August, I had to travel and had to spend time in Europe. The title of my book, little booklet, was "The Europe You Do Not Know," for the typical tourist, a thing describing the beauties of Europe. I came in 1938 back to the United States. On the basis of the entry permit. From 1938 until 1945 I changed my domicile a little too much. I lived in California and I came back to New York. I spent about 8 months on war work in Virginia, in building work near Williamsburg. I had a job there. I moved around and I never had the 5 years. Then I applied. When I applied for citizenship my first papers had expired. So just now I really sincerely hope that I am going to apply for citizenship and get it. My belief is very much shattered now because of this.

Senator LANGER. How do you make your living, what kind of job, what kind of work?

Mr. NEUWALD. I was, until the middle of December, manager of a transport company, and since December, that company didn't work out. I am without a job. I am trying to do something for myself and my very newly born daughter.

Senator LANGER. How many children have you?

Mr. NEUWALD. Just one, a 10-month-old daughter.

Senator LANGER. You have a wife?

Mr. NEUWALD. Yes.

Senator LANGER. Where are you living now?

Mr. NEUWALD. New York City.

Senator LANGER. This American Slav Congress—

Senator EASTLAND. He is not connected with that organization, Senator.

Mr. PIRINSKY. That is my group, not his.

Senator LANGER. Is this gentleman with any group? You are here just as an individual? What is your name, sir?

Mr. FORER. My name is Forer. I am counsel for these gentlemen.

Senator LANGER. You live in New York, too?

Mr. FORER. No; I live in Washington.

Senator LANGER. What is your name?

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer. F-o-r-e-r.

Senator LANGER. You are just trying to make an honest living over here, are you?

Mr. NEUWALD. I am. There was never a charge against me. I never was questioned anywhere since I was in this country. This is the first time I have appeared.

Senator LANGER. How old were you when you came over here?

Mr. NEUWALD. About 32.

Senator LANGER. Thirty-two years old. What school did you go to?

Mr. NEUWALD. What is that?

Senator LANGER. What schools did you go to in your home state? What country did you come from?

Mr. NEUWALD. I was born in a part of Hungary which became Czechoslovakia in 1918.

Senator LANGER. How far from Vienna?

Mr. NEUWALD. About 75 miles.

Senator LANGER. North or south or east or west?

Mr. NEUWALD. South.

Senator LANGER. Were you ever in a little town called Mitteldorf?

Mr. NEUWALD. Mitteldorf is near Vienna. I think I went through there. I lived in Vienna for several years before I came to this country. Did you wish to ask me why I came over?

Senator LANGER. Why?

Mr. NEUWALD. I came before I emigrated to this country twice as a visitor, visiting my brother who was here since 1914. I liked the country very much. I had a good living in Vienna. I was an insurance man with an insurance company. But somehow I fell in love with America and I came over of my own choice. I stayed, thinking that America should be my country.

Senator LANGER. You told the truth when you came in and got your papers. You came under your own name?

Mr. NEUWALD. I came under my own name.

Senator LANGER. Did you tell them why you came here?

Mr. NEUWALD. That name Török is an accident, because I wrote sometimes a few articles under the name Török, and since Hungarians love their Hungarian so much and Neuwald is a typical German name, the Hungarians know me under the name Török. I always pay my tax under the name Neuwald. It is really an accident. Török is identical to Neuwald. I want to emphasize that I never used the name of Török as a hiding or cover name, because everybody who was close to me knew that my name was Neuwald.

Senator LANGER. I would like to ask you one question but you had better ask your lawyer before you answer it. Have you ever done anything since you got over here against the Government of the United States?

Mr. NEUWALD. I don't have to ask my lawyer.

Senator LANGER. You don't have to ask your lawyer?

Mr. NEUWALD. Because I never did.

Senator LANGER. You figure if you had been a citizen you would have been a good one, is that right?

Mr. NEUWALD. I had a peculiar theory regarding my activities in this country. I told to myself even if I am not a citizen, I am living

in this country, and I really try to do my best for this country and for my fellow people, so somehow I became always engaged in charity work, in social work, and people came to me. I think I knew how to talk to people and get people organized. So really from the Catholic Church down to all kinds of people. That is why I can't answer certain questions. All kinds of people were in contact with me. I remember I did my best. I can say that to you in real conscience and truthfully.

Senator LANGER. You still want to become a citizen, do you not?

Mr. NEUWALD. I would like to.

Senator LANGER. If you were a citizen you would be a good one?

Mr. NEUWALD. I would try my best.

Senator LANGER. You are the gentleman who is an officer of the American Slav Congress?

Mr. PIRINSKY. That is right.

Senator LANGER. What is your name?

Mr. PIRINSKY. George Pirinsky. It is the organization that was founded on Pearl Harbor Day in Detroit, Mich.

Senator LANGER. What is the purpose of this organization?

Mr. PIRINSKY. It was founded for the purpose of helping to win the war. That was the purpose.

Senator LANGER. To win the war.

Mr. PIRINSKY. That is right. Former Attorney General Biddle was present at the banquet at which the organization began.

Senator EASTLAND. Let me ask you this question: Did he later cite that organization as a Communist-front organization?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No. It was cited by the present Attorney General, but to tell you frankly, I have more respect for the opinion of the late President Roosevelt about our organization than about the opinion of Mr. Clark.

Senator EASTLAND. I asked you about Mr. Biddle.

Mr. PIRINSKY. No; he has not cited our organization. He was the one who called upon us to organize.

Senator LANGER. The theory of that was that you people who had relatives over in the old country could do a very, very fine job by telling them of actual conditions here.

Mr. PIRINSKY. The late President Roosevelt sent us a greeting in which he stated that America is proud of her citizens of Slavic descent, and he further stated that you who have helped build this United States in factory and farm and have contributed so richly to the national culture need not be told the meaning of America or her blessings. Then he said, you who send your sons into battle and forge the weapons of victory need not be cautioned to keep your courage high and your faith firm. We were 100 percent behind the policies of the late President Roosevelt. We still insist now that we should live in friendship between the people of the United States and the people of the Slavic countries, the two main forces.

Senator LANGER. It would be just like the Sons of Norway or the Iberian Society?

Mr. PIRINSKY. That is correct.

Senator LANGER. Or the German-American Club or something else.

Mr. PIRINSKY. Like all others.

Senator LANGER. You call it the Slav Congress, and Biddle came to your dinner.

Mr. PIRINSKY. Senator Myers¹ spoke at our dinner in 1946 at the Astor Hotel and praised the organization. President Truman sent me a letter. We asked him to come to speak in 1944 in Pittsburgh, at our national convention which we called to support the late President Roosevelt for a fourth term. President Truman wrote that he would very much like to, that he would check it with the Democratic National Committee to find out if he is available on that date. He couldn't come, so Mr. Ickes² was the one to come. Then former Senator Tunnell³ came to talk to us. Senator Magnuson⁴ was present. Congressman Sadowski,⁵ of Detroit, is one of the honorary members from Detroit, Mich., on the Michigan committee.

Senator LANGER. About how many members have you?

Mr. PIRINSKY. It is not a dues-paying organization, with individual membership. It is a coordinating body of various organizations throughout the country. They say that during the war they said the Slavic Americans constituted 51 percent of the workers in the heavy war industries. They said that we people were in a position to make a special contribution to the battle of production. We did. We organized blood donors.

Senator LANGER. When did you come over?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I came in 1923.

Senator LANGER. When did you apply for citizenship?

Mr. PIRINSKY. The third month after I came.

Senator LANGER. Are you a citizen now?

Mr. PIRINSKY. No; I am not. I was refused because I came to northern Minnesota, the Mesabi Range. At that time I found the conditions of the miners in northern Minnesota very bad. They were given only \$4 a day with big families. They couldn't support them. I say, Why don't you ask for a little more wages? They say they tried to ask, but still the Steel Trust has everything in his hands. I said this is a democratic country. It shouldn't be like that. They said it shouldn't be, but these are the conditions. It seemed to me that was wrong, so I became active in the fight of the miners of northern Minnesota to have the right of union for better wages. To the Steel Trust that was an un-American thing. So I was blacklisted. I couldn't find a job in northern Minnesota.

Senator LANGER. When was that?

Mr. PIRINSKY. That was 1924. At that time it was considered a crime to belong to a union. I fought for the right to belong to the union, and I was blacklisted.

Senator EASTLAND. Would you let the attorney ask a question?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Neuwald, I invite your attention to section 859 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, which reads as follows:

No testimony given by a witness before either House or before any committee of either House or before any joint committee established by a joint or concurrent resolution of the two Houses of Congress shall be used as evidence in any criminal proceeding against him in any court, except in a prosecution for perjury committed in giving such testimony, but an official paper or record produced by him is not within the said privilege.

¹ Senator Francis J. Myers, from Pennsylvania.

² Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior.

³ Senator James M. Tunnell, of Delaware.

⁴ Senator Warren G. Magnuson, of Washington.

⁵ Representative George Sadowski, of Michigan.

I invite your attention to this section which relates to privileges against incrimination in the statutes of the United States.

Mr. NEUWALD, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

(Mr. Neuwald conferring with his counsel.)

Mr. NEUWALD. I have to give the same reply, that I am not in a position to answer because it might incriminate me.

Senator EASTLAND. The chairman is acting chairman of the subcommittee, Mr. Neuwald, and I demand that you answer the question.

Mr. NEUWALD. As stated before, on advice of my counsel, I have to refuse to answer the question.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Pirinsky, Mr. George Pirinsky, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Senator DONNELL. Read the statute to him, also.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Pirinsky, may I read you the same statute which I just read.

Mr. PIRINSKY. I heard it. I listened to it.

Mr. ARENS. Section 859 of the Revised Statutes as amended with reference to privilege against incrimination, reads as follows:

No testimony given by a witness before either House or before any committee of either House or before any joint committee established by a joint or concurrent resolution of the two Houses of Congress shall be used as evidence in any criminal proceeding against him in any court except in a prosecution for perjury committed in giving such testimony, but an official paper or record produced by him is not within the said privilege.

I ask you now, Mr. George Pirinsky—

Mr. FORER. Excuse me, Mr. Counsel. May I say a word to the acting chairman?

Senator EASTLAND. Yes, sir.

Mr. FORER. Since the committee seems to be so interested in legal sources, I suggest that the committee consider not only the statute that was read by its counsel just now, but I suggest also it consider, before it takes any action in the case, *Counselman v. Hitchcock*, United States Reports. I call it to the committee's attention rather than discuss it.

Senator EASTLAND. Thank you, sir. Proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. George Pirinsky, I ask you this question: Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PIRINSKY. I again answer, as I did previously, that I decline and refuse to answer.

Senator EASTLAND. As chairman of this subcommittee, I demand that you answer that question, Mr. Pirinsky.

Mr. PIRINSKY. I say again, on the same ground and on advice of counsel, I refuse to answer the question. I want to protest against this.

Senator EASTLAND. Any questions?

Senator DONNELL. No questions.

Senator EASTLAND. Anything else? Any further questions?

Senator LANGER. Nothing else.

Senator EASTLAND. The committee will now recess until 10:30 in the morning. We won't need you any more.

(Thereupon, at 4:35 p. m., the subcommittee recessed until 10:30 a. m., Thursday, June 9, 1949.)

RECORD OF JOSEPH FORER

- Attorney for Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Washington committee. Washington Star, January 7, 1948, page A-5.
- Attorney for Abram Flaxer. Washington Times-Herald, February 3, 1948, page 17.
- Attorney for Hanns Eisler. Daily Worker, September 25, 1947, page 2.
- Attorney for Roy Cole and Louis Jones. Washington Post, February 5, 1948, page 4-B.
- Attorney for Louise Bransten Berman. New York Star, September 21, 1948, page 1.
- Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers Union, CIO Local 22. Counsel for Robert Black, W. C. Sheppard, and Edward McCrea. Daily Worker, July 24, 1947, page 3.
- Attorney for Emil Costello. Washington Post, June 28, 1947.
- Attorney for Gerhart Eisler. *Gerhart Eisler v. The United States of America*, Supreme Court of the United States, October term, 1948, District of Columbia, No. 255.
- Civil Rights Congress. Attorney for Gerhart Eisler. Daily Worker, November 20, 1947, page 3.
- Attorney for Gerhart Eisler; signed brief to appeal conviction. Daily Worker, November 11, 1947, page 3.
- Attorney for tenants' organization, Brentwood Village, D. C. Washington Post, July 16, 1948, page 19.
- Progressive Citizens of America, Montgomery County chapter. Speaker, Silver Spring meeting, November 14, 1947.
- Signer of statement against Mundt anti-Communist bill. Washington Post, May 18, 1948, page 15 (advertisement).
- Progressive Party, District of Columbia. Platform committee chairman. Washington Star, July 10, 1948, page A-10.
- Wallace for President Committee, Washington, D. C. Chairman of platform committee. Washington Star, June 30, 1948, page A-10.
- Attorney for James Branca. Washington Times-Herald, May 30, 1949, page 2.
- Washington Committee for Democratic Action. Member.
- National Lawyers' Guild, Washington, D. C. Member. Washington Times-Herald, June 3, 1949, page 1.
- American League for Peace and Democracy. Member. (Hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, page 6413.)
- United Public Workers. Attorney. Daily Worker, January 27, 1948, page 1.
- Writer of article attacking FBI. Member, constitutional liberties committee, National Lawyers' Guild. The Worker, August 7, 1949, page 2, section 2.
- Attorney for Claudia Jones, Communist. Daily Worker, October 13, 1948, page 11.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

THURSDAY, JUNE 9, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 2 p. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Pat McCarran (chairman) presiding. Present: Senators McCarran, Langer, and Donnell.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee; Otto J. Dekom and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order. The subcommittee is proceeding with further hearings on Senate bill 1832.

The Chair wishes to state at this time that on May 13 the committee instructed Miss Elizabeth Bentley to furnish for the record the list of persons who, to her knowledge, were involved in relaying information to the Soviet Government. Miss Bentley was informed she would continue under subpoena until such time as the list was received by the chairman. In accordance with these instructions, Miss Bentley submitted her list last Thursday, at which time it was received by the committee and was ordered to be made a part of the record. Accordingly, Miss Bentley has been excused and is now excused from the subpoena.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ, CRESTWOOD, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. You do solemnly swear that the testimony that you are about to give before this subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BUDENZ. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly state your full name, please?

Mr. BUDENZ. Louis Francis Budenz.¹

Mr. ARENS. And your address, please?

Mr. BUDENZ. Crestwood, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Budenz, will you kindly identify yourself by vocation or occupation?

Mr. BUDENZ. At the present time I am assistant professor of economics at Fordham University in New York; prior to that time I was a professor at Notre Dame University; and prior to that time I was

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

managing editor of the Daily Worker. I could go back further, but I think that identifies me.

Mr. ARENS. What are the periods of time during which you were managing editor of the Daily Worker?

Mr. BUDENZ. Roughly, 1940 to 1945; that is, I was president of the corporation controlling the Daily Worker for the Communist Party, and during that period I also acted as managing editor.

Mr. ARENS. What is the Daily Worker?

Mr. BUDENZ. The Daily Worker is the official organ of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Budenz, this subcommittee is considering the problem of the exclusion and deportation of subversive aliens. You have been invited to appear here primarily with the view of supplying the subcommittee with such information as you have in your knowledge on this problem. As I understand it, you have a prepared statement, and I invite you at this time to present it.

Mr. BUDENZ. This statement, which, of course, was gotten up this morning after I had learned something of the nature of the inquiry, will have to be supplemented occasionally by an oral amendment or two or an oral supplement. In addition, as you will note, I suggest to the committee that I be permitted to file a memorandum which will give more strength and detail to this statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. BUDENZ. As I understand, the committee, in ordering my appearance here, desires me to state what I know about the following phases of alien activity within the United States:

(1) The extent to which aliens or persons of alien origin are involved in the Communist movement.

(2) Officials of foreign governments associated with Amtorg, United Nations, consulates, embassies, who are involved.

(3) Concentration of efforts, means, methods, purposes, or work among the foreign-language groups, such as the American Slav Congress.

On each of these matters I shall have to be more general today than would be the case if I had the opportunity to consider the subject more thoroughly. If the committee desires, as I have stated, I shall later on supplement these statements with a written memorandum, in order to assure accuracy.

As to the first point, the Communist Party in the United States, so-called, is directed exclusively by aliens. It is also shot through, in its various organizational subdivisions throughout the country, with alien personnel. These political tourists, sent in here by Moscow in the main but some of them adopted later after their arrival here, have been ordered here by Moscow in order to steel the party here for complete service to the Soviet dictatorship. An American will be used, for instance, as a Communist International representative in China and the Philippines, as was Earl Browder before he became general secretary of the Communist Party here. Incidentally, as was James Allen, former foreign editor of the Daily Worker, that being prior to his return to America to assume active Communist work here. But an American will never be used in a responsible leading position as a channel of communication with Moscow from this country, unless he has as a superior an alien sent in for that purpose. This, then, is a general world pattern pursued by the Kremlin: that the direct respon-

sibility shall be in the hands of aliens in any respective country in which operations are carried on. It is the fixed design of Moscow to employ aliens in the most responsible positions in every country. This assures that nostalgia and patriotism may be reduced to the minimum in the steeled ranks of Stalin's servants.

The native Communist leader, therefore, is always under the control of a superior who is an alien or an ex-alien, the latter having received his citizenship merely in order to serve the Kremlin more effectively. The Communist Party organization in this country, which is the fifth column of Soviet Russia in our midst and nothing else, can be likened to a tree. The roots are the political tourists, leading Communists such as the Eislers, the Peters, a man like Ferruccio Marini, who went by the name of Fred Brown.

Gerhart Eisler was the Communist International representative here for years. J. V. Peters was the head of the conspiratorial apparatus for the Communist International, working with the Soviet secret police here. Ferruccio Marini, or Brown, was the organizational or military director for the Communist International of the Communist Party here. The last of these men has returned to Italy upon orders, undoubtedly from the Communist International, just as Peters and Eisler have both returned to Europe.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the last, you say, of these?

Mr. BUDENZ. Ferruccio Marini, a very tall man with a dark beard and black hat, rather dramatic in appearance; known as Fred Brown, however, and writing under that name in the Party Organizer for years, that is, the paper serving as party organizer of the Communist Party. He was the military and demonstration authority, and incidentally, the organizational authority for the Communists here.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did he live, to your knowledge?

Mr. BUDENZ. He lived on Staten Island in New York for a time. He had a sort of a small farm out there, or at least a small residence out of the confines of the city proper. He lived in some other places, but I know of the Staten Island residence. He has, however, lately departed for Italy.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a writer for the Daily Worker?

Mr. BUDENZ. Only in the sense that his reports on organization were sometimes referred to in the Daily Worker. His name undoubtedly appears in the Daily Worker connected with certain articles. He was not a writer proper, he was located on the ninth floor of 35 East Twelfth Street—the rather notorious ninth floor, which is the national headquarters of the Communist Party. So far as 90 percent of the Communist Party members were concerned, they did not know specifically of his existence. They knew of Fred Brown and of his organizational writings, but of him as a personality they knew very little. That is the case with the other gentlemen mentioned.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Budenz, in view of the fact that you have mentioned Eisler's name, do you have any information respecting Hanns Eisler, the brother of Gerhart Eisler, and how he was admitted into the country?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir. I could not go into the question of how he was admitted into the country because I want to be accurate and would have to refresh my memory on details. That, however, is a matter of national knowledge. This is a rather noted case, it is on the records of a number of Government agencies and I would not want to be in

detailed conflict with them out of just a lapse of memory on a point or two.

The CHAIRMAN. The best evidence is somewhere else?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is right; it is all in official records.

The CHAIRMAN. The only trouble is that this committee has a great deal of trouble getting the best evidence.

Mr. BUDENZ. I can say in a general way from my knowledge in the Communist movement that Hanns Eisler was admitted to America, though a Communist, and after a great deal of difficulty of getting him in. However, he had been here before, and it is about that that I wanted to mention. He came over here in 1940, I would say, from Moscow, that is, direct from Moscow. He had been there made the head of the Red music bureau. This Red music bureau, the International Music Bureau, had been created by the Kremlin for the purpose of spreading sedition in various countries among musicians and music critics.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of it?

Mr. BUDENZ. The International Music Bureau in Moscow.

He arrived here to receive a \$20,000 scholarship from the Rockefeller Foundation in order to develop new forms of music. This necessarily was used to develop certain forms of music, but was also used by Mr. Eisler to promote sedition in America. That I know, because I have been in a meeting where he produced for the benefit of the Communist leaders all of these revolutionary songs he had written—the Comintern song, "We Are Ready to Take Over," and other songs intended to inflame people against the government of the countries in which they lived.

Mr. DEKOM. You indicated there that in your opinion Gerhart Eisler left on instructions from Moscow. Would you enlarge on that statement?

Mr. BUDENZ. That necessarily has to be in part what people call speculation, but it is based on my sound experience in the Communist movement. It is also based on discussions in regard to devices used by Reds to move illegally from country to country. After all, Poland is a satellite of Soviet Russia. It would be impossible, knowing the Communist movement as I do, how it is regimented, with the iron discipline that is in it, for Gerhart Eisler to move one step out of America, especially with the connivance of these two governments, Poland and Czechoslovakia, unless he had received specific orders from Moscow. The discipline is such that he would have immediately been degraded as professor of Leipzig University, and he certainly would not have been honored, according to the Communist sense of "honor," by being elected to be one of the 35 members of the Red-controlled People's Council of Eastern Germany. He is received with the greatest honor by Moscow's chief agents in Germany, and certainly, had he taken this move in defiance of Moscow, he would not have been so received.

The CHAIRMAN. When you use the words "he would not have taken this move," you mean his movement out of this country?

Mr. BUDENZ. Most decidedly. You cannot, in the Communist movement, make a move like that just in this negative sense, so far as Moscow is concerned. If Moscow does not oppose it, then Moscow proposes it, or at least agrees with it. The discipline is such that there

is no middle ground. You have no initiative on your own part whatsoever.

We then have seen the roots of this fifth-column tree to be the political tourists sent into this country, symbolized by Gerhart Eisler and by J. V. Peters, who was a much more important person in directing espionage and other activity in this country than has yet been developed. Unfortunately, much of his activity remains under obscurity because it was obscure operations.

The CHAIRMAN. Just there, please. I think it is fair to say that in a conversation had with a very high official of this Government, the chairman of this committee made the statement that Mr. Eisler was the leading Communist of this country while he was here. That was taken issue with very sharply, that he was not the leading Communist of this country. What would you say, based on your own experience?

Mr. BUDENZ. Of course, I have no desire to have any quarrel with anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not quarreling with anybody.

Mr. BUDENZ. Nonetheless, Mr. Eisler was the leading Communist, so far as America is concerned, the leading Communist. He was the representative of the Communist International apparatus. The Communist Party of the United States could not move on any important matter without Mr. Eisler's consent, while he was that Communist International representative of it. The leadership, William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, or whoever it was, had to consult with Mr. Eisler, whether he was here under the name of Edwards or Berger, and I know from my personal experience. I have seen it, in other words, in the flesh, and, therefore, I know.

As to whether Mr. Eisler got further directives, beyond instructions as CI representative from the Embassy of the Soviet Union through some obscure Soviet secret-police agent—obscure in the sense of appearing obscure—that is something I cannot tell you from my own direct experience. But, so far as America is concerned, so far as every active Communist in the national headquarters of the Communist Party of America was concerned, Comrade Edwards, or Hans Berger, was the man who channelized Moscow's instructions to the political committee (or Politburo) of the Communist Party. One of his chief sources of contact was Jack Stachel, who has always been a leading man in that respect. Therefore, Mr. Eisler certainly is the No. 1 Communist, or rather was, during his residence here in the United States. The proof of this fact is the elaborate preparation made to rescue him and the ease with which he is received into very high quarters abroad. We will hear more of him, incidentally, in the future, in my opinion.

The trunk of the tree consists of the Fosters, Browders, and others in the open party. The branches are composed of those who are members in reality but who act publicly as non-Communists.

The sap of directives from the alien roots goes through the trunk of the open party to those men and women in the branches who act in American life as though they are not Communists. Therefore, the entire stimulus for the party, all of the most important directives, come through these alien political tourists up through the open party—the trunk as I call it—to the people in the branches, the concealed Communists, who are moving about in American life, even protesting that they are not Communists.

In each of these divisions of this Communist organization—or tree—aliens are placed in key, though often obscure positions. That is, obscure so far as public scrutiny is concerned. But the percentage of aliens increases and the power of aliens rises as we get nearer to the roots. That is, nearer to the contact with Moscow, nearer to the place from which policy issues. The Communist Party leadership functions on directives received from Moscow. These directives are channelized to the party leadership by the Communist International representative and the apparatus around him. Until recently, this representative was Gerhart Eisler, alias Edwards, alias Hans Berger. With him was associated J. V. Peters, who was responsible for the espionage of the Communist International, in cooperation with the Soviet secret police in this country.

How do I know that? Because Mr. Peters told that to me himself when, after he had directed many questions to me which indicated that he had a background knowledge of things, I asked him, "Was I privileged to know why he directed these inquiries at me?"

"Yes, you have justified that confidence," he said. He told me that he was the liaison officer or link between the Communist International apparatus and the Soviet secret police in this country.

Mr. ARENS. By "Soviet secret police in this country," just what do you mean?

Mr. BUDENZ. I can speak from my personal experience only on that score. I have reported on orders of the political committee to members of the NKVD in the United States. That has been stated many times, however; it is nothing new. It was in connection with the Trotsky case, but for 3 years I reported to the members of the Soviet secret police, meeting them two times a week, at least, in various restaurants in New York City and in the Hotel Stevens in Chicago.

Mr. ARENS. Where is Peters now? Has he left, too, like Eisler?

Mr. BUDENZ. Peters has left, the same as Eisler. He has returned to Hungary. I intend to deal with that in just a moment, if you please.

Supporting the activities of these men within the party organization itself were several scores of other aliens sent in here under Moscow's directions. In order to bring them in, in a number of instances, use was made of the secret conspiratorial fund, which was in the hands of a committee of three when I was associated with the Communist Party leadership. The presence of this fund cannot be too strongly emphasized. The committee in charge of this fund was headed by Robert William Weiner, whose real name is Welwel Warszover. He is an alien who was convicted during the Hitler-Stalin pact period of having conspired to misrepresent his citizenship. Although he was born in Russia, he swore he was born in Atlantic City. The Atlantic City records had been tampered with to sustain his assertion. That was established. Although convicted of fraud upon the Government in this case, he never served his sentence; he was excused because of alleged heart trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he take that oath?

Mr. BUDENZ. That I am not quite certain of at this moment. It was in connection, I believe, with wishing to travel abroad.

The CHAIRMAN. To use it for a passport?

Mr. BUDENZ. That I would not be certain of for the moment.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know he took such an oath?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is a matter of public record again, Senator. I knew it very vividly.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is the record? Could you advise us where we can get the record?

Mr. BUDENZ. I think he was convicted either in New York or Washington, in the Federal court. He was convicted in the Federal courts.¹ The case was quite vivid in my memory then, but it is quite some time ago. The whole story of the conviction is in the Daily Worker of 1940.

Other members of the committee when I was in the party were Lemuel Harris—offspring of a Wall Street brokerage house, I understand—and the late Charles Krumbein, then treasurer of the Communist Party. This fund is not only used to bring in alien Communists into the United States, but to send them into South America. It is also employed to finance illegal trips of native and alien Communists to Moscow and to other centers, when they travel on false passports or other illegal means. To the best of my knowledge, at least up to the moment when I left the Communist Party in October 1945, Mr. William Weiner was the financial tsar of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Do you mean in the United States?

Mr. BUDENZ. In the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your discourse deal with that phase? You say "financial tsar"—what did that comprehend? What are we to understand by their financial set-up?

Mr. BUDENZ. I believe, Senator, that I shall cover that in a moment, but in order that I will not miss it, I would like to say this: The Communist set-up, organizationally, has no democratic inkling in it. The functioning of the Communist organization does not permit the use of parliamentary law. They only learn parliamentary law to exercise it in other organizations to destroy or control them. Within the Communist Party the entire control comes from above. The national committee meets and the leader gives a report just like a teacher to a class. The whole national committee agrees with that leader for 3 days running, except that they explain how they are going to carry out the new policy which he has just enunciated. After the 3 days of unanimity, the leader makes the summary and that is the decision of the national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the decision he handed them in the first place.

Mr. BUDENZ. That is correct; always, over, and over, four times a year.

The CHAIRMAN. Why waste the 3 days?

Mr. BUDENZ. For two reasons. First to test out whether they are loyal. There is a special committee to see to that. Everything they say is taken down in shorthand or by some other stenographic device. Then that is very carefully gone over. In addition to that, the comrades also show how they are going to carry this out. They explain the organizations they are going to penetrate, the unions they are going to capture, the people in public life they are going to approach, things of that sort.

¹ Welwel Warszawer was convicted of violation of 22 U. S. Code, sec. 220, 22 U. S. C. A. § 220, by the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York. Affirmed by United States Supreme Court February 17, 1941, 321 U. S. 342.

Mr. ARENS. Where does he get his orders, this national leader?

Mr. BUDENZ. It happens that these orders are always in perfect harmony with the policy of Moscow at that particular moment.

Mr. ARENS. Where does he get his orders?

Mr. BUDENZ. He gets his orders from the Communist International representative, who was Gerhart Eisler while I was in the party.

That begins to explain the financial set-up. The financial set-up is equally dictatorial, and bureaucratic. The secret financial fund of which I speak is used, for example, to move a man into South America. There are many planted in South America, either a number of alien Communists from here or of native Communists, under directions. Most of those who go to Mexico and other parts of Latin America are alien Communists. These secret trips have to be financed and they are financed by Weiner.

For example, when Browder makes his secret trip to Moscow on a false passport—which we now know that he did—he has to go to Weiner for finances. He cannot put the details on the books of the Communist Party. When Mr. Dennis goes to Moscow—as we know that he did—on illegal passports, he gets his money from a similar source.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent is this fund used to bring alien Communists into the United States?

Mr. BUDENZ. It is used for that purpose, and it is also used to create auxiliary funds. For instance, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was a direct product of Weiner's creation. That is, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, from which Eisler functioned while here, was created by the secret fund committee in order to have a wider field of raising money.

The CHAIRMAN. What does the fund amount to from day to day, if you have any knowledge of that subject?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is a complete mystery, known only to Mr. Weiner and the members of the fund. You see, if Communist Party leaders have some emergency difficulty, if they have to take a vacation, if they are ill, when their children are born, things of that character, they are paid in cash out of this secret fund. It has a wider use than just this business of helping aliens, though it is used definitely for that purpose.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent is this secret fund used for the purpose of bringing alien Communists or agents into this country?

Mr. BUDENZ. Originally, it was one of the chief means, and is yet, so far as I know, although now it is expanding its activities through the creation of such committees as the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. I return to that in order to be accurate, because I know of the connection between Weiner and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. I know that Lemuel Harris, the next man I am going to mention, was very active in raising money for the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

Mr. ARENS. How did they use this money to bring alien Communist agents into the United States? What do they do?

Mr. BUDENZ. Mr. Eisler is an exhibit, they brought him in. They brought others whose names I might recall if I had time to look over a list or something like that. I knew of a number of others. They would have constant communication with the Communists abroad and through that means bring them in. As a matter of fact, I sat with

Mr. Harris when he was going over a list of those who still had to be brought over to the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. ARENS. I observed a few moments ago that you made mention of the use of this fund for the purpose of the international travel of Communist agents in this country, and I observed particularly your reference to travel between here and Mexico. How free is the movement of Communist agents between the United States and Mexico, to your knowledge?

Mr. BUDENZ. Those that I know of have gone rather freely; that is to say, I can give you an example.

There is Comrade Chester, whose real name is Shuster, I think has received his first papers. He is alien-born. He is a well-known—in the party, I mean—as a secret agent. Many of these secret agents, incidentally, are linked up with the financial machinery. Chester was allegedly the assistant financial man or was in New York State, but he moves back and forth between here and Mexico.

Mr. ARENS. And he is an alien Communist?

Mr. BUDENZ. He is foreign-born, at least. I think he has received his first papers. Of course, those things you do not know fully about all the time.

The subdivision of this secret conspiratorial committee was the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, directed by both Weiner and Harris, to my knowledge. It must be remembered that the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was the center of Eisler's activities. From thence he sent Felix Kusman almost every day, or at least to my knowledge quite frequently during the week, to the national headquarters of the Communist Party with his directives to the party leadership.

The names of aliens functioning in the Communist Party could be given at some length. As an illustration, there is the case of A. W. Mills—that is his name in the United States, or was until recently—who, according to my latest information, is still secretary of the International Workers Order, the Communist front in the insurance field. No man or woman, incidentally, can be an officer of the International Workers Order unless sponsored or endorsed by the leading committee of the Communist Party, the political committee, or Politburo (now known as the national board). Everyone who serves in any office in the IWO or the International Workers Order must receive the approval of this political committee.

Mills, who was born in Russia and was ordered for deportation as early as 1936, has been in this country illegally for many years. He is responsible for some of the most violent episodes in the history of the unemployment movement, and specifically, the bonus march to Washington. At least it has been so reported to me by leading members of the political committee.

In 1940, during the Hitler-Stalin pact, when the Communists were halting our production of war munitions through strikes in the Allis-Chalmers Co. and elsewhere—in order to aid Hitler's victory—I was ordered to meet Mills secretly in Columbus, Ohio. I was in the open party, but most of the important members had gone underground. You had a very great difficulty in locating them. At that moment I was attending and reporting the convention of the United Mine Workers in Columbus, in 1940. Through a local member of the Communist

Party, who picked me up at Neil House, I was conveyed to the outskirts of Columbus, where I met Mills in a small restaurant. He was then operating under cover, seeking to stimulate disguised Communists to create strikes in munition industries. He gave me two reports on this matter to take to the national headquarters of the Communist Party, cautioning me to keep them on my person at all times. I have heard that Mr. Mills may be up for deportation again. He has remained here so long because Soviet Russia refused to receive him in 1936. We seem to have no option but to leave him free to carry on his activities.

At the moment, as I have indicated, Moscow is recalling a number of its agents who have been here. We see this in the "escape" of Gerhart Eisler with the connivance of Czechoslovak and Polish satellite states. Eisler is worth much more than \$25,000 to Moscow—or twenty-three thousand-odd dollars, which was his bail—and the Kremlin will gladly see that his bail is paid indirectly. It must be remembered that the Civil Rights Congress, which produced this bail, is completely under control of the Communist Party and cannot function in any way without the direction of the Soviet fifth column here.

Incidentally, I think I should underline that. The Civil Rights Congress, which went on Mr. Eisler's bail, is completely, body and soul, under control of the Communist Party. It was created by the combination of two organizations—the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, both of them Communist fronts. The International Labor Defense was the name of a similar organization running around the world for the protection of Communists. In other words, the heart of this organization is the International Labor Defense, a purely Communist creation; that is, created by Moscow in many other countries, in addition to the United States, for the defense of Communists.

This recall of the Soviet agents, in part, is also seen in the "voluntary" return of J. V. Peters to Hungary and of John Santo [Szanto] to Rumania.

Originally, the threat had been made by the high-powered and highly paid counsel for these men that their deportation would be postponed for at least 2 years through Supreme Court appeals. This tactic has now been dropped, and our immigration laws are partly being complied with by Moscow, which is a miracle. But it is a miracle due to the fact that Moscow clearly wants to recall these men merely for its own purposes.

It is clear that these men are being recalled for two purposes, which had been called to my attention over and over again when I was in the Communist Party:

(1) To train new espionage and subversive agents for the United States. This is somewhat important since it is now more difficult to get people to go over to the Lenin School in Moscow, which was formerly the place where subversive and espionage agents were trained for America.

(2) To be able to organize a deadly propaganda against America in the respective countries to which these men have returned. We can, therefore, expect a new influx, under many guises, of Communist aliens for the purpose of steeling and directing the Soviet fifth column here.

I might add here that the word "steeling" is frequently used in the Communist ranks to indicate that they are under the complete direction and guidance of Stalin, and will show the same steel that he shows in his person and leadership. That is a famous expression in the Communist movement: "to steel ourselves as the great and inimitable Stalin¹ has steeled himself."

The interesting thing to observe is the domination of the Communist Party by alien personnel and the association of that personnel in the domination of natives, who are particularly effective when posing as non-Communists.

In addition to the oral directives transmitted to the party here, there is also the saturation of the party with documents and publications originating in Moscow. Every active Communist must read these documents and publications zealously, in order to understand what he should do and how to present the case for immediate Soviet purposes within this country. One of these publications is *New Times*, published as a supplement of the Soviet trade-union magazine, *Trud*, and coming to this country in beautiful translation in weekly editions. This is in reality the name in disguise of the Communist International magazine, and it contains directives which the *Daily Worker* staff, the editorial board and other active Communists must follow, as, of course, best they can under American conditions.

Mr. ARENS. Who is the recipient of these publications?

Mr. BUDENZ. This publication comes through the Four Continents Book Co., which is a registered Soviet agent.

Mr. ARENS. It is registered under the Foreign Agents' Registration Act?

Mr. BUDENZ. It formerly was not, but it got caught and is now registered. It changed its name and then registered. The *Daily Worker* staff—each member, that is—receives free a copy of each weekly edition. It is also placed on certain newsstands in New York and, in some of the other larger cities, around university libraries and the like for the benefit of these men in the branches of the tree, the Communists acting as non-Communists. They dare not come around the Communist headquarters frequently, but if this literature is at these newsstands, they can come and purchase it and observe what is going on.

Another publication which we should know much more about than is the case yet is the official organ of the Cominform,² coming here in English translations from Bucharest, Rumania. It is worth while noting that these publications at the present are making a world drive for stimulating a deeper study by active Communists of Joseph Stalin's *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. This is the great propaganda and educational drive of the Communists, during the last 6 months particularly.

This basic Communist book has as its central point the necessity for the overthrow of the United States Government by violence. Generalissimo Stalin is specific and detailed in this regard, naming the United States in particular as a nation whose Government must be shattered and completely destroyed by violence if the purposes of the Soviet dictatorship are to be served. He does this in his *Foundation*

¹ Stalin means man "of steel." His real name is J. V. Dzugashvill.

² For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy.

of Leninism. Specifically, this matter is dealt with in chapters 4 and 6 of this volume, though that thought runs through the whole book. In fact, so that you won't misunderstand those phrases—that is, directing the imperialistic war to civil war, and the necessity of turning an imperialist war against your own country—those phrases are underlined or italicized all through the book so they will be thoroughly understood as the basic idea of the Soviet dictatorship and its agents.

There is also such a publication as *Political Affairs*, the official theoretical organ of the Communist Party in the United States. By its reprints from Soviet journals—which have not been noted too much, I am sorry to say—it acknowledges the complete thought control of Communists by the Kremlin. Every delicate indication of new Soviet policy is reflected in the articles in *Political Affairs*, but specifically in the reprints from Soviet publications. This goes to the extent of making it necessary for the Communists here to hold the same views on biological science which Stalin has dictated for the Soviet scientists.

Witness the article in the February *Political Affairs* by I. Laptev, *The Triumph of Mitchurin Biological Science*, taken from *Pravda* on September 11, 1948. These articles, recopied or republished from *Pravda* and the other Soviet journals, must be read diligently, must be mastered by the active Communist, and must be used in his work.

As to the second point indicated here in regard to the use of embassies of the satellites and other such matters, you must understand that I left the Communist Party before the Soviet Union had obtained control of any satellite save those of the Baltic countries. Indeed, as I left, I made a public statement prophesying the coming "creeping blitzkrieg," as I called it, which would engulf nation after nation in Europe and Asia and aimed at the attacks on the United States. That was a public statement I made when I left the party, and that is now confirmed by the "creeping blitzkrieg" which continues to go forward and is now very much alive in China, alining 500,000,000 people on the other side of the fence, if it is successful. Therefore, I cannot tell you of my own knowledge much of the activity by the satellite states, because they came into existence as such after I left the party.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you at this point, Mr. Budenz, just as an aside, of a matter I know will be of interest to the Senators here? When you were managing editor of the *Communist Daily Worker*, what was the party line which you promulgated and disseminated through your publications here with reference to the policy on China? What approach did the Communists in this country undertake on China?

Mr. BUDENZ. There were two directives which the party had here that it must carry through: To see that there was a Red victory in Poland and in China. We were advised very decisively that China was the key to Asia and that Poland was a jumping-off place for the conquest of Europe, particularly with its great supply of coal.

Therefore, the whole campaign in 1945 was—and this was brought home to us by Earl Browder when he was leader at that time of the party—that we must achieve the moral disarmament of America so that it would permit the Red conquest of China and of Poland. The fact is that very extensive activities were pursued in that respect; that is, to bring about the idea that the Chinese Communists were not Communists at all; that they were merely agrarian reformers. I

have documents in my possession—with which I cannot burden the committee today—which show the adoration for Stalin by the Chinese Communists officially. They have an official document which proclaimed, "Stalin has many of the attributes which we connect with the Divinity." We can imagine, therefore, that they certainly have a very close Communist connection with the world leader of the Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of your own knowledge or do you have any information of young Chinese having been taken to Moscow and there indoctrinated? Has that not been a policy going on for years?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is a policy going on for years. My personal knowledge would be what is legally termed "hearsay," but I can say morally here—because it was well known through the party—that that was done. We have the military leader of the Communists, Chou En-lai, who was sent to Moscow. He also was given an extensive trip to other countries at the expense of the Communist movement. So it has been with others. That applies not only to Chinese; it applies to every nation on the face of the earth; that is, the Communists within those nations. We have had a great delegation ourselves to Moscow in the Lenin School. I shall indicate that the present general secretary of the Communist Party was trained in the Lenin School, and specifically in espionage and things of that sort.

Mr. ARENS. You mean the present general secretary of the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir; Eugene Dennis. His name that he bears now is Eugene Dennis; his original name is Francis E. Waldron.

Senator DONNELL. Mr. Budenz, why is it that so many of these men have aliases? What is the reason for that?

Mr. BUDENZ. There are several reasons, all very convenient to conspiracy. One of them is that these aliases are used on false passports to Moscow, Latin America, or other countries. The case of Browder is classic in that respect: that is, using the name of a man—the exact name escapes me just for a moment—who was a Soviet espionage agent himself. One of the names he probably used was that of a Soviet espionage agent. At the same time, he was knee-deep in the plot to get the false passport of the Soviet spy Nicholas Dozenberg. That is one purpose, to get these false passports so they may have freedom of movement back and forth.

Eisler also had the name "Liptzen"¹ coming into the country, and going out you will recall, representing him as a naturalized American, but with the picture of Eisler on the passport. He went back and forth that way.

There is a second reason. When these Reds are in America, they wish to conceal their identity here from the authorities. Therefore, if you hear that Edwards is up on the ninth floor of the Communist headquarters, you won't associate that with Eisler very quickly if you are looking for Eisler. You may, if you become skilled in the way the Communists take these names. Normally, you would not.

Peters has so many names that I just get dizzy trying to keep track of them all. That was connected with the second purpose, to conceal his identity. Each time he took a new name it was because he was

¹ Samuel Liptzen.

dealing with a different person or sets of persons. The Soviet secret police here use the same device. One man was known as Roberts, then as Rubinovitch when he registered at the Stevens Hotel in Chicago, but to Miss Ruby Weil, when I introduced him to her, he was known as John Rich. Consequently, there is quite a turn-over in these names. In that way, they avoid the authorities for years. That is a very convenient device for them.

There is a third reason, too: it enables them much more easily to function in another country because they may have a whole record here as Peters or Alexander Stevens or some of the other names that Peters took. If he goes back to another country—that is, from Hungary to France—he eventually may appear with a very good French cognomen, and it would be very difficult to say he is Peters unless you see his picture and know something about him.

Part of the expectancy in 1945, however, of Communist leaders here, concerning the achievement of Red rule in Poland and China, was the hope of being able to set up agents more easily by means of the satellite states.

Mr. ARENS. What do you mean by that? I do not quite understand you.

Mr. BUDENZ. The political committee of the Communist Party had before it in 1945 instructions as to the necessity at all costs of forwarding Communist conquest in eastern Europe and in Asia, one of the arguments for America being that the ease of communication for Soviet agents would be heightened by the many channels thus opened.

We must remember that when Communists discuss these plans, especially in the political committee or in the national committee, they explore it from all angles. That is supposed to be dialectical thinking. They try to give to those who are dealing with the matter as rounded-out a picture as they can of what the whole thing represents. There was nothing more emphatically put forward, as I have said, than the urgency of us American Communists living up to our position in the greatest imperialist country in the world, as we called it, than the necessity of disarming America on Poland and China.

One of the reasons given was that there would be an easier access of movement back and forth for the Stalinite agents from the Soviet fatherland to the United States.

Mr. ARENS. How would that come about?

Mr. BUDENZ. Through the use of more agents.

Mr. ARENS. You mean through their diplomatic channels?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir; those are the channels used today and used before that, and those are the channels mentioned.

Mr. ARENS. Am I clear in my impression that your testimony is at this time substantially as follows:

That, with the control of China and other satellite countries by the Soviets, they would have their embassies and consulates as conduits through which they could introduce into this country additional agents? Is that substantially what you are saying?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes; as witness the statement of Browder.

Mr. ARENS. Is it your testimony at this time that they are doing it at this time?

Mr. BUDENZ. I cannot say of my own knowledge that they are. I can say this: that it follows completely the pattern of Soviet ruthless-

ness and policy. We must understand that the Soviet dictatorship, through these writings of Stalin and Lenin and the rest, which we quoted today, as I have shown, have committed themselves to the destruction at all costs of the American Republic.

It is sometimes hard for Americans who have not been Communists to appreciate that. They intend to carry that out with all the ruthlessness that we have seen characterizing their actions in many quarters. Therefore, without having what you call legal evidence, but from my own definite knowledge of Communist discussions and activities and tactics, I say that it is impossible that the satellite consulates are not being used for that purpose because the leaders of those countries, when you examine their statements in the official organ of the Cominform, have all declared war against the United States—not active military war yet, but cooperation with Soviet Russia in war. There is a statement in the recent issue of the Cominform publication by the present leader of Poland, who says very definitely that Poland is committed to destroying American imperialism. Therefore, that, plus the ruthlessness with which the Communists carry on their activities, makes this a certainty, without legal support, that these consulates are acting in that fashion.

The CHAIRMAN. When you were in the Communist Party in the positions that you make mention of, were the consulates and the embassies used, to your knowledge?

Mr. BUDENZ. Not to my direct knowledge. But through my general knowledge, without having gone along personally with the courier, I can say the means by which Eisler got his almost miraculous information came through the agencies of the Soviet diplomatic service. That was mentioned a great number of times and, as a matter of fact, once or twice it was mentioned very directly that word had come from the Soviet Embassy to Comrade Berger to this and that effect. The fact of the matter is that in law, of course, that is hearsay; therefore, I must stress that I was not present when any of these contacts were made and would not be. That is not the Communist method of procedure.

Senator DONNELL. I just want to ask you, Mr. Budenz, you referred to this book concerning the life of Stalin; did you not?

Mr. BUDENZ. This is Stalin's own work.

Senator DONNELL. Is it an autobiography?

Mr. BUDENZ. It is the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Senator DONNELL. Is that book widely circulated in this country?

Mr. BUDENZ. Very, yes.

Senator DONNELL. Can it be bought at newsstands and from news dealers?

Mr. BUDENZ. No, but you must still have a Communist book store in Washington.¹ It can be got there.

Senator DONNELL. You can get it at the Communist book store?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes. You can get it at the Communist book store in New York also, below the Daily Worker on East Thirteenth Street. As a matter of fact, it is very generously displayed. It is a red book; you cannot miss it.

¹The Washington Cooperative Book Shop at 916 Seventeenth Street NW., Washington, D. C., cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark. See appendix II, p. 9.

Senator DONNELL. Some months ago, at this very table, there testified Mr. Foster—William Z. Foster¹—before either the full committee or a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee. I cannot quote him with exactness, and I may have incorrectly interpreted his remarks, but the impression I got was that the contention is made at times, at any rate, that some of this Communist literature that uses language about the Army, and so forth, is figurative language, and is not intended to be literal. Do you mind telling us whether or not your belief is to that effect or whether it differs from that?

Mr. BUDENZ. My knowledge is that it is literal; that is to say, we were constantly instructed in Daily Worker staff meetings and in many other ways constantly brought to our attention what these words meant. In addition to that, they are literally being carried out. How could Mr. Foster explain what happens in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, China, and every place else, which is in complete accord with this program?

Senator DONNELL. I want to make it clear that I am not undertaking to quote with exactness, and I might be in error in the conclusion that I drew as to what he said, but I certainly derived from his testimony that that contention was made there.

Mr. BUDENZ. That is the part of the language which Lenin recommended to the Communists—that they are privileged to deceive the representatives of the imperialist states because they are only members of the executive committee of the ruling class and must be overthrown. Stalin specifically says that the bureaucratic “apparatus”—which is his word for meaning the set-up here under the Constitution of the United States, the Army and the judicial arm—must be smashed by violence and destroyed completely so that no semblance of it remains. He asked the question specifically, as Lenin did: “Does this apply to the United States of America?” And the answer is that it emphatically does apply to the United States of America. That is reiterated over and over again to the Communists in their secret schools, the schools on Marxism, Leninism, their Daily Worker staff meetings, everywhere that they have an opportunity to return to their fundamental principles and purposes. It is so frequently asserted and reiterated and published in the Communist publications of the past under the guise of referring to the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that it would be no difficulty at all to locate it over and over again.

There is no doubt at all from what I know that the offices and consulates of the Soviet satellites are being used extensively for all sorts of subversive purposes directed against the security of the United States. That is based on this analysis that I make. This analysis, incidentally, is not merely speculation. There has been a constant connection between the foreign Communist movements—if you wish to call them that—and the people of those countries who are Communists here. That has been a constant interlocking relationship back and forth, and this has all been under the discipline of the Communists, a discipline which Americans as yet do not understand at all because Communists can never reason why whatsoever—they obey the orders they are given. This relationship, therefore, is only carried to a higher stage when it is used now under the cover of official cloaks.

¹ William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party of America, appeared before the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, on May 28, 1948.

The public statements by the Communist leaders of this country tell quite plainly of their hostility toward the United States, a hostility which the Communist conspirators always carry into action. Every statement made, every article written, must be written and read in a dynamic way, finding the directive in it, with the idea that an active Communist does not read for the purpose of just enlightening himself; he reads for the purpose of enlightening himself in order to act as quickly as possible upon that enlightenment. All he seeks is the directive, and that is the instruction from above given to Communists as to how to proceed.

As to Amtorg, it was a well-known fact at Communist headquarters that it was used for subversive purposes.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Budenz, for the enlightenment of the Senators, would you tell what Amtorg is in this country?

Mr. BUDENZ. Amtorg is the Russian trade agency.

Mr. ARENS. In this country now?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is correct. My own personal knowledge of that is very limited. I only know that from constant reiteration of the fact from national headquarters of the Communist Party.

Senator DONNELL. Is it a corporation?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. Under the laws of what State or country is it incorporated?

Mr. BUDENZ. It is incorporated here.¹ I am sure, but I don't know its definite form of organization. They have these agencies throughout the world. I do know, however, that the supposed rule that members of the Amtorg staff should not participate as Reds within the United States is not observed, because on several occasions—and I recall one immediately—J. M. Budish, of the Amtorg staff, was very active in seeking to obtain recognition of Soviet Russia. He approached me in that respect when I was not a Communist, because I unfortunately had been very active in that field myself, getting many resolutions in labor unions and the like; and he wanted a list of all those who had taken action in this respect, although he warned me that this work was being done a little off the beaten path of what Amtorg was supposed to do.

Mr. ARENS. Is Amtorg the organization which has recently been identified in the press as an organization which has been shipping atom-bomb information or materials to Russia?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Is this organization an agent of a foreign power operating in this country?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is right; it is openly an agent of the foreign power. There is no secrecy involved.

Senator DONNELL. Where is its New York address?

Mr. BUDENZ. It is down on Madison Avenue.² I know right where it is; I know it very well, because we were supposed to avoid it, especially when getting in contact with Soviet agents, and they were also supposed to avoid it so as not to be identified by any staff member while engaged in secret work. It is on Madison Avenue; I cannot give you the exact address for the moment. It is just below midtown in New York.

¹ Amtorg is incorporated in New York.

² 210 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

SENATOR DONNELL. Is there any effort made to conceal the identity of Amtorg there, or is it operated as an ordinary business establishment?

MR. BUDENZ. No; it is an open business establishment.

SENATOR DONNELL. Does it carry its name in the telephone directory?

MR. BUDENZ. Certainly, not only that, but it is registered here as coming to this country to engage in trade. It is not a secret organization. Unfortunately, Senator, just at the moment I am not privileged to reveal some further information on this question which would strengthen my statement, because I have not yet been able to link up one Soviet agent with whom I dealt in Amtorg, although I am sure that I am about to do so. I cannot pursue the question any further until I am certain. I do not want to make wild statements.

Of course, in addition, we have the notorious case of World Tourists, headed for years by the late Jacob Golos,¹ former head of the Control Commission of the Communist Party, and one of the chief Soviet espionage agents in this country. I know of this activity of Golos from personal experience and in many conversations with him.

It may be interesting to know that Golos was an alien all his life in this country, and that because of this fact, when he died, I was asked to write the obituary, knowing him very well. In that obituary it was said that, although he had been a great friend of the Communist Party, he had never been a member of it. That was done at the request of Earl Browder, which at that time I agreed to, and we wrote the obituary to that effect. As a matter of fact, for years Golos had been head of the Control Commission, whose members held the lives of Communists politically in their hands. I don't mean literally the physical life, although that might be possible, too, but certainly their political life was in his hands of the Control Commission.

With that commission you had to file all your biography down to the smallest detail; that is, all your associates throughout your life, your relations to your family, your financial condition, anything at all that would show the circle in which you operated and the weaknesses you had, or connections that might be of value to the party. As a matter of fact, while head of this Control Commission, and thus in control of all the information in regard to Communists, Mr. Golos, alien all these years, was at the same time directing espionage through the World Tourists.

It should be noted, however, that there is a committee within the Communist Party for contact with the Soviet consulate and embassy, and with Amtorg and other such agencies. This committee does not say that is its purpose even within the party, but that is its purpose. When I was in the party one prominent member of this committee was Alexander Trachtenberg, head of the International Publishers, who had a legitimate cover for his relations with Moscow by publishing English translations of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. This threw him into constant touch and communication with Soviet representatives of various sorts. Mr. Trachtenberg, incidentally, has now succeeded Golos to the powerful place as head of the Control Commission of the Communist Party, although it now has a new title, the National Review Commission. It was to that commission that

¹ For the story of Jacob Golos, see the testimony of Elizabeth T. Bentley, p. 106.

Mr. Browder made his appeal, to Mr. Trachtenberg as its head, for reinstatement in the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Is Alexander Trachtenberg an alien sent to this country?

Mr. BUDENZ. Trachtenberg is a native of Russia who has been in this country for many years. It is my understanding that he has received his citizenship. He was a left-wing Socialist when he first came into this country, and very quickly thereafter he became first a concealed Communist and then an open Communist.

Mr. ARENS. Would you give us a word further, before you proceed to your next general subject, respecting this contact with the Soviet consulates, the embassy, and Amtorg with this committee, the Control Committee?

Mr. BUDENZ. This special commission, as it is called, which is not the Control Commission, has as its function the contact with Soviet sources of information, which means Soviet consulates and embassy and Amtorg here. Once more, I have not been present when these contacts have been made. That is the purpose for the creation of the commission, however, and it exists for that purpose, and it is understood in the political committee and even by a considerable number of members of the national committee that that is the purpose of this commission.

Mr. ARENS. That is the commission that is now headed at the present time by Trachtenberg?

Mr. BUDENZ. No. The commission which I said was headed by Trachtenberg is the Control Commission, which controls the political integrity of the members of the Communist Party from the Communist viewpoint.

Mr. ARENS. Is he the head of this commission that maintains liaison between the consulates and embassy and Amtorg, and the local Communist groups?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is a commission of which Trachtenberg is a member.

Mr. ARENS. Who is the head of it?

Mr. BUDENZ. That I am not advised. As a matter of fact, I don't think it has a head; I think they all operate it together. As a matter of fact, the late Mr. Joseph Brodsky has referred to that commission in talking to me about a very specific case, and he mentioned no head. It receives its directives from secret Soviet channels and the Communist international representatives.

Mr. ARENS. Where is Trachtenberg now?

Mr. BUDENZ. In New York, at the International Publishers Co., which is a Communist publication society or corporation which publishes the translations of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. It publishes all of the important Red theoretical works, either in popular form or in book form, for the members of the Communist Party and the others who wish to consult them.

Mr. ARENS. Who else are members of this organization, this commission?

Mr. BUDENZ. Other members that I remember included the late Jacob Golos; the late Joseph Brodsky, for many years attorney for the Communist Party; Alexander Bittelman, chief theoretician of the Communist Party here and an alien from Russia whose deportation hearing was recently held; Jack Stachel, member of the political bureau for the Communist Party; and one or two others. A recent member

of this committee was Eugene Dennis, present secretary of the party, who had been trained in espionage at the Lenin School of Moscow.

Senator DONNELL. Mr. Chairman, may I ask Mr. Budenz a question? The CHAIRMAN. Senator Donnell.

Senator DONNELL. Do you know who the present chief counsel is for the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, I do. I can see his face right now. He was connected with Brodsky. The name starts with an F, but I cannot think of it for the moment. He takes care of all the legal technical matters for the Communist Party.

Senator DONNELL. Is he a New York lawyer?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is right; Freedman is the name.¹

Senator DONNELL. Is he participating in this criminal case?

Mr. BUDENZ. No. He looks after technical legal matters. That is, up to the time I left the party, he did. I don't know what happened since. He was, as a matter of fact, more and more taking over the functions that Brodsky used to exercise.

Senator DONNELL. Do you recall the name of the firm of which Mr. Brodsky was a member, if he was a member of a firm?

Mr. BUDENZ. I do not, although I have been there many times.

Senator DONNELL. Where was the office?

Mr. BUDENZ. In New York City, not far from the Daily Worker; it was in central New York City. I knew Brodsky very well long before I was a member of the Communist Party. I have been in his office on a number of occasions, but it is one of those things where you go almost without knowing the address.

Senator DONNELL. Was there any concealment of his representation of the Communist Party, or did this man Brodsky permit it to be generally known that he was the lawyer for the Communist Party?

Mr. BUDENZ. There was both. It was known and yet, of course, many of his activities were very secret. He told me, for instance, of how they persuaded Golos to "take the rap," as he put it, for all of their foreign agents here at the time when there was an enforcement taking place of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Golos pleaded guilty and got a comparatively light sentence in return for his pleading guilty. Then as a result, many of the other agents were not prosecuted. At least that is the way Brodsky represented it to me. He was talking about a case in which they thought maybe it would be essential that some action like that be carried out again in another field, and mentioning that, he referred to the case of Golos and that Golos was ordered by this commission—that is why I know about the existence of this commission very vividly, although I know about it from many other sources—to "take the rap" for the rest of the Soviet agents here. Brodsky also said that Golos did it quite reluctantly.

As I have said, a recent member of this committee was Eugene Dennis, present secretary of the party, who has been trained in espionage in the Lenin School of Moscow, or at least so it was said in his favor within the party's leading circles.

On the third point, the Communist Party has an elaborate machine for dealing with foreign-language groups. Today I cannot do justice to this subject and will have to put some of that in a memorandum which I shall volunteer to send to you. It relies upon them to furnish

¹ David Freedman.

Soviet agents to be sent back to their own respective countries when necessary. It also uses those whom it can develop within these groups as contacts with foreign agents of their own nationality.

This is done quite frequently. For a number of years, in order to stimulate this work, there was a special commission on foreign language groups which met regularly on the ninth floor of the Communist headquarters in New York. The reason I know about this is that they detected that I was a frustrated Irishman and put me in charge of directing activities among the Irish. My mother's name, I am proud to say, was Sullivan, and my ancestors on that side come from Counties Cork and Kerry. This was learned from my biography within the party, and after that I had no rest in regard to Irish activity. I was put on this commission because of the fact that they were trying to group all foreign groups, even those that spoke English. I met with that commission for a very long time, meeting on the ninth floor of the Communist headquarters in New York. This commission or committee was directed by Mrs. Irene Browder, wife of the former Communist general secretary, Earl Browder, who is a registered agent—the fact that the former general secretary of the Communist Party is now a registered Soviet representative shows in itself close alliance between Communists and Moscow—which throws light on the foreign relationship in that respect, too—the alien relationship.

The foreign-language group commission directed the Communist propaganda in every Communist Party foreign-language paper in this country. There is, of course, a number of such here and I am sure that your committee has a list of those papers, but I shall be glad to furnish any that you may want. We know right offhand there was a Lithuanian daily, a Hungarian daily, a Yiddish daily, and several other dailies in the foreign-language field in addition to a great number of weeklies.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you identify the names of any of them if the committee submits them to you?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes. I can name the Uj Elöre.

Mr. DEKOM. How about the Magyar Jövö, its successor in New York?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. The Slobodna Rec in Pittsburgh?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes. That, however, was not a daily.

Mr. DEKOM. That is published three times a week.

Mr. BUDENZ. Something like that.

Mr. DEKOM. The Narodni Glasnik, in Pittsburgh?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is right. There is a Russian paper, too.

Mr. DEKOM. The Russky Golos?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is right. As a matter of fact, the Russky Golos had on its staff this military expert for the Daily Worker; the man who wrote under a title of Veteran Commander¹ in the Daily Worker was connected with the Russky Golos. I can get his name.

Mr. DEKOM. How about the newspaper, Narodna Volya in Detroit? That is a Bulgarian language paper; do you recognize that name?

Mr. BUDENZ. I don't for a moment. There is a Rumanian paper.

Mr. DEKOM. The Romanul-American?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes.

¹ Sergeï N. Kournakoff.

Mr. DEKOM. There is a Polish paper, the *Glos Ludowy*, in Detroit; is there not?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes; I know that; I have been out there to their offices. Back to this last-named paper, I have made a number of visits to the foreign-language papers in Detroit.

Mr. DEKOM. That is the *Glos Ludowy*?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes. That was in connection with the whole campaign around Poland, incidentally, to get information to keep fresh on the Polish campaign because of its great urgency in the party, at least, ordered by the Communist International.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you tell the committee who the leaders of that group were? Did you have any contact with Boleslaw Gebert?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes; I know him very well. I did not recognize that pronunciation. I am not so apt at the original pronunciation of some of these names.

Mr. DEKOM. He went under the name of "Bill" Gebert.

Mr. BUDENZ. "Bill" Gebert; yes. The thing is that he is head of the Polish work and of the Polish bureau of the IWO, which indicates how the IWO is used and the manner in which the IWO is used for double purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the IWO?

Mr. BUDENZ. The International Workers Order, the insurance corporation of which Mr. Mills has been the general secretary. He has been since Max Bedacht quit. Bedacht was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, former general secretary of the party, and then general secretary of the IWO. There is a very close affinity between the two organizations, the Communist Party and the IWO.

Mr. Gebert has been recently—when I left the party specifically—for a number of years head of the Polish bureau of the IWO, and likewise from there penetrating out to affect a number of people in the Slav field; that is, Louis Adamic, Leo Krzycki of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and other men originally not so close to the Communist movement. Gebert has been commissioned to carry on that activity. Before that he was the secret party representative in Detroit in the penetration of the automobile industry, and before that, district organizer of the Communist Party in Chicago.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you aware of the fact that he returned to Poland aboard the *Batory* and is now an official of the Polish Government?

Mr. BUDENZ. That does not surprise me. No, I am not definitely aware of it, though I recently heard something to that effect.

Mr. DEKOM. You mentioned the name of Louis Adamic a moment ago. Would you enlarge on any knowledge that you have of your relationships—of the relationships of the party with him, or his relationships with the party?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, I could. I have told this several times in regard to Mr. Adamic, because he was one of those examples which could best show the activity of the party in striking down the morale of people and in getting them under the party's control. To my knowledge, Mr. Adamic was never an official member of the Communist Party. However, it was due to my constant nursing of Mr. Adamic, on orders of the political committee—since I had known him for a number of years—that I finally induced him to meet with the officials

of the party in charge of the foreign language field. The man at that time was A. Landy. We had many meetings up in that hotel on Lexington Avenue where Adamic stays a great part of the time when he is in New York. As a result, Mr. Adamic agreed with Mr. Landy to carry out the party policies and agreed to man the whole committee which he was forming on Yugoslavia with people chosen by the party.

Mr. DEKOM. That is the United Committee of South Slavic-Americans which was formed in Pittsburgh?

Mr. BUDENZ. I am not sure whether it was that. Yes, I think that was it.

Mr. DEKOM. Which later formed a relief organization, the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief.

Mr. BUDENZ. That is correct. It had its office in New York, though.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it your testimony, then, that Louis Adamic agreed to do the work which was assigned to him by the party?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you define that work more fully?

Mr. BUDENZ. That work was to penetrate the ranks of the Slavic-Americans, winning their cooperation, specifically, with the Tito Government in Yugoslavia. Also, from there, cooperating with Gebert and bringing together the Polish, Yugoslav, and other Slav groups behind Soviet policy. It has much more details than that, but that is the agreement in general.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you aware of the fact that Mr. Adamic has now or has recently been in Yugoslavia, where he was received by government officials and has been in conference with them?

Mr. BUDENZ. I have heard something of that. It is interesting to note that he is now on Tito's side of the question, because one great point that was raised originally in regard to the party's attitude toward Mr. Adamic here was that he allowed his sympathy with the Slovenes, of which he is one, to overshadow some of the concepts he was developing. You must remember that Mr. Adamic became very bitter at Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. He thought they had blocked him from making a trip like that before, and out of that bitterness the party immediately sought to obtain fruits, and that was why these contacts were reestablished with Mr. Adamic.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you expand on the activities of Leo Krzycki, please? Will you define what those activities were?

Mr. BUDENZ. He has been known to me for many years on a friendly basis. As a matter of fact, for more than 20 years I have known him very well. The thing is that Leo Krzycki is of Polish descent, an officer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and was more and more worked on by the party and by Gebert. In fact, Gebert told me one day of his entire plan in regard to Krzycki, and only a half hour later, I met Krzycki and he told me of the plan Gebert laid down to me. He had just been in conference with Gebert.

Mr. DEKOM. Could you recall that for the committee?

Mr. BUDENZ. Leo said that the time had come when men had to take a stand and he was going to take a stand. That is, he was going to take a stand among the Slavs for the great Slav State of Russia and for cooperation of all the Slavs in behalf of what he called Soviet-American friendship.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Budenz, do you have information respecting the issuance of passports to the International Brigade volunteers in the civil war in Spain; that is, to young men who went from this country to Spain?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What is your information?

Mr. BUDENZ. It should be better organized and I cannot do it today, but I will give you at least a general view of it. All these men were financed by the Communist Party, by this secret fund, and in addition to that, a special treasurer was sent over to France, David Leeds, who had been treasurer of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party for many years. Indeed, you will find, if you can investigate it, that many of these big front meetings, including some of the great meetings to organize the American workers in this country, were financed by cash handed out by Mr. Leeds; that is, he paid for the hall with funds advanced out of the party treasury. The party has a bigger treasury than you think. It can go out, and finance all the meetings, and it gets the money back, you understand.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does this treasury come from?

Mr. BUDENZ. Of my own knowledge I cannot say, but it certainly is supposed to come in part from Moscow. It also is to be raised in this country among those who have the means and who have the feeling of sympathy toward the party. The party has many, many such people in this country, upon whom it can draw.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us about these young men who were given these passports in the International Brigade and sent to fight in the Spanish Civil War?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes. They were brought here and drilled. They were brought up-State in New York and drilled at Camp Beacon, particularly. It was known then as Camp Nitgedaiget, the Communist Camp at Beacon, N. Y. They were also drilled at other Communist camps. Then they were sent across in an organized fashion, in violation of the law, and every bit of the way they were directed by Communist representatives.

Mr. ARENS. Did they have American passports?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, they had American passports, many of them to France, and then they slipped across the border.

Mr. ARENS. You say "in violation of the law." What do you mean?

Mr. BUDENZ. Many of them violated the law in going to Spain. They were not supposed to go to Spain. They were supposed to go to France and back. As a matter of fact, it was quite an issue for a while, but it was dropped.

Mr. ARENS. How many young men were taken or sent from this country by the Communists for that purpose?

Mr. BUDENZ. By the way, A. W. Mills was in on that, too. He helped to organize that in this country. That was his activity for quite a while under cover.

Mr. ARENS. What happened to these young men after they got over there, as far as their passports were concerned?

Mr. BUDENZ. They were smuggled across the Spanish border or got across in any way they could. As a matter of fact, many of them had difficulty in getting back. Sometimes their passports were given to other people.

MR. ARENS. Who did that?

MR. BUDENZ. That was done under the direction of the Communist apparatus.

MR. DEKOM. You mean the Communist apparatus took their passports away from them?

MR. BUDENZ. In many instances.

MR. DEKOM. And then gave them to someone else?

MR. BUDENZ. Yes.

MR. DEKOM. For what purpose?

MR. BUDENZ. For the purpose of moving back and forth in various countries. I can give you more information on that. This has to be a little desultory. I can give you more on this matter. I did not know it was going to come up today. However, I can state that it was an organized plan; it was acknowledged by Mr. Browder, because he made a trip to see them. Also, by many others. But the thing is that they were brought to certain camps and there trained and drilled with certain military men in charge. I don't know who they were. At any rate, they were then sent in an organized fashion to Europe, the idea being to get to France and to Spain as best they could; that being organized likewise. Mills was a very important person in that activity, and, as I indicated, a special fund was in Paris in the hands of David Leeds for the Americans going there.

MR. ARENS. While we are on this question of Spain, what was the official party line with reference to Spain when you were managing editor of the Communist Daily Worker?

MR. BUDENZ. The official party line was to establish a Red Spain as one of the means to infiltrate Latin America. It was to do this through furthering the Republic, but through destroying everybody else also. That is a Communist tactic. That is the coalition government proposal for China. That was the reason they inveigled this Yugoslav back to Yugoslavia. Pardon me for not momentarily remembering his name.

MR. DEKOM. Do you mean Ivan Subasic?

MR. BUDENZ. That is it. They inveigled him back to Yugoslavia, so that he would not be a name around which opposition could rally outside, and they offered him the most flattering position in the government. Before he went, poor fellow, it was already planned by the Reds that he have his throat slit politically. They saved his life, but slit his throat politically. The reason I knew that was through an accidental cable that the British Communist Party sent me; that is, wondering who Subasic was and what to do about it. I went to Landy. He stated, "The British comrades are indiscreet, you cannot tell about him the way we want. He is just going over there to be sacrificed. We cannot give that information in an open cable."

He said for me to wire a cable back that information obtained from a number of Slav organizations showed that Subasic was at present desirable and working with the party, though his continued loyalty could not be vouched for. That is the best we could do, and over in London the Reds were supposed to know conspiratorial language as well as the Communists here.

MR. ARENS. Would you kindly proceed with your statement?

MR. BUDENZ. To carry on with the use of the foreign-language groups, the party has established a number of Communist fronts. One

of the chief of these is the International Workers Order, which is divided into foreign-language divisions. That is for the purpose of making this penetration more effective.

Mr. ARENS. How many foreign-language divisions are there?

Mr. BUDENZ. That I can't say, specifically. It is a matter of record in the IWO organizational set-up.

Mr. ARENS. Are there as many as 15?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is right. Each one has a bureau headed the same as Gebert directed the Polish Bureau.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, there is a head of Hungarians in the foreign-language Communist section?

Mr. BUDENZ. Not Communist section, it is the International Workers Order; although there are also leaders here of the Hungarian Communists as such.

Mr. DEKOM. While you are on that subject, is it not a fact that many of these nationalities section leaders later became and are today the heads of foreign-language Communist fronts; that is, they have been taken from the IWO and put in charge of these fronts?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes, and beyond that, the IWO is a sort of refuge for broken-down Communist organizers. I mean, broken-down partly physically, or if for a moment they have lost out in a trade-union or in Congress or some front groups. If they are Communist sympathizers they can get a job in IWO. For example, John Bernard, up in Minnesota, was on the IWO organizers' pay roll for a time. I know of others to at least one other defeated Congressman who was working with the Communist Party. I believe for a time he accepted that to sort of bridge him over. There are also a number of trade-union organizers, as I indicated, who if they are defeated temporarily in their union, get to be IWO organizers. Sometimes they stay there, but frequently they try to use that as a jumping-off place to get back to office in the union or for expanded front activities.

In regard to Spain, though, the question was asked as to the party's attitude on Spain, and there you may be interested to know that the moving picture Blockade was written by John Howard Lawson under orders of the political committee of the Communist Party. He was the author of that production and he is one of the most noted Communists of that group of writers. So that gives the attitude on Spain, which was to employ "democratic" propaganda for the achievement of a Red Spain.

In addition, there are a number of controlled organizations, created for specific groups and circumstances. Among these are the American Slav Congress, in which Krzycki operated quite extensively; the United Committee of South Slavic Americans, where Adamic was very active for a time and really remained so for quite a while; the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, which had difficulties as soon as Tito began to fight with Stalin; and the Macedonian-American People's League. The activities of the Communists among the Macedonians here is very intense, as I know from these reports.

Mr. ARENS. Who is the head of that group?

Mr. BUDENZ. That I can't recall for the moment, though I do know it. I was going to say I can't recall offhand all these people, because my meeting was in this casual fashion, once a month or so at the party headquarters. But I do know from these reports that that was the case.

MR. DEKOM. Do you recall the name of George Pirinsky?

MR. BUDENZ. Yes, I do; I do recall his name. I was about to mention it. I knew him as editor of the Macedonian-Bulgarian publication, a weekly. He was ordered for deportation in 1937 and that incident is known to me, since I was associated about that time with work in the Middle West. Also I was then working with the Minority Groups Commission in the party. I recall Pirinsky largely under his assumed name of Nicoloff. I recall now that he was the leader of the Macedonian Red group in this country.

The thing is that this Macedonian group was considered important in order to help Tito also. We must remember they played a part, because the Macedonians might have gone asunder had it not been for influence playing upon them from America. Therefore, they were very valuable for building up a Communist regime in Yugoslavia which would become a superstate among the people. The other organizations are the Bulgarian-American People's League and the National Council, Americans of Croatian Descent.

To sum up:

There is a complete and extensive apparatus existing in this country for the purpose of directing native Communists through alien personnel. This apparatus begins with the connection of the political committee of the Communist Party with Moscow through the alien agents of the Communist International. It then proceeds to branch out into many ramifications, with its driving force in the political tourists sent in here to function in various departments of American life.

Now, we are aware that the Communists have a tactic of taking up causes which are worth while and hiding behind them, so we have this tactic of the Communists hiding behind the foreign-born. They claimed Eisler was a refugee when that certainly threw discredit upon all genuine refugees. They likewise have the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born, a purely Communist-created organization which rushes into print on behalf of Stalin's alien agents as though any effort to check any alien activity in the United States which is directed by Moscow is an attack upon the foreign-born.

We know that any persecution of the foreign-born as such is thoroughly anti-American. All our ancestors came from abroad, as a matter of fact, even if we are fourth generation or so, from Europe. Therefore, we cannot consider, even from our own viewpoint, that a stand against the foreign-born as such is a sound policy. But Red conspiracy is something different. This is a case of aliens sent in here by Moscow direction, or after they are here being used by Moscow direction and education against the United States. That is a completely separate question and the two should not be confused. The Communists seek to confuse them. They do a disservice, a very serious disservice, to the foreign-born, by seeking to advance this confusion. Of course, that is precisely what they plan, under any and all circumstances.

MR. ARENS. Mr. Budenz, you have stated here today in certain areas that if you would have the opportunity to refresh your recollection and perhaps make reference to some material which may be available to you, you will be able to present to the subcommittee more specific information in certain areas, particularly, as I recall, in the area of the foreign-born groups and alien groups in this country. I should

like, if you care to express yourself, to know the approximate time when you feel you would be able to get this information better assembled. Would a week or two be sufficient?

Mr. BUDENZ. I should think 2 weeks would be required. At the moment, I am correcting examination papers and that is a rather extensive job. However, I could say 2 weeks, and hope it would be sufficient.

Mr. ARENS. We will communicate with you at that time.

I want to pose one other question, which I believe Senator Donnell has in mind, with reference to your own particular background and your own reasons for leaving the party. Is that what you had in mind, Senator Donnell?

Senator DONNELL. Yes.

Mr. BUDENZ. My background is that I am a fourth generation American. My great-great-grandfather on my German side was one of the first settlers of Indianapolis.

Senator DONNELL. I had in mind, Mr. Budenz, the reasons for your leaving the party. I did not particularly have any matters of ancestry in mind.

Mr. BUDENZ. I was not particularly trying to emphasize those features either, but you asked about the background, and in speaking of the background, you naturally begin with ancestors. I might say that every Hoosier is patriotic. Some of them do not remain in Indiana very long, but they never forget Indiana. Therefore, I had to bring that in.

With respect to leaving the party, people join the Communist Party for different motives, as in all other organizations, but there is one dominant motive originally for the Reds; that is, their sense of injustice at some abuse or other which they, in their impatience, distort. That is, they may feel there is a discrimination against Negroes, as I do, or that labor has been exploited too much, as I felt, and then out of that distortion—and it is not always a distortion of the facts that an abuse may have existed, but it is a distortion of the manner in which the remedy is sought.

For example, we are impatient with the monopolies, and correctly so, in my opinion. But the Communists in their hatred of that condition go on to advance the greatest monopoly of all—the slave state, the sole employer who can destroy you and your family and relatives and your children—that takes all the manhood out of you. That is the story of the Soviet Union which I learned at the *Daily Worker*. It was given to us in the code concerning the things we could not write about, specifically the concentration camps in the Soviet Union. Originally, we were ordered to defend these camps as reform institutions, and later on, in 1943, we were told not to say a word about them.

Mr. ARENS. How many are there in the concentration camps in Russia?

Mr. BUDENZ. That has to be surmised. I don't believe anybody knows, including even the dictatorship. But the point is that we have this book on forced labor in Russia¹ which says 15,000,000 to 20,000,000. They do show 125 concentration camps, where they are located, so they have a basis for their estimates. We received much information at the *Daily Worker*, showing that slave labor existed on a tremendous scale. But that is not the sole thing to consider.

¹ Dallin and Nicolaevsky, *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia*.

The thing that I learned is, secondly, the complete control of the Communist's intellectual processes which the Kremlin demands, not only in Soviet Russia, but here in America. This became finally something which you could not bear up under any more. For example, when an instruction comes to any Communist, whether it be myself or Mr. Foster, who was here, or anyone else, you do not ask, "Is there any element of falsehood connected with it?" or "How much of this view is valid?" That is, you cannot accept some of it and drop some. When a decree comes from Moscow, the Red leader says immediately, "How does this happen to be the most magnificent utterance ever made on this subject up to this moment?" Stimulated with this thought, he proceeds from that conclusion to carve out arguments as to why it is the best conclusion that could be reached.

In some years that method of thinking, if you wish to call it that, completely destroys you. You do only that which you are told, no matter how you may vocally tell liberals and other people whom you meet, trade-union leaders and many others, what your reasons for this are. I met many distinguished men in public life whom I tried to convince and sometimes did convince that they should follow the policy recommended by the Communist Party—not as Communists, but as citizens of America—and this counsel was all reasoned out from the conclusions sent from Moscow.

You can see how the line changes, and the Reds change with it. One instance, I think, will illustrate this best of all, and show you the mental condition the Communist finally gets himself into. There is the case of Earl Browder, for 15 years the head of the Communist Party here. At every one of the national committee meetings, of which I told you, the national committee members used to rise and say, "This report made by Browder, which was from 2 to 4 hours long, is the most magnificent utterance we have ever heard. It again marks him as the greatest Marxist-Leninist genius on the Western Hemisphere." And on and on along that line.

It was admitted later when Browder was declared to be a revisionist—that is, a traitor—that many of these statements praising Browder's reports had been written before anyone knew what he was going to say at all. That is symbolic of the method of the so-called leadership.

Mr. ARENS. Is Browder an agent of the Kremlin?

Mr. BUDENZ. I stated that he was a registered agent of Soviet Russia.

The thing I want to call your attention to is that Browder could have made his peace and would have made his peace, but the Kremlin needs a scapegoat. He was chosen as a revisionist and traitor for advocating what Moscow had previously advocated. At that time, when he advocated the peace between the United States and the Soviet Union—which was a cardinal sin, and Jacques Duclos, the general secretary of the French Communist Party, specifically said it was impossible—this device was used by Moscow to give a blow at Browder; that is, that peace between the United States and the Soviet Union is impossible. That is the whole burden of the Duclos theme, though written in Communist-Aesopian language. You can see it there in print—that Browder was condemned as a revisionist and traitor for having spoken out for peace between the United States and the Soviet Union. But that is exactly what Moscow had wanted

said when American lend-lease was essential; it is exactly what Duclos had stated in France.

Why was Browder treated in this fashion? Because after the cold-war policy was decided upon, he was perfectly useless to Moscow. He could not go around any more with the new program, after all, but his sacrificial role could be useful for stimulating all the Communists to step into line. You should have seen them step into line with the new policy, shouting "revisionist" and "traitor" and attacking Browder in the most vituperative fashion. They wanted to go the limit in the cold war now; they wanted to show their zeal in the matter. Finally, Browder went to Moscow to show them he would do what Stalin wanted him to do, and he was commissioned a Soviet agent. He registered as such here in Washington.

You say this method of destruction of a faithful Red is ruthless? What is more ruthless today than the Communist leaders being compelled to declare they are in accord with the leaders of France and Italy in stating that they would welcome Soviet troops on the soil of their native land at the moment when they are being tried seriously in New York? But the Communist is supposed to immolate his reputation, his whole being, at the feet of Moscow. That is driven home—everything for the party—and, of course, today the party is Stalin.

That consciousness came home to me, and I realized that I was morally wrecked, that I was only an order blank, and that the orders came from very far away indeed. I said to myself, "Well, I don't know much about Stalin, but at least I know he is a public figure. But suppose the general secretary of the Leningrad Party should be the head of the Soviet Union, and that he would order some new campaign? I would have to obey without reasoning and understanding." Of course, today the man rising is Georgi Malenkov, but in those days the general secretary of the Leningrad Party was supposedly slated to be the world leader in case Stalin died.

To sum it up: This business of constantly receiving orders and trying to execute them, while it has an advantage of keeping you from thinking, and, therefore, thinking how to carry them out, it has a debilitating effect on a person after a number of years, and that, I recognized, was something to be checked. Then I saw out of that how I had distorted the picture of the world, and how this Slav empire was certainly not the answer to the emancipation of the working people that it had promised. Instead of doing that, it brought about the enslavement of mankind. I had to turn to some place for morality, and since I had been educated and reared in the Catholic Church, I turned to it for morality, a conviction which, incidentally, also ran somewhat parallel to the recognition of the position in which I would eventually be in the Communist Party—

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by that expression "ran parallel"?

MR. BUDENZ. Of course, a person does not make up his mind suddenly on the several things that sometimes develop at the same time. My feeling that I should return to recognition of religion, and that religion for me was the Catholic religion, came about the same time as I began to recognize what the Communist international movement was doing to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you give up your religion when you accepted the Communist principles?

MR. BUDENZ. I gave up my religion before I became a Communist, but the thing is that the Communist leader cannot have a religion. He must be a militant atheist, though he may not express it. At this moment, that is a condition of leadership: that is, a Communist may permit uneducated workers, as Lenin says, to retain for a time some of their religious convictions if they are very strong and emphatic followers of the Communist line in general, but that is only in order to gradually explain to them the exploiting character of religion. That is very clearly set down in Lenin's writings.

THE CHAIRMAN. You have to give up your belief in theosophism to become thoroughly imbued with communism?

MR. BUDENZ. You have to give up your belief in God no matter how that belief may express itself. Stalin says in the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—though it is a reiteration it is considered very good, because it is simply expressed—in chapter 4, that historical materialism is the foundation stone of Marxism-Leninism, that is, of the philosophy upon which communism is based.

MR. ARENS. What do you mean my "historical materialism"?

MR. BUDENZ. That is to say that we live in a world purely materialistic, without a divinity or spiritual being. That is the foundation stone of communism. From that you proceed to seek to establish for the animal man, who has no other existence, an earthly paradise. That is not the way it is phrased, but that is the logic. Therefore, you have the promise of the Socialist state and the Communist society. Many people forget that there is the promise of the Communist society. The Socialist state which exists today in Soviet Russia is said to have placed the means of production and distribution in the hands of the dictatorship of the proletariat, although we know that is the dictatorship of the 13 oligarchs sitting in the Kremlin. But they claim they have the dictatorship of the proletariat and that they are going to extend it to the world. But out of this state, after the man becomes perfected through socialism, the state shall voluntarily wither away. What guaranty have you of that? None whatever, except the word of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, the four great scientists of socialism. The state shall wither away and man, having become perfect under socialism, shall no longer quarrel with his neighbor; he shall be perfectly adjusted. The state shall be done away with, all armies and courts shall be ended, and money shall be abolished, and each shall give according to his ability and receive according to his need. That is the Communist side; that is the mesmerism that led Corliss Lamont to be a Communist, also, this man Lem Harris, both of whom have plenty of silver spoons in their mouths—that is, their belief that this will lead to the messianic future the Communists depict.

MR. DEKOM. Has there been any indication in the Soviet Union that the state, the police, and the army or the control system have begun to wither away?

MR. BUDENZ. To the contrary, all of this is constantly being strengthened. As a matter of fact, in 1939, Joseph Stalin, at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—incidentally, Senator, this is a good indication of how American Communists have to drench themselves in Soviet allegiance by having to read all these documents of the various party congresses of the Communist Party of

the Soviet Union. And at this one, Stalin said that we will have to postpone indefinitely the withering away of the state; that you cannot attain the withering away of the state until the encirclement of socialism by capitalism is transformed into the encirclement of capitalism by socialism. In other words until the world proletarian dictatorship is established, with Soviet world conquest. Then you can hope for the withering away, but we will postpone that now, because, Stalin there claims—and this is a sample of Communist dialectic—the stronger the dictatorship becomes, the quicker it will wither away of itself.

Mr. ARENS. On the basis of your experience and background in Communist organization work and Communist activity in this country, could you express to the Senators the seriousness of the Communist threat in this Nation?

Mr. BUDENZ. Of course, I hesitate to do so because so many feel that an ex-Communist is necessarily filled with one idea. However, we all have a responsibility. I have a great desire to make amends for the disservice I did America through a number of years.

The American Nation, in my humble opinion, although having seen what is happening, and knowing still what is happening in the Communist movement, has no appreciation of what great danger this Nation is in. I say that quite calmly in the hope that it will not be regarded as hysterical, but that it will be regarded as approaching reality.

We have a regime in Russia which says that it plans to destroy the United States. It has not said that once; it has said it on every fundamental occasion, and it insists that every Communist (as essential to their training) read the articles which still have that thought. This includes not merely the document I referred to, which Stalin wrote, but the program of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, which was reiterated and strengthened by the Seventh Congress. Those are the fundamental programs of the Communist International, and they laid down there very specifically that the world proletarian dictatorship must be established by violence. And this world conquest includes the United States. This is the basis, and it is not yet appreciated by Americans. How could they fully appreciate the ruthless determination of this dictatorship to achieve its objective? Something should be learned of it from the state of other lands which are under the Soviet heel. These lands are being conquered not for themselves alone, but first of all to destroy our foreign markets, to cut down that 10 percent of our trade which is in foreign trade, to stimulate a disintegration of the American economy, and, at the same time, to place in the hands of the Soviet Union an increasing number of men and women who can be expended endlessly as the Soviet dictators know how to expend them in the war against the United States.

I cannot see how we can avoid these declarations by the Soviet Russian leaders, so specific and so constantly restated.

Mr. ARENS. Assuming that that is their objective, how serious is the threat at the present time, internally in the United States, from the Soviet agents and the Communist-front organizations, against our institutions?

Mr. BUDENZ. So far as the winning of a considerable section of the American people to communism per se is concerned, even if there were a depression here, I have enough confidence in the American people's

understanding to know that they will not embrace communism in itself. The grave danger is that they will embrace all sorts of movements, causes, and activities which are disguised efforts of the Communists. In that way, and not just in depression times but even today, they could put a block on American action and paralyze the will of the American people so that we would not know how to proceed vigorously, whereas the Soviet Union, having no democratic relations with the people so far as obligation is concerned, can carry out its own purposes very rapidly. It can cause minorities to become artificial majorities in a very short time. That, I think, constitutes a real danger, particularly when we consider this form of the Communist organization, which I pointed out, this treelike form, which can use so many people in these branches; that is in different walks of life, acting as though they are not Communists, but being used for those purposes.

Mr. ARENS. What is the ratio of actual Communists to non-Communists who are fellow travelers, we will say?

Mr. BUDENZ. That is very difficult to ascertain. It is not in that way that the Communist movement measures its strength, although it would like to have more loyal members. It measures its strength on their key positions, where they are located. The theory is that one Communist should be at least as 1,000 men, if not more, and this is gained in part by key positions. For instance, if you are a head of the United Electrical and Machine Workers Union—I don't mean Fitzgerald;¹ he was nothing but a tool when I knew him, but Matles,² Emspack,³ and Ruth Young⁴—90 percent of the leadership of that union are Communists, whereas 90 percent of the membership is not Communist. In leadership there, you are in a position of authority by which you can move 500,000 Americans; and they have moved them to a degree, in accord with their program. So, it is the key positions into which the Communists get themselves that are of value.

There are only 100,000 Communists, at the most, in the country; 70,000, as far as dues are concerned. They influence 2,000,000 beyond the periphery, but their strength cannot even be measured by these numbers. I do not think that they can panic or paralyze the country, but I think we should recognize that they have a method which we do not think is as effective as it really is.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Budenz, we will have to suspend very shortly. You will remain under subpoena and you will be excused at the call of the Chair. In the meantime, you will prepare to supplement what you have already testified by such data as you could produce at a later day. We will probably give you in the neighborhood of 10 days or 2 weeks to prepare that. Your address is known to the members of the staff of this committee; is that right?

Mr. BUDENZ. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let me say that yesterday the chairman of this subcommittee was unable to be present due to attending other committees. I am advised that certain witnesses called before the committee refused to testify as to their being Communists, on the

¹ Albert J. Fitzgerald, president, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (CIO).

² James J. Matles, director of organization.

³ Julius Emspack, secretary-treasurer.

⁴ Ruth Young, executive secretary.

ground that it would tend to incriminate them. The answer or position taken by the witness must of necessity come under the fifth amendment of the Constitution, which provides that a witness may not be required to testify against himself.

I have not presented this to the committee, and I express it only as the view of the chairman: that, where a witness takes the position, in answering a question propounded to him, that he might, by his answer, tend to incriminate himself, he must be the judge of his own incrimination, and, if he knows that his answer would incriminate him, then he must know his own criminal responsibility as to whether or not he is in part or in whole guilty of a crime and that his answer would be tending to convict him of that crime.

Communism is not a crime under the law of the country. We have never made it a crime to be a Communist. So, one who says he would not answer a question as to whether or not he is a Communist cannot take the position that, by answering the question, if he said he was a member of the Communist Party, he would be incriminating himself. However, one who takes that position as a witness places himself in that category; and the conclusion must come that, knowing his position, he seeks to take refuge under the provisions of the Constitution.

So far as the Chair is concerned, he would not attempt to cite these witnesses, but would take them on their own face value and on their own answer that, if they answered in the affirmative, they would be thereby incriminating themselves and, therefore, they refuse to answer. So, as far as the Chair is concerned, I would not attempt to cite these witnesses. Their answer stands for their own judgment on themselves.

The committee will stand at recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 4:05 p. m. the committee was recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

SATURDAY, JUNE 18, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION
AND NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Pat McCarran (chairman), presiding.
Present: Senators McCarran, Eastland, and Donnell.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee, Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fainaru, will you please stand and be sworn?

TESTIMONY OF HARRY FAINARU, MANAGING EDITOR, ROMANUL-AMERICAN, DETROIT, MICH.¹

The CHAIRMAN. You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FAINARU. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly state your full name and identify yourself by occupation?

Mr. FAINARU. My name is Harry Fainaru, managing editor of the Romanul-American. I will say it in English, if you want me to: Rumanian-American.

The CHAIRMAN. Rumanian-American.

Mr. FAINARU. That is right, that is the English name for the name I just mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is it published?

Mr. FAINARU. Detroit. I am the managing editor of the paper located at 2144 East Grand Boulevard, Detroit 11, Mich.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly give your date and place of birth?

Mr. FAINARU. I am born in Rumania, August 30—that is the old calendar, you know—1889.

Mr. ARENS. When did you enter the United States?

Mr. FAINARU. I believe in 1920.

Mr. ARENS. You entered in 1920?

Mr. FAINARU. That is right.

¹The witness appeared under subpoena, accompanied by Maurice Braverman, attorney.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a naturalized citizen?

Mr. FAINARU. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. When were you naturalized?

Mr. FAINARU. In 1927.

Mr. ARENS. What is the circulation of your paper?

Mr. FAINARU. With regard to that I would like to inform the committee that our paper, like any other paper, publishes annual reports which are published in the paper during the month of October, as you probably know. I would like to ask the Chairman if it would be permitted, before you continue asking me further questions, that I read a statement to the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. I think if you answer the questions and then make the statement it will be more in conformity with our procedure.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us an estimate as to the circulation of your paper?

Mr. FAINARU. I would say on the average about 2,500. That is a weekly publication.

Mr. ARENS. Yes. Do you have a copy of your paper with you by any chance?

Mr. FAINARU. Oh, yes. Mr. Chairman, may I read the statement now?

The CHAIRMAN. No; we will ask you questions and then you can make your statement.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been associated with this publication?

Mr. FAINARU. Since 1937.

Mr. ARENS. What was your occupation prior to your affiliation with the paper?

Mr. FAINARU. Well, I had several but I don't think that such questions are relevant to the contents of this subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. Well now, listen, the committee is going to be the judge of that. You will kindly answer the questions.

Mr. FAINARU. I do think, Mr. Chairman, that such questions on the basis, at least of the subpoena, are irrelevant, and I think that as you will understand, it seems to me that the contents here, according to my own judgment, is really a flagrant violation of the freedom of the press.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be the judge of that too, so you go ahead and answer the questions. The committee will be the judge of all those things.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly state for the committee what your occupation was prior to your affiliation with this paper.

Mr. FAINARU. Oh, I did tutoring.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. FAINARU. And languages, private. I worked in a shop; that is, I worked in several shops.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of shops?

Mr. FAINARU. Knitting mills.

The CHAIRMAN. Knitting mills?

Mr. FAINARU. That is right. Well, I guess that would cover quite a few. I still would like to ask the chairman to permit me to read this statement.

The CHAIRMAN. As soon as you answer the questions. Just answer the questions and we will get through here and move along with our business. The questions will be propounded to you and the committee will pass on whether they are relevant, material, or competent; that is a matter for the committee to determine.

Senator DONNELL. Mr. Chairman, may I ask that the question be entered whether these are all of the occupations that he has been engaged in?

The CHAIRMAN. Were you engaged in other occupations than those you have mentioned, of working in the shop and teaching; that is, before you went into the position with this paper?

Mr. FAINARU. Not within my knowledge, not besides teaching, working in shops in different capacities. I don't think so unless my memory escapes me, but I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the best of your recollection that those were all of your occupations prior to going into the position with the paper, is that right?

Mr. FAINARU. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not recall any other occupation?

Mr. FAINARU. Not besides teaching and working in factories.

Mr. ARENS. What were you teaching?

Mr. FAINARU. I taught languages.

Mr. ARENS. To whom?

Mr. FAINARU. To pupils.

Mr. ARENS. In your home?

Mr. FAINARU. Both in my home and I also taught in the adult education project.

Mr. ARENS. What other names have you used other than the name Harry Fainaru?

Mr. FAINARU. That is my name, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What other names have you gone under?

Mr. FAINARU. I am sure that you know very well that as a newspaperman—

The CHAIRMAN. Just answer the question. What other names have you gone under? Have you gone under any other names?

Mr. FAINARU. No.

The CHAIRMAN. None at all?

Mr. FAINARU. No; except I used pen names in the paper, if that is what you mean?

Mr. ARENS. What pen names?

The CHAIRMAN. What other pen names did you use?

Mr. FAINARU. I don't think—

The CHAIRMAN. Never mind that.

Mr. FAINARU. I stand on my constitutional rights.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your constitutional right in that regard?

Mr. FAINARU. I think that article I of the Constitution states—that is, Article I of the Bill of Rights, states very definitely that there can be no abridgement of the freedom of the press.

The CHAIRMAN. Nobody is questioning the freedom of the press; that has nothing to do with the names that you used.

Mr. FAINARU. Mr. Chairman, I do consider, while you gentlemen may be lawyers and I am not—I claim ignorance to legal matters—I do think as a citizen that I know something about our own Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will just kindly answer that question, you will get along very nicely. If you do that, we will get along fine here. Just answer the question which is very simple to answer. What other names did you use, whether they be pen names or whatever you call them. What other names did you use?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Maurice Braverman.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are you from?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Baltimore, and I am an attorney representing him.

The CHAIRMAN. You may represent him.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. May I ask what the matter is which is under inquiry?

The CHAIRMAN. The matter under inquiry is S. 1832: that is the matter of inquiry.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I am not too familiar with the subject matter of the bill, 1832. Could I have a brief summary of the bill?

The CHAIRMAN. You can have a copy of the bill.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Senator, there is nothing in the subpoena that says anything about that.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will proceed, please, to answer the question. What other names have you used? I do not care whether they were pen names or pencil names or what they were.

Mr. FAINARU. I still believe—

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking what you believe.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. May I consult with my client?

The CHAIRMAN. Just let him answer the question. What is the use of wasting time? Answer the question.

Mr. FAINARU. Do you mind if I consult with my attorney?

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question and then consult with your attorney. Consult with your attorney about names that you have used—why?

Mr. FAINARU. Because it is my considered judgment that to ask an editor of a newspaper what names he has been using in the capacity as a newspaperman is an abridgment of the freedom of the press.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a matter for the decision of this committee and for the Congress of the United States. Now proceed to answer the question.

Mr. FAINARU. Well, I used even initials.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. FAINARU. If that satisfies you, but I still protest, Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go by any other name?

Mr. FAINARU. Sure, I used all kinds of names because in a newspaper—

The CHAIRMAN. What other names?

Mr. FAINARU. When you have a newspaper which is small—

The CHAIRMAN. Never mind that, tell me what names you used.

Mr. FAINARU. Look—

The CHAIRMAN. I am not looking; tell me what names you used and then we will look.

Mr. FAINARU. You are the chairman of this committee—

The CHAIRMAN. Listen, it is going to save you a lot of trouble if you answer that question.

Mr. FAINARU. I am not trying to evade a question but I want to find out from you, Mr. Chairman of this committee, whether or not it is legitimate to ask an editor of a newspaper to tell a committee what names he has been using in that capacity.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; it is legitimate and I, as chairman, instruct you. Now proceed, sir, to answer the question.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Chairman, may I consult with my client?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, just let him answer this question. You should have consulted with your client before this. Let us move along. If you have an answer to your question go ahead.

Mr. FAINARU. I don't know whether I did, but I did. I told you I used initials.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you use any name?

Mr. FAINARU. I used a name on a column called Pavel Marin. I don't use any name.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not use any name?

Mr. FAINARU. That is right, when I write in my newspaper.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. You were asked if you used any names.

Mr. FAINARU. May I read my statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Have you fully answered the question? Have you used any names?

Mr. FAINARU. To the best of my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Remember, you are under oath.

Mr. FAINARU. That is right.

Senator DONNELL. I suggest that the record show that the counsel of this witness has been handed a copy of S. 1832.

The CHAIRMAN. What initials did you use?

Mr. FAINARU. I beg your pardon?

The CHAIRMAN. What initials did you use?

Mr. FAINARU. My own, H. F.

Mr. ARENS. What other names did you use as a nom de plume or as a designation of writings that you have published?

Mr. FAINARU. Frankly, I don't recall.

Mr. ARENS. Did you use other names?

Mr. FAINARU. Not that I recall.

Mr. ARENS. What was your name at birth?

Mr. FAINARU. Well, I don't know. I remember the name when I was born, but as far back as I can remember it was Fainaru.

Mr. ARENS. Is it your statement to this committee that you have not used other names other than Harry Fainaru to go by and to be called by and designated by?

Mr. FAINARU. You mean here.

The CHAIRMAN. Anywhere.

Mr. FAINARU. Well, I think you gentlemen ought to be at least more specific if you want a fair answer. You ask me, now you come out and ask me what my name was at my birth.

Mr. ARENS. What other names have you used other than Fainaru?

Mr. FAINARU. Other than Fainaru?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. FAINARU. I told you a few that I recollect.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us the few. What few do you recollect?

Mr. FAINARU. I beg your pardon.

The CHAIRMAN. What few do you recollect?

Mr. FAINARU. H. F., Pavel Marin—

The CHAIRMAN. And?

Mr. FAINARU. When I became a citizen, if that is what you are looking for, I translated the first name into American but the second name is still the same.

Mr. ARENS. What was your first name?

Mr. FAINARU. Herscu, H-e-r-s-c-u, but that was changed when I became a citizen.

Do you mind if I read my statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing before this committee in answer to a subpoena duces tecum, a subpoena which requires you to produce certain documents?

Mr. FAINARU. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Did you bring those documents or records with you?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you bring the documents with you?

Mr. FAINARU. Yes, I did, some.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you produce them, please?

Mr. FAINARU. I would like—

The CHAIRMAN. Produce the documents if you have them, never mind what you like.

Mr. FAINARU. In connection with this subpoena, Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. I am not going to sit here and argue with you. If you have those documents with you, I want them produced and turned over to the chairman of this committee.

Mr. FAINARU. All right. Here is one.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask, if the chairman please, to ask the witness on each particular document that was requested?

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. ARENS. A list of all present and former officers and employees of Romanul-American, do you have that with you?

Mr. FAINARU. A list of all present?

Mr. ARENS. And former officers and employees of Romanul-American.

Mr. FAINARU. I have a list that I presented to you over there which corresponds to the report made to governmental authorities last October.

Mr. ARENS. Does this list include the former officers and employees too?

Mr. FAINARU. Within my knowledge, within my knowledge. I think there is one exception, that three people in that report that you have there are no longer officers.

Mr. ARENS. What are their names?

Mr. FAINARU. The name is Nick Opris, O-p-r-i-s, Louis Apopolson, and Charles Oltean.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I should like to mark this newspaper clipping which the witness has just submitted as "Exhibit No. 1" and ask that it be received as part of the record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be so marked and so received.

(The clipping was marked "Fainaru Exhibit 1" and is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946

OF ROMANUL AMERICAN published weekly at Detroit, Mich., for October 1, 1948.

STATE OF MICHIGAN,

County of Wayne, ss:

Before me, a notary public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Maria Mila, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the business manager of the Romanul American and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation) of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946, (embodied in sec. 537, Postal Laws and Regulations) printed on the reverse side of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: Roumanian American Publishing Association, Inc., Detroit, Mich.

Editor (edited by a committee).

Managing editor: Harry Fainaru, Detroit, Mich.

Business manager: Maria Mila, Detroit, Mich.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must by stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Roumanian American Publishing Association, Inc., 2144 East Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Mich. Stockholders: Maria Mila, 17217 Marx, Detroit, Mich.; Harry Fainaru, 2144 East Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.; Nick Kish, 5767 Sheridan, Detroit, Mich.; Charles Oltean, 4434 Seventh Street, Ecorse, Mich.; Nick Opris, 1879 Sweeney Street, North Tonawanda, N. Y.; Nicholas H. Catana, 722 Southfield Road, Lincoln Park, Mich.

That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above is 2,768.

MARIA MILA, *Business Manager.*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of September 1948.

[SEAL]

JOHN J. NOWAK,

Notary Public, Wayne County, Mich.

(My commission expires June 5, 1950.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is the next one?

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a list of the persons—

Senator DONNELL. Pardon me, Mr. Chairman, I do not think the witness has told us yet whether or not this list contains the names of

all prior employees and officers. He says he has given us a list and that some are not now officers, but he does not say whether the list contains the names of all the earlier employees and officers.

Mr. ARENS. I was under the impression it contained all but three.

Senator DONNELL. I understood that he was supplying this list and that three of that list are no longer officers.

Mr. FAINARU. That is right.

Senator DONNELL. I understood that what Mr. Arens read to him in substance was that he was to bring in a list of all present and prior officers and employees.

Mr. ARENS. That is right.

Senator DONNELL. He has given us a list of some but he does not give us a list of the prior officers and employees.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. FAINARU. That list is as per October 1948.

Senator DONNELL. Yes.

Mr. FAINARU. From that list, three that you have there, you know, three are no longer members of the corporation.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a list of the officers with you who were officers and who no longer are officers?

Mr. FAINARU. I told you the three that I mentioned subsequently are no longer officers.

Senator DONNELL. Mr. Chairman, as I understand it, this gentleman has produced here a list of the persons who in September 1948, the date of this affidavit on this clipping being September 28, 1948, were then officers of this publication; is that right?

Mr. FAINARU. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. He has told us that three persons listed in that are no longer officers. May I ask him, Mr. Chairman, whether or not there are persons not mentioned on here who were previously officers or employees of this publication and if so, do you have the list of those persons who were previously officers or employees who are not listed on this exhibit 1?

Mr. FAINARU. No; I don't have that.

Senator DONNELL. Were there persons other than those listed on exhibit 1 who were previously officers or employees of the publication?

Mr. FAINARU. I couldn't tell you that. To the best of my recollection, I think that is the list with the exception of the three that I just mentioned.

Senator DONNELL. You do not think there were any other persons who were officers or employees before September 1948, except those who are listed in exhibit 1?

Mr. FAINARU. Not to the best of my recollection.

Senator DONNELL. All right.

Mr. FAINARU. The only thing that has to be done, if I should be mistaken, is to check, but I inquired and I wanted to have the list and I got this clipping which is based on the report that we send every year to the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. ARENS. Now, do you have a list of the contributors to the publication?

Senator EASTLAND. You mean financial?

Mr. ARENS. No; who contributed material, articles.

Mr. FAINARU. At this point I think that it is asking me to divulge the trust given to us by the people who contribute to the paper.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is, Have you got that list?

Mr. FAINARU. I don't have it.

The CHAIRMAN. You were asked to bring it?

Mr. FAINARU. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not do it?

Mr. FAINARU. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not?

Mr. FAINARU. Because it is impossible to do a thing like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have it in your possession?

Mr. FAINARU. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have it in the paper you are working for?

Mr. FAINARU. I have a number of papers.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a list of the writers that have contributed?

Mr. FAINARU. No; we do not keep track of the writers who write. They send articles, we publish them, and that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. No matter who sends an article, you publish it; is that right?

Mr. FAINARU. If it is in accord with the position of the paper.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly produce a list of all officers outside the United States, including agents of foreign governments, foreign correspondents, or foreign newspapers which have submitted material or information for publication in the Romanul-American?

Mr. FAINARU. Would this committee ask any editor, whether it is the New York Times or the Washington Post—

The CHAIRMAN. That is not the question. You are not answering the question. Listen to the question and answer it.

Mr. FAINARU. I am listening.

The CHAIRMAN. Then answer it.

Mr. FAINARU. I think I am within my constitutional rights to refuse to supply to this committee the sources of the information of our paper or of any other paper and I deem it that I would be in contempt of my newspaper profession if I would present to this committee sources of information that I gathered and I obtained for my newspaper.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you refuse to do that?

Mr. FAINARU. That is right, on my constitutional grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator DONNELL. Mr. Chairman, I assume that the chairman by the use of the term "all right" does not mean it is all right?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not.

Mr. FAINARU. May I read my statement?

The CHAIRMAN. No; you answer the questions.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Dekom has a number of names he would like to ask the witness about.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Fainaru, did you know a person by the name of Alexander Lazareanu?

Mr. FAINARU. I have known Mr. Lazareanu and I have known many other people. As a newspaperman I see loads of people, even Senators and Congressmen.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you tell us your relationship with Mr. Lazareanu?

Mr. FAINARU. My relationship was as a newspaperman and from what I know he was the press attaché of the Rumanian Legation.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever receive any money from Mr. Lazareanu?

Mr. FAINARU. No; I never received any money from Mr. Lazareanu.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to say that you did not receive any money from the party named?

Mr. FAINARU. From whom?

The CHAIRMAN. The party named?

Mr. FAINARU. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never received any money?

Mr. FAINARU. No, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever receive any money indirectly from him, through other persons, which came from him?

Mr. FAINARU. No, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know Mihai Ralea?

Mr. FAINARU. He was Minister of Rumania in Washington.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever receive any money or checks from him?

Mr. FAINARU. Never.

Mr. DEKOM. Nor through him?

Mr. FAINARU. Never, except for subscriptions of the newspaper if they received the check. That I don't know. I am not in the business—I mean I don't tackle that phase of the newspaper. If they received the check for the subscriptions to the Legation, that is a different matter.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever receive any money from or through any person in the Rumanian Legation in Washington or the so-called Rumanian consulate in New York, except for subscriptions?

Mr. FAINARU. No, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. You did not?

Mr. FAINARU. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Did your newspaper or other members of the staff of the newspaper, to your knowledge, receive money transmitted through the Rumanian Embassy in Washington or the Legation in New York City?

Mr. FAINARU. Not that I know of, sir.

Mr. ARENS. The consulate in New York?

Mr. FAINARU. Not that I know of.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever publish or arrange for publication of books, pamphlets, for which money came from the Rumanian Legation or Mr. Lazareanu?

Mr. FAINARU. No, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Did your organization publish a book against King Michael of Rumania?

Mr. FAINARU. Certainly.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you receive any money for that from Mr. Lazareanu or any other person connected with the Rumanian Government?

Mr. FAINARU. No, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever receive from Mr. Lazareanu any information which you published in your paper?

Mr. FAINARU. I still maintain that any sources——

The CHAIRMAN. You can answer that "Yes" or "No." Just answer it "Yes" or "No."

Mr. FAINARU. Mr. Chairman, I still feel—

The CHAIRMAN. That is all it calls for, "Yes" or "No."

Mr. FAINARU. I don't think I can answer "Yes" or "No." I feel that I am a newspaperman and I have a right to obtain any information from whatever sources.

The CHAIRMAN. What about that question, can you not answer "Yes" or "No"?

Mr. FAINARU. I don't feel that I should answer, on constitutional grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. You are refusing to answer?

Mr. FAINARU. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever receive from Mr. Lazareanu articles which you published in your paper, either that he himself wrote or that he transmitted to you from other sources?

Mr. FAINARU. I receive a lot of material from all kinds of sources, the Rumanian Legation just as well as the Polish Embassy and French Embassy and so on, just as well as I received from the State Department.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever receive from Mr. Lazareanu photostatic copies of documents from the Rumanian Government?

Mr. FAINARU. I still maintain that I am within my constitutional rights not to answer questions as to sources of information.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you refuse to answer that last question?

Mr. FAINARU. I do on the basis of article I of the Bill of Rights of our Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. DEKOM. Did Mr. Lazareanu write articles for the Romanul-American?

The CHAIRMAN. That can be answered "Yes" or "No."

Mr. FAINARU. To the best of my ability, to the best of my recollection, no.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent, if any, did you make confidential reports to the Rumanian Legation in Washington?

Mr. FAINARU. I never made any confidential reports to anyone. I am not in the employ of the United States Government.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent did you make reports, even though they may not have been confidential, written reports or typewritten reports, to the Legation, Rumanian Legation?

Mr. FAINARU. I am not in the habit of making confidential reports, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make any reports to the Rumanian Legation here?

Mr. FAINARU. Not that I remember.

Mr. ARENS. Do you read Rumanian?

Mr. FAINARU. Evidently.

Mr. ARENS. Would you mind, for the benefit of the committee, reading a little of this photostatic document¹ here and see if you can identify it? Could you just translate it as you read it, please?

The CHAIRMAN. Translate as you read, if you can.

¹ This document was subsequently identified as "Riposanu Exhibit 2" and a translation appears on p. 273. The photostatic copy submitted in evidence was filed for the information of the subcommittee.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you ever seen that report before? [Handing document to the witness.]

Mr. FAINARU. I don't know this one. I can see it.

Mr. ARENS. Can you translate it?

Mr. FAINARU. Sure.

Mr. ARENS. Would you do so, please?

Mr. FAINARU (reading):

The information that we give here has a single end, to help to cement friendly relations between our adopted land and our land of birth and to continue in the struggle to isolate and defeat fascism wherever it may raise its head.

Do you want me to read further?

Mr. ARENS. Do you say you have or have not any recollection of writing that?

Mr. FAINARU. No.

Mr. ARENS. Would you say that you did not prepare it?

Mr. FAINARU. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The question was, Would you say you did not prepare the document; to which you answer, "No, sir"?

Mr. FAINARU. That is right; to the best of my ability, I would say I did not prepare it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. FAINARU. I don't see anything wrong in it.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you ever read that particular report before?

Mr. FAINARU. I don't recall about it.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you play any part in preparing that report; supply the information for that report?

Mr. FAINARU. As a newspaperman, I discuss questions with many people.

Mr. DEKOM. I mean directly, not as a newspaperman?

Mr. FAINARU. You must realize I am a newspaperman of a particular newspaper and as such I am concerned with the country of my birth and the country of my adoption. It would be very unnatural if I weren't interested in things Rumanian.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you help prepare that report? Or provide the information for that report?

Mr. FAINARU. I had discussions with many people from my own organization, if that is what you mean, about what reactionary forces among the Rumanians there are, what the policy is—

Mr. DEKOM. Did any member of your staff prepare that?

Mr. FAINARU. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever have that report in your possession before?

Mr. FAINARU. I don't recall. I don't recall, because I get a lot of stuff in my office just like any other newspaper.

Mr. ARENS. Have you submitted any report?

Mr. FAINARU. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. To the Rumanian Legation?

Mr. FAINARU. Not to my knowledge, but I certainly did discuss with people and as a newspaperman I wanted to find out, for instance, about Rumania and in that capacity I did just like any other newspaperman would do.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been offered any money by attachés of the Rumanian official family here in Washington or in New York?

Mr. FAINARU. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I just wanted to elaborate on that last question. Has anyone else, other than members of the official family of the Rumanian Government in the United States on behalf of the Rumanian Government offered you money?

Mr. FAINARU. Not that I know of.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever reprint articles from Rumanian Communist newspapers such as Scanteia?

Mr. FAINARU. Our newspaper, like any other newspaper, reprints articles from many newspapers, including Scanteia. I still protest against this kind of questioning.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question "Yes" or "No." A "Yes" or "No" would have answered that question.

Mr. FAINARU. I don't think I have to answer "Yes" or "No." I do think that it is the privilege of a newspaper to reprint from any newspaper, whether it is English, French, Greek, or Chinese; that is the privilege of the freedom of press.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is questioning that? The question is, Did you?

Mr. FAINARU. I question the right of the gentleman to ask me a question like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the question, Mr. Reporter.

(The pending question was read by the reporter as follows:)

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever reprint articles from Rumanian Communist newspapers such as Scanteia?

The CHAIRMAN. Answer that "Yes" or "No."

Mr. FAINARU. I would say that our newspaper and myself have reprinted articles from many other newspapers and also including Scanteia.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever publish any attacks against any person because he or she attempted to collaborate with the United States?

Mr. FAINARU. I think if you will examine our newspapers you will find out what our editorial policy is, and what our editorial policy is, in my opinion, is not in the province of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the question, Mr. Reporter. I want you to listen to the question and answer it.

(The pending question was read by the reporter as follows:)

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever publish any attacks against any person because he or she attempted to collaborate with the United States?

Mr. FAINARU. I say that—

The CHAIRMAN. Just answer the question "Yes" or "No" and then you can make any explanation you wish.

Mr. FAINARU. I don't think the nature of the question warrants my answer because—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. FAINARU. It is a violent attack on the freedom of the press.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you refuse to answer the question or will you answer it?

Mr. FAINARU. I say that our position of the paper is to work—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you refuse? Or will you answer? That is all there is to it—one of the two, you certainly do. Do you refuse or will you answer?

Mr. FAINARU. That isn't—

The CHAIRMAN. Never mind. You can answer?

Mr. FAINARU. I can answer how I see fit.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you refuse to answer the question propounded to you or will you answer it?

Mr. FAINARU. We believe in collaboration between the United States and the present Rumanian Government.

The CHAIRMAN. That was not the question propounded to you at all. Read the question, Mr. Reporter.

(The pending question was read by the reporter as follows:)

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever publish any attacks against any person because he or she attempted to collaborate with the United States?

Mr. FAINARU. Not that I remember, not that I recollect—to launch an attack upon a person because he wants to collaborate with the United States, since our own paper stands for collaboration between the United States and the Rumanian People's Republic.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not?

Mr. FAINARU. I do not understand, sir, the very nature—

The CHAIRMAN. You do not understand?

Mr. FAINARU. No; because it is so inconsistent.

The CHAIRMAN. What is it you do not understand about that question?

Mr. FAINARU. This is it: The question is whether we attacked any person because he is for collaboration with the United States. It is a very vague question because the question is, for what? Because we are for collaboration between the two countries. Our paper is for that. Whatever publication we issued is to establish friendly relations between the two countries.

The CHAIRMAN. Nobody is asking you about your paper. Did you ever publish any article? The reporter will read the question to you again if you want it read.

Mr. FAINARU. I would like to see the article. I cannot answer questions in this manner.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you cannot answer it?

Mr. FAINARU. No; because I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. What is the connection between your paper and the International Workers Order or any of its branches or affiliates?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. May I consult with my client? He asked me a question.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you become his counsel?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I became his counsel yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. Yesterday?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think it is necessary.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Chairman, he received a subpoena not knowing what the inquiry was, merely as to bringing along a list of material that was already public knowledge, material that—

The CHAIRMAN. That has nothing to do with the question propounded here. Let him answer the question.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. He may have to be advised to refuse on his constitutional rights.

The CHAIRMAN. Let him answer the question. Read the question, please.

(The pending question was read by the reporter, as follows:)

Mr. DEKOM. What is the connection between your paper and the International Workers Order or any of its branches or affiliates?

The CHAIRMAN. Can you answer that question?

Mr. FAINARU. I don't exactly know whether I can. Do you mind if I consult with my attorney?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. FAINARU. Our paper supports the activities, the program, of the order and especially of the Romanian-American Fraternal Society, which is the fraternal organization among Rumanian-Americans—one of the fraternal organizations.

Mr. ARENS. What money have you received from those organizations?

Mr. FAINARU. In what sense do you mean money?

Mr. ARENS. Other than for just subscriptions?

Mr. FAINARU. Do you mean for publicity?

Mr. ARENS. For publicity or for support of your paper?

Mr. FAINARU. Well, the support does not come from the order as such, if that is what you mean. The lodges, the membership, organize affairs, banquets, picnics, and what have you. They individually contribute and this you will find even in the paper. We have published that regularly; whenever we have a campaign, we publish the people who contribute just as the organizations who contribute.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it not a fact that the International Workers Order is listed as a Communist-front organization by the Attorney General?

Mr. FAINARU. What has that to do with this?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether it is a fact or not?

Mr. FAINARU. Do I know? I am a newspaperman.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do know it is a fact. What is the use of parrying with this thing?

Mr. FAINARU. I know it is a fact that the Attorney General listed it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you were asked for.

Mr. ARENS. How many times in the course of the last year have you been in contact, either by personal visits or by communication by telephone or correspondence, with the officials of the Rumanian Government in the United States or attachés of the Rumanian official family?

Mr. FAINARU. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. What would be your best estimate?

Mr. FAINARU. I don't know; a few times. Whenever I had a chance. If I was in Washington I would go over.

Mr. ARENS. When was the last time that you were in contact with such persons?

Mr. FAINARU. I don't know. I don't recall exactly; possibly in May or April.

The CHAIRMAN. Of this year?

Mr. FAINARU. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What contact have you had with them since you have received this subpoena?

Mr. FAINARU. Since I received this subpoena?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. FAINARU. No contact whatever, but I do expect to visit them.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FAINARU. That is the \$64 question. I wonder whether this committee would ask any editor—

The CHAIRMAN. Just answer the question.

Mr. FAINARU. Whether the New York Times——

The CHAIRMAN. Never mind what you think; answer the question.

Mr. FAINARU. I still maintain——

The CHAIRMAN. Never mind what you maintain.

Mr. FAINARU. This is not relevant to the subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you going to answer that question or not?

Mr. FAINARU. You know very well; you know very well, because this is a public record, there is a public record of my membership. I think it is irrelevant. I think it is a complete violation of the Constitution in asking such a question. You wouldn't ask any other editor his political affiliation.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FAINARU. I told you.

The CHAIRMAN. What is it?

Mr. FAINARU. It is a public record that I am.

The CHAIRMAN. You are then?

Mr. FAINARU. I said that anybody who knows anything about my activities knows that I am, but I protest against——

The CHAIRMAN. That you are what?

Mr. FAINARU. A member of the party.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. FAINARU. But I protest against this questioning.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions, Senators?

This witness will not be excused from the subpoena. You will be held under subpoena here subject to the call of this committee.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. He has a right to return to Detroit?

The CHAIRMAN. He may return to Detroit, but he will be subject to recall. His expenses will not be paid to Detroit and back here again. He will be called here on Monday or on Tuesday, whenever the committee reconvenes.

Mr. ARENS. May I suggest, too, that he be requested to stay here for the purpose of hearing the testimony of three other witnesses on this matter?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Just on procedure, Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Am I to understand that he is to stay in Washington for an indefinite period? He is an editor of a newspaper.

The CHAIRMAN. Not at all. At the end of the day's proceedings, we will let you know as his counsel. We want him to remain here now.¹

Mr. BRAVERMAN. For the balance of this proceeding?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer for the record the subpoena which was issued to Mr. Fainaru.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be done.

(The subpoena is in the files of the subcommittee.)

TESTIMONY OF PAMFIL RIPOSANU, FORMER FIRST COUNSELOR OF THE RUMANIAN LEGATION

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Riposanu, will you kindly raise your right hand and be sworn?

The CHAIRMAN. You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before the subcommittee of the Committee on the

¹ The testimony of Harry Fainaru is resumed on p. 293.

Judiciary of the Senate of United States will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RIPOSANU. I do.¹

Mr. ARENS. You may proceed to read your statement.

Mr. RIPOSANU. My name is Pamfil Riposanu. My occupation was a lawyer in Bucharest, and after the coup d'état, after 1944, I became Secretary General of the Presidential Council of Ministers of Rumania, first in the government of General Sanatescu, and I was Secretary General of the Presidency until 1946.

In 1946, I was appointed first counselor and Chargé d'Affaires in Washington, D. C. I was there until February. In February 1947, I left Washington, and I came back on August 19, 1947. I decided to resign on August 26, 1947, because at that time there was a great purge in Rumania by the Communist Party. They dissolved the opposition party, the democratic party of Rumania—that is, of Dr. Maniu—and they arrested him. As a protest, I resigned.

During my political career, I was a member of the Rumanian National Peasant Party, which is and always has been the real democratic party in the country. Although we were always opposed to communism, the creed of our party was to try to find an understanding with Russia, which was our largest and most powerful neighbor. During the war, the National Peasant Party was opposed to nazism, and its leader, Dr. Iuliu Maniu, was greatly restricted by the authorities. At this period, I was attorney and good personal friend of Petru Groza, the present Prime Minister of Rumania.

Mr. DEKOM. I have here a copy of Dr. Petru Groza's book, *In Umbra Celulei* or *In the Shadow of the Cell*. He mentions his friend, one Riposanu.

Mr. RIPOSANU. From the beginning to the last page he mentions my name as being his best friend.

Mr. DEKOM. He is now the Prime Minister of Rumania?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. This is his book?

Mr. RIPOSANU. This was written while he was in jail.

Mr. DEKOM. Thank you.

Mr. RIPOSANU. He was arrested for a period of time, and I had occasion to visit him in prison almost every day, and at the same time I visited Mr. Iuliu Maniu. Therefore, I am in a position to know, to disclose, that the man who saved Groza's life at that time was the greatest democratic leader of the Rumanian people, Dr. Iuliu Maniu. Today this man, a man of 76 years, is in chains, sentenced to life imprisonment by the same government whose present head he saved from a Nazi execution squad. I myself am forced to live in exile as a result of the totalitarian nature of that same government.

I have been asked to testify on the activities of the Rumanian Communist officials in this country, on the basis of my experience as a diplomatic official of the Rumanian Government.

After I arrived in the United States, the Foreign Ministry appointed to the Legation a man by the name of Alexander Lazareanu, whom I had never met before in my life. At the beginning, he appeared to be a humble employee in his job as cultural attaché. However, after the fake election of 1946—I came here before the election—when the

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

Communists completely seized power by falsifying the election returns. Lazareanu let me know that he would from that time on be the master mind of the Legation.

I found out later that he was the agent of the Communist Party and the Rumanian secret police. He was the direct representative of Ana Pauker, the Communist dictator of Rumania, and was appointed at her direction. Ana Pauker who also holds the rank of a colonel of tanks in the Soviet Red Army, has made herself since that time Foreign Minister of Rumania. She is also one of the top members of the Cominform.

Lazareanu was in contact with and under the direction of the Soviet secret police (NKVD), a certain man here, I think Boldin, from the Russian Embassy. He was always in contact with the Russian Embassy in Washington. He used to travel many times to Detroit, Cleveland, and Chicago, and other places where there are many Americans of Rumanian descent. He has done a great deal of traveling back and forth between Bucharest and Washington. He distributed some books of Communist propaganda in America—Cleveland, Ohio, and others. He made some speeches. He was very clever. He tried, for instance, to buy radio time of a Rumanian program for one hour, in Detroit, for propaganda purposes and other things.

There was a Rumanian hour on the Detroit radio. He offered to pay for this hour, to be used for the Communist propaganda, and he made this offer to certain men whose names I have already submitted to the committee. He offered a sum of money for this hour to be used under the direction of the Legation.

The chief propaganda agency through which the Rumanian Communist officials worked in this country is the Communist newspaper Romanul-American, published in Detroit.

Mr. ARENS. Is that the same paper that was identified here or discussed by the previous witness?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Is this it? [He shows the witness a copy of the Romanul-American.]

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes. The editor of this paper is a former member of the staff of the Daily Worker of New York. Fainaru is his name, but his real name is Herscu Froim. He published many articles in the Michigan Herald, a Communist paper, too. He took an active part in the strike of the Automobile Workers Union in Detroit. He is a well-known Communist.

Mr. ARENS. This person is the witness who just previously appeared?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. Mr. Fainaru?

Mr. RIPOSANU. He is the same. He had always attacked the American policies when they were not in accord with the policies of the Soviet Union. In addition to that, this newspaper has reprinted directly, word for word, many articles from the Communist newspapers in Rumania. Let me cite an example for you. While I was Secretary General of the Presidency of the Rumanian Government, with the rank equivalent to an Under Secretary in the United States I tried very hard to work for collaboration between the leftists and the democratic parties, as well as work for collaboration between our

nation and the United States. For this, I was later attacked very violently by the Communist press in Rumania.

I was accused of all sorts of crimes and was labeled an "American spy" and, of course, being paid off in American dollars. One of the most significant articles against me accused me of conspiring and plotting against the Rumanian Government with the vice president of the Rumanian National Peasant Party. It was stated in the article that from July 6 to July 12, 1947, I was in the city of Brasov. This is very amusing, because I was actually during that entire period in the city of Bucharest—some 200 kilometers away. I did not leave that city for one moment. For this, I had the best proof—the best alibi in the world—I lived in the house of the Prime Minister, Mr. Petru Groza. I could not be in two places at the same time. All his guards could see me every day and every night.

These articles were reprinted word for word by the Romanul-American in Detroit, with the most serious accusations made against me, because I worked for collaboration with the United States. Let me emphasize this: that these charges were made against me by a newspaper published here in the United States.

Mr. DEKOM. Dr. Riposanu, do you have photostatic copies of those articles?

Mr. RIPOSANU. I think I have.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you submit them in evidence?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. As a word of explanation, Doctor, these photostats purport to be, first, copies of articles appearing in the Communist papers in Rumania?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And secondly, copies of—

Mr. RIPOSANU. This one is from Rumania, and the same in the United States, the Romanul-American.

Mr. DEKOM. Was that a word-for-word reprint?

Mr. RIPOSANU. It was. It appeared like an original article, however.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the publisher of the American paper that reprinted it?

Mr. RIPOSANU. It is written on the first page of the paper—Fainaru; his name is on there.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the same paper that was referred to by the witness that just preceded you?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes; the same paper.

Senator DONNELL. I suggest that those photostats be identified as exhibits.

Mr. ARENS. This will be Riposanu exhibit No. 1.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be marked and received.

(The newspapers were marked "Riposanu Exhibit No. 1" and filed for the information of the subcommittee.)

Mr. RIPOSANU. These newspapers were published in the United States, of course.

At one time—it was in 1946—I was Chargé d'Affaires—

Mr. ARENS. In the Rumanian Legation?

Mr. RIPOSANU. The legation in Washington. Lazareanu came to my office and asked me to give Fainaru \$300.

Mr. ARENS. Is this Fainaru the same Fainaru who just testified?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes. He had to ask me, because I was Chargé d'Affaires at that time. Minister Ralea was in Bucharest and I was head of the legation and, of course, had charge of the money. He told me that Minister Ralea had been regularly paying Fainaru \$300 a month and that he had come to get it now. Lazareanu asked me to give him \$300 because, he told me, he was paid every month \$300 for his newspaper. I refused to pay, because I did not want to pay for any Communist activities.

I know from other members of the Legation, such as Vogel,¹ press attaché, that Lazareanu tried to buy another paper, Solia; that is, to pay for the publication of articles along the Communist lines.

Mr. ARENS. Is that another paper in the United States?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes. It was the paper of the church, but from certain men of Detroit he tried to buy this paper in order to write articles in his line.

Mr. ARENS. I see.

Mr. RIPOSANU. It was for publication.

Mr. DEKOM. You do not mean actually to buy outright?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Just so they would be under their order.

Mr. DEKOM. To follow the Communist line?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. Subsidize?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes. He made a certain offer to a certain priest in Detroit, whose name is in your file.

There was very close vigilance over members of the Legation. For the 6 months that I was in Washington, every step of mine was followed. I do not know how, or who, but when I went to Bucharest in March 1947, I saw a dossier in which was a list of all the persons whom I visited in Washington, all the people who had been in my house as visitors. When I visited, for instance, the Army and Navy Club in Washington, they made a great fuss over it. The reports of the secret police said—

Riposanu was reported with the head of the American Army— and the name of a certain officer, who happened to be a good friend of mine, from Washington, was given.

When I returned to Rumania in March 1947, I was shown a dossier of my telephone conversations in Washington. I was told that one report was sent through the Russian Embassy to the Russian secret police in Moscow and that another report was sent to the Rumanian secret police. Therefore, I have good reasons to believe that even my telephone conversations must have been overheard and recorded by some means unknown to me and then sent to both Russia and Rumania.

Mr. DEKOM. That is, your telephone at home?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Not in your office?

Mr. RIPOSANU. In my house.

Mr. DEKOM. You rented a house?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. It is your conclusion that your private house in Washington was tapped?

Mr. RIPOSANU. I cannot say, but I saw all of the conversations.

¹ The testimony of Alfons Vogel appears on p. 289.

Mr. DEKOM. Was that in Bucharest?

Mr. RIPOSANU. In Bucharest, in a dossier of the police. I had the opportunity to see this dossier and all my conversations were recorded with London, Paris, Washington, and all.

In my opinion, the Communist governments of all satellite countries use everyone—not only diplomats, every person, every chauffeur, every man who is sent here—for espionage and propaganda. That is my opinion. They use every man from the Legation for this purpose. This is true of all satellite countries, because, you see, nobody can leave the country now without having his visa approved by the secret police. Always, when a man leaves the country, whether it is Rumania, Hungary, Poland, they have to have a visa from the secret police. In every country, in the secret police is a Russian, who is the real boss behind the national chief of the secret police. In my country, for instance, is a man with the name of Nikonov.

In my opinion, members of the legations from iron curtain countries are sent to the United States for the purpose of engaging in espionage and subversive activities. The purpose of this network of espionage is very clear in my mind and nothing secret. They try to execute step by step what Stalin himself wrote in his book—world domination.

Unfortunately, most people don't believe what Stalin expresses in his own words in his Foundations of Leninism, as we did not believe Hitler when he wrote his Mein Kampf. But later we saw that Hitler followed step after step what he wrote in his book. Nothing else but the forces of the Allied Powers could put a stop to Hitler's aims.

The Nazi Fuehrer—the man with the little mustache—has disappeared in the ruins of Berlin, but unfortunately for mankind his role has been taken over by the man with the big mustache from the Kremlin, who is working hard to accomplish the work of his “younger brother.”

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, you are here in response to a subpoena?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer for the record the subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. Would you say from your knowledge of the Rumanian officials of this country, that Russia has a far-reaching and competent police force at work in the city of Washington?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes. All agents who are sent now in the so-called Rumanian Legation, Bulgarian, and satellite countries, are nothing else than simply agents of the Russian secret police.

Senator EASTLAND. And the secret police is very active here?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Would you say the same thing is true with other affiliates coming from those governments, such as trading commissions, members of press agencies, and affiliates of international organizations from those countries?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Nobody can leave those countries without having a visa from the secret police and it means this man must be cleared extensively—all his life, how he believes, and what is his creed. Nobody, unless he is a Communist, can leave the country.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent are the Communist activities in the U. S. A., on the basis of your experience, controlled and directed by

officials or attachés of the foreign governments who are in this country!

Mr. RIPOSANU. I think all of it is under the domination and control of the Soviet Embassy, but not openly. They try to hide that they are under the control of the Soviet Embassy, but they report. I remember when I was in my country and because I was close to the Premier—because I could say I saved his life—I was in the position to see some dossiers and always they were sent through Moscow. It means that all reports were sent not only within the particular country, for instance from Rumania to Rumania, but also to the secret police of Moscow.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting payment of money for dissemination of propaganda through the Rumanian Legation in Washington, other than the payment which you have referred to on this one paper?

Mr. RIPOSANU. I do not have others; I was only a few months in Washington, because, in the meanwhile, there were changes in my country. I think other members of the organization that worked—

Mr. ARENS. Are you familiar with the Communist organizations which have been designated by the Attorney General as Communist-front organizations?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Some of them.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any observations to make with respect to the control and organization of the Communist fronts in the United States by agents, either in embassies, consulates, or international organizations?

Mr. RIPOSANU. I cannot understand the question.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any comment to make respecting whether or not the Communist-front organizations in the United States are under the control and direction of agents of foreign powers who are sent into the United States?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes. You have in the United States, of course, persons of many different origins. I think every legation works in its so-called national group. For instance, Lazareanu was well known as a Communist. He worked among the Americans of Rumanian descent. I think—I don't know—other legations work in the same way.

Mr. ARENS. But you can speak from knowledge about the Rumanian Legation?

Mr. RIPOSANU. That is correct. He had orders to work among the Rumanians and Americans of Rumanian descent who are located in Chicago and all over the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you very much.

Mr. DEKOM. Dr. Riposanu, I will read you the name of an organization.

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. The Alianța Românilor Americani Pentru Democrație, which is the Alliance of Romanian Americans for Democracy?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you a comment to make on that organization?

Mr. RIPOSANU. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it a Communist organization?

Mr. RIPOSANU. I don't know, but I think it is registered on the Attorney General's list.

Mr. DEKOM. I hand you a photostatic copy of a report. Can you identify it for the record?

Mr. RIPOSANU. I received the report in the Ritz Hotel the first day I arrived in the United States. It was in the delegation of Americans of Rumanian descent in New York. Then the original of this memorandum was presented to Minister Ralea in the name of the Romanul-American. It goes on about the Groza government, about the situation here, about the role and the attitude of leaders and organizations of Americans of Rumanian descent.

Mr. DEKOM. Are any attacks made in that against American persons or Members of Congress?

Mr. RIPOSANU. It is an attack against a certain Hon. Congressman George Dondero, of Michigan, for he addressed a memorandum to the United States Congress concerning the problem of Bessarabia. This memorandum was in fact dealing in the biggest part about the question of Bessarabia, a Rumanian province seized by Russia. "The report," said the Romanul-American, "is full of lies."

Mr. ARENS. Doctor, will you identify that document again, please? What is that document that you hold in your hand?

Mr. RIPOSANU. It was handed in at the Hotel Ritz in New York, in the first days that the Rumanian Legation arrived here.

The CHAIRMAN. That is now marked for identification in the hearing as what?

Mr. ARENS. Exhibit No. 2, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be marked and received.

(The photostat was marked "Riposanu Exhibit No. 2" and filed for the information of the subcommittee. The translation is as follows:)

[Translation]

MEMORANDUM

The information which we give here has a single goal—to assist in cementing the ties of friendship between our adopted country and our country of birth, and to continue the fight to isolate and defeat fascism wherever it attempts to raise its head.

We consider every manifestation of fascism, regardless under what mask it presents itself, as a deadly danger to our adopted country and a deadly danger to the new democracies, among which our fatherland is included.

Three important groups exist among Rumanian Americans here in America:

1. The liberal group organized around the Union and League R. A. S. [Romanian-American Society] with the newspaper America.

2. The workers' group organized around the Romanian-American Fraternal Society of the International Workers Order, with the newspaper Romănul American [Romanian-American].

3. The church group, which is in fact divided in additional subgroups with the newspaper Solia [Mission].

In the latter group there were also included elements of the Foia Poporului [People's Journal] and two other newspapers which have appeared recently and are published at intervals of a month, two, or three, months. The newspapers in question are: Adevărul [Truth] and Lumina [Light].

Besides these newspapers, there is also the magazine written in the English language—the New Pioneer—edited by Mr. Theodore Andrica, the organ of the organization Cultural Association for Americans of Romanian Descent. The editorial committee of the magazine, besides Mr. Andrica, is made up of the

priest, George Babuti (Greek Catholic) and Miss Sylvia Damian, with Mr. Ioan Burnea as principal collaborator. The politics of this group is similar to that of the church group.

II

In order to have a clearer picture of these groups and of their activities, with regard to new Rumania, it is necessary to give a summary of their position during the time of World War II.

The newspaper *Românul American* (formerly *Deșteptarea* [Awakening]) carried on an intensive campaign for the unification of our national groups in order to keep our adopted country from falling into the talons of fascism and to assist our country of birth to escape from these talons.

In October 1941 we succeeded in achieving the unity of our national group, creating the Alliance of Romanian-Americans for Democracy which has played an extremely important role during the entire time of the war, but a much less important one since the end of the war.

The Alliance of Romanian-Americans for Democracy is composed of: The Union and League R. A. S.; R. A. Fraternal S. of the IWO, the national benefit and insurance society with a workers character; the Junior League; the League of Romanian Volunteers of World War I; and the Baptist Association (the latter only until the year 1943).

Independent local organizations, parishes, political, social, and women's groups took part in the local sections of the Alliance.

Since the beginning of the Alliance, the Rumanian Orthodox Episcopate has conducted a vicious campaign against it and against the competent organizations, slandering the organizations and their leaders.

SOME OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE "ALLIANCE"

The activities of the Alliance are divided into two principle phases:

(a) On the political and ideological theme.

(b) War activities, as for example, the buying and giving to the armed forces of our country over 20 ambulances, the buying of war bonds, donations to the Red Cross, to the USO (the Service organizations on all fronts, as well as here in the training camps, for our soldiers), donations of blood, charity donations, etc.

In the ideological and political field, there was carried on an intense campaign among Rumanian-Americans and among Americans against the Fascists and against the saboteurs of the United Nations.

This campaign was directed at the Fascist clique which organized itself politically in the organization *Free Romania*, which was an instrument of former King Carol II. Besides Solia, they had the *Grăul Românesc* [Rumanian Voice] and the magazine in English, *Free Romania*.

The ideologists of these publications were the priests Stefan Opreanu, Gligheriu Moraru, and the editor George Zamfir, who was condemned to imprisonment for fraud.

Not only that this clique did nothing to help the victory of the United Nations, not only that it attacked the Alliance, but it never attacked the Antonescu¹ government. Their entire ideology in the *Glăsul Românesc* [Rumanian Voice] resembled the ideology of *Mein Kampf*. Once they published an editorial which was translated almost word for word from *Mein Kampf*.

The Alliance of Romanian Americans for Democracy, with its component societies and organizations, and the newspapers *Românul American* and *America* have conducted an energetic campaign to unmask the activities of those named above, demanding that they be arrested and their press suppressed.

The campaign was carried out with success when the three mentioned above were arrested, tried, and condemned to approximately 2 years in prison and fined, and their press suppressed. They were pardoned—not fully—by President Truman immediately after his installation in power.

The other important political campaign was that against the former King Carol II [Carol] when he tried several times to enter the United States. The attempts of the former King were destroyed by the activities of the Alliance and the newspaper *Românul American*.

¹ Gen. Ion Antonescu, the head of the Rumanian Government during the Nazi occupation, leader of the Iron Guard, the Rumanian Fascist organization.

The Alliance functioned even in Rumania under the auspices of the OWI,¹ a Government propaganda agency. The Alliance was entrusted with preparation of speeches which were delivered on one hand by Mr. Louis I. Bozin, the secretary-treasurer of the Alliance, and on the other hand by Mr. Peter Neagoe. Speeches were also delivered by Mr. Carol Davila, the former Rumanian Minister in Washington, as long as his attitude was correct. Now, Mr. Davila has for more than 8 months been against the Groza² government.

Mr. Andrica, the Priest Babatiu, the Priest Spataru (Greek Catholics), as well as the Romanian Orthodox clergy, have never ceased making attacks against the progressive and democratic forces of the country. During the entire time of the war, the Alliance and its component organizations, spearheaded by the newspapers *Românul American* and *America*, which supported the Alliance, published manifestos, booklets, and other material on both a national and local scale aimed at the unification of our group and the American people to urge the Romanian people to withdraw from the war on the side of Nazi Germany. We condemned the dictate of Vienna³ and we urged the necessity that Transylvania should be definitely returned to Rumania.

With the liberation of Rumania from the Nazi-Antonescu yoke, the Alliance again took a positive stand for the unity of the three great powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain as the sole guarantee for a just and enduring peace and one which would permit the countries to enter upon the road of democracy.

With regard to Rumania, the Alliance refused to take a position opposed to the Groza government although Mr. Davila, who was its honorary President; tried in July 1945, to forcibly lead the Alliance into a position contrary to the Groza government by threatening to resign as honorary president. The leadership of the Alliance, nonetheless, rejected the demand of Mr. Davila.

Mr. Davila went so far as to try to influence the newspaper *Românul American* not to attack Mr. Iuliu Maniu⁴ anymore, but without success. The gentleman also demanded that the Alliance should unite with the priests who are opposed to the Groza government. In the face of the correct and democratic position of the Alliance, Mr. Davila was forced to resign.

Although the Alliance has done very little on a large scale, nonetheless, its national officers have issued various declarations on behalf of the unity of the three great powers, in favor of the Groza government, and for the reintegration of Transylvania in the democratic body of new Rumania.

IV

Despite the fact that pressure upon the Union and League and upon the newspaper *America* (particularly since they were always for Maniu) has been very great, it has not yet happened that they have fallen victim to this pressure. Thus, the position of the newspaper *America*, although none too positive and clear toward the present Rumanian Government, still it cannot be said that they are against it. It must, however, be pointed out that as a result of the pressure of certain reactionary circles from the Union and League, it has published from time to time articles which could not be considered favorable to the Groza government nor the Soviet Union. In other words, the position of the newspaper *America* is sometimes hesitant.

The reactionaries and Fascists who opposed the Alliance of Romanian-Americans for Democracy are now in front of the opposition to the Groza government, against the Soviet Union, and are carrying on a campaign which is beginning to penetrate our large masses.

Foaia Poporului, Solia, and in a more openly Fascist way, Lumina and Adevarul are carrying on a dirty campaign. Lumina is the organ of the so-called Rumanian National Committee for Democracy. The open leaders of this committee are Rudi Nan of Youngstown, Ohio; George Stanculescu, former

¹ Office of War Information.

² Petru Groza, present puppet Prime Minister of Rumania.

³ The Treaty of Vienna, signed under Nazi auspices, returned to Hungary part of the territory of Transylvania which was annexed by Rumania after World War I.

⁴ Iuliu Maniu was the head of the Rumanian Peasant Party and the leader of the democratic forces of Rumania. He was the only leader to emerge in postwar Rumania who had the genuine support of the people. He was arrested by Communists on the usual trumped up treason charges.

functionary of the Rumanian Consulate in Cleveland, Ohio; the priest Ioan Truta, also of Cleveland; the priest George Babutin, also of Cleveland; and the priest Ioan Spataru of Youngstown, Ohio (the last two are Greek Catholics). With them is Theodore Andrica, who is in the capacity of American journalist, has been in Rumania and who at the present is getting ready to go there anew; the priest Alexander Cucu of Akron, Ohio (former Guardist¹ in Rumania, who was put in a concentration camp here in America during the war as a dangerous person to the security of our adopted country); the priest George Moldovan of Farrell, Pa. (an old former Guardist in Rumania). Also with them are Nicholas Martin Neamtu, counselor of the Episcopate, the priests Glicherie Moraru, Stefan Opreanu, and others less known. With this group there were secretly Andrei Popovici, former consul in New York, George Anagnostache, former consul in Cleveland, and others, such as Nicholas T. Cucu and Ioan Cucu (two brothers) [who are] very active in their work of disruption and anti-Soviet propaganda and against Mr. Groza and his collaborators.

Their propaganda is carried on with the knowledge and under the guidance of Maniu. It is said that they have even received money from the country [Rumania]. The newspapers *Lumina* and *Adevărul* are distributed free. The same [is true of] *Foaia Poporului* and the *New Pioneer*. The circulation of the newspapers *Solia* and *Foaia Poporului* does not exceed 1,000 copies each.

In the meetings that they have, and in the press, their propaganda is similar to that of Goebbels: The Red Army kills thousands of Rumanians, violates girls of 8-10-12 years of age, steals everything, despoils the people's wealth. The Groza government is a Communist government. The Jewess, Ana Pauker, runs the government, liberty does not exist in Rumania. The people die of hunger and everything they have is taken away from them. Maniu has the support of the majority of the people. He is the idol of the people. He is the great champion of the Rumanian democracy, etc., etc., etc.

Briefly, these are the things propagated by the Manist opposition here. Finally there are the Rumanians who have [recently] come from the country, particularly, the young ones, and all of them sing the same tune. According to our information, these elements are instructed by a conspiratory organization in Rumania, tied up with Maniu and the Iron Guard. They also receive some instructions by means of ships when they come here.

There has never been more violent anti-Soviet and anti-Groza propaganda carried on than that carried on by these elements. In step with this propaganda, is an intensive anti-Semitic campaign asserting that "Russians and Jews run the country."

When the Hungarian reactionary-chauvinistic clique of America began a campaign that Transylvania should be given to Hungary, they were silent and only when they were unmasked by the newspaper *Românul American*, did they begin to see something in the form of a memorandum presented to a reactionary representative from the State of Michigan by the name of Dondero,² which memorandum was inserted in the Congressional Record (official gazette) by this representative. Actually, this memorandum dealt largely with Bessarabia³ and is full of lies against the Groza government and accusations against the Soviet Union concerning the present situation, and very little concerning Transylvania.

This memorandum was handed to Representative Dondero by Nicholas Martin Neamtu, the counselor of the Orthodox Episcopate here, and it is said that it was prepared by Andrei Popovici.

V

During the time of the war, the newspaper *Românul American* and the R. A. Fraternal S. of the IWO were the most important instruments in the political area as well as in the organizational area, just as they have been since Mr. Groza came into power. In our opinion and that of others, the *Românul American* is the most important and effective organ in exposing and unmasking of the Manists and of other Fascists and pro-Fascists and anti-Semites. It is the most important and useful organ in bringing into the light of day the questions pertaining to new Rumania and the program of the Groza government and the democratic forces of our mother country.

¹ Member of Iron Guard in Rumania.

² Representative George Dondero.

³ Bessarabia is the former northeastern province of Rumania which was annexed by Soviet Russia during the period of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

This and the fraternal newspaper published notices, held popular meetings, and have published a brochure in the English language, *The Truth About Rumania*, which had a large distribution, as well as an important echo among Americans and among Rumanian-Americans. Mr. Davila firmly insisted that the brochure should not be published (when he designed in July 1945), because it unmasked Maniu. As can be seen, the newspaper *Romanul American* is the only newspaper here that is carrying on an effective fight in exposing Maniu's treacheries.

VI

We have decided to inform the Groza government about the situation here and about the role and attitude of our group.

We hope that this information will persuade the Rumanian Government to take into consideration the attitude and fight of this group, the only one which has stood completely and openly with the action of the present Government and the Democratic National Front from the beginning, considering it beneficial for the Rumanian people and as the true path of real democracy in conformance with the political traditions of our adopted country, as symbolized by the program of the lamented and great President Roosevelt.

When diplomatic relations between our adopted country and our country of birth are reestablished, we hope that the new Rumanian representatives here will facilitate the process of strengthening these relations by democratic ways.

It would, indeed, be a tragedy if, with the reestablishment of the legation, the representatives of new Rumania would allow themselves to be drawn into mistakes and would accept as coworkers the former functionaries of the legation and consulates. All of them, from the greatest to the smallest, are dangerous elements to the cementing of friendly relations by democratic means, and in many cases are susceptible to fascism.

And just as America requests and has press correspondents and agents who send reports from Rumania, it is necessary that new Rumania should have here press agents and press correspondents who can inform public opinion about Rumania and Rumanian opinion about America.

It is absolutely necessary that our Rumanian newspapers in America, together with the rest of the press, should receive all kinds of news from Rumania, not only on political questions, but also on the progress which the people is making in all the areas of its national existence, economic, political, social, organizational, and cultural.

It is necessary that our Rumanian press should receive such information, especially from Transylvania and from Banat, since a large majority of American-Rumanians are from Transylvania and Banat.

It is also necessary that the Orthodox Church here should have a church head who would conform to the vital interests of the Rumanian churches and the Rumanian people, and who would help to cement the tides of friendship between us here and our brothers at home.

Mr. ARENS. Who is it that transmitted this document to you?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Two American Rumanians who have been in the delegation, who received the Rumanian Legation in New York. It was in September 1946.

Mr. DEKOM. Who are those?

Mr. RIPOSANU. A man named George Vocila, Fainaru, and others. It was handed in the name of the newspaper *Romanul-American*.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you see any of the persons who were part of that delegation in this room, for example, the gentleman on your left [Mr. Fainaru]?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that delegation?

Mr. ARENS. Would you again clarify for the record who this delegation was and where it was and what was transmitted?

Mr. RIPOSANU. It was many people from Detroit, Cleveland, and Chicago. I did not know at that time these people. Then there remained only a few of them. Among these were the president of the organization of Rumanians, the Union and League, the representative of this newspaper *Romanul-American*, and Vocila.

Mr. DEKOM. There were three men that handed you this memorandum?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Only two.

Mr. ARENS. Who of the two?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Vocila or Fainaru.

Mr. ARENS. It was handed to you in your presence?

Mr. RIPOSANU. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. In the name of this newspaper?

Mr. RIPOSANU. In the name of this newspaper, they wrote in the contents of the memorandum.

Mr. ARENS. How many persons of Rumanian descent are there in the United States?

Mr. RIPOSANU. I think over 200,000.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent is there Communist cultivation or dissemination or propaganda among persons of Rumanian descent in the United States?

Mr. RIPOSANU. There are not too many, but they tried always to keep and occupy the key positions in all organizations. For instance, the biggest organization of Americans of Rumanian descent is in Cleveland, Union and League.

Mr. ARENS. Is it your testimony that this activity is controlled by the consulates and the legations and representatives sent into the country?

Mr. RIPOSANU. I don't think only through legations, there were certain people in legations who had this charge. Usually, the man who had the trust of the Communist Party, not the chief of the Legation or the chief of the mission. He could be a chauffeur or a doorman.

Mr. ARENS. You mean his official position might be that of chauffeur?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Lazareanu was the cultural attaché, but he was the head. We had a driver, for instance, a chauffeur in the legation, Sterian.¹

Mr. ARENS. To what extent do these diplomats or semidiplomats, persons enjoying immunity under our laws, actually address these groups and visit with them and meet with them and talk with them?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Lazareanu used to travel very often among the Rumanians. He sent books for Communist propaganda. You can find one of their so-called friends of the Communists in Cleveland, Ohio, the former president of the Union and League of Rumanians.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Senator DONNELL. Doctor, in your statement on page 4, near the bottom, you say that Lazareanu came to your office and asked you to give Fainaru \$300?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. Is this Fainaru the same man who was on the witness stand just before you this morning?

Mr. RIPOSANU. It was not for the man but for the newspaper which he represented.

Senator DONNELL. Yes. Lazareanu came to your office and asked you to give for Fainaru \$300 for the newspaper?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. Where is Lazareanu?

¹ Vasile Sterian.

Mr. RIPOSANU. Lazareanu was put out of the United States because later they found out he was not only the cultural representative but was the representative of the Cominform and for that reason the United States Government asked the Rumanian Government that he be recalled.

Senator DONNELL. So Lazareanu was expelled from the United States?

Mr. RIPOSANU. At the demand of the United States Government. It was proved who was Lazareanu.

Senator DONNELL. I understand from your statement that Lazareanu told you that Minister Ralea had been regularly paying him \$300 a month?

Mr. RIPOSANU. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. Where is the Minister, Ralea?

Mr. RIPOSANU. He is in Rumania.

Senator DONNELL. Did you look over the payments of the Legation at any time and find out whether these payments had been made?

Mr. RIPOSANU. I did not, because that was not my work. It was other employees who did this.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to make a statement. My client (Mr. Fainaru), asked for the right to make a statement and he was not allowed to make it. This witness was allowed to make his statement.

The CHAIRMAN. He will have the opportunity of making the statement,¹ not right now, but he will have the opportunity.

TESTIMONY OF MIRCEA METES, FORMER FIRST SECRETARY OF THE RUMANIAN LEGATION

Mr. ARENS. The next witness is Mr. Metes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please?

You do solemnly swear that the testimony that you are about to give before this subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. METES. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly identify yourself by name, occupation, and residence?

Mr. METES. My name is Mircea Metes.

Mr. ARENS. You are here in answer to a subpoena to appear before this committee?

Mr. METES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. METES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You may proceed.

Until September 6, 1948, I was First Secretary of the Rumanian Legation here in Washington. I was assigned in the summer of 1946, and since that time I have not returned home. I resigned from the Legation because my thinking and my ideals were different from those of the people who are now ruling Rumania. I was subpoenaed before this committee to testify on what I know concerning the activities of the personnel of the Rumanian Legation outside of their legal

¹ See p. 293.

tasks and of the activities of Communists among the Rumanians in this country. From my own personal observation and experience I can state that the personnel of the Rumanian Legation are engaged in—

(1) Undermining the loyalty of Americans of Rumanian origin by means of propoganda and Communist organizational work.

(2) Maintaining contact with Communists and pro-Communists for the purpose of obtaining information about the United States and about Rumanians living in this country.

(3) Operating a secret police cell in the Legation to spy on the people there and to terrorize them.

These facts I know from my own experience; I have personal knowledge of them. I not only watched the operation of the secret police unit, but I have had occasion to learn directly of their plans to set up Communist organizations among American citizens of Rumanian origin.

In order that you may understand the situation, I would like first of all to explain conditions in the Legation itself. During a part of my term with the Legation, there was a cultural counselor by the name of Alexander Lazareanu. From his actions and his authority, it was obvious to all of us that Lazareanu was the representative of the secret police and of the Communist Party in the Legation.

He was very timid when he first came here. He did no work in the Legation. He tried just to meet people and to contact people. He tried first to contact people at different legations here in Washington from behind the iron curtain, and then in January 1947, he was sent to Bucharest by Mr. Ralea, the Rumanian Minister in the United States, supposedly to get in touch there with leaders of the political parties in Rumania and to arrange that the staff of the Legation would be increased and that the former salary levels be restored.

I know, however, because it was told to almost everyone in the Legation that one of the real purposes of Mr. Lazareanu's trip to Rumania was to try to replace Mr. Riposanu, who was supposed to go for a trip to Rumania on an official mission. We did not believe it was possible, but Lazareanu succeeded. We did not believe it because Mr. Riposanu, when Antonescu ruled Rumania, was one of the men who helped Dr. Groza, the present Prime Minister.

When Lazareanu came back 2 months later, he had an order from his information ministry that he was appointed as chief of the press delegation here in Washington. He also became the chief adviser to Mr. Ralea, the Minister, who made no minor or major decision without the advice of Mr. Lazareanu.

The Legation staff was composed of representatives of various ministries. Most of them were from the Foreign Ministry, I mean the counselors, secretaries, attachés, and others. Lazareanu and Vogel were working for the cultural and press services and belonged to the Ministry of Information.

Lazareanu and his henchmen were constantly spying on everybody in the Legation and sending back reports to Bucharest. They went to extreme and even ridiculous ends to accomplish this purpose. One day, I had to go to the basement, where some old records were stored, to look up some old material. When I turned on the light, I saw Sterian, who was supposed to be the chauffeur of the Legation, stand-

ing on top of a box. He was slightly stooped over because the ceiling was low. I noticed that someone had bored holes in the basement ceiling and Sterian was listening in on the conversation which people were having in the room above. You might be interested in knowing that Sterian was at one time a bodyguard to the Communist dictator of Rumania, Ana Pauker, and was obviously an agent of the Rumanian secret police. He even took it upon himself to open other people's mail, even personal mail. I believe also that Mr. Sterian was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Rumania.

Mr. DEKOM. And he was here as a chauffeur?

Mr. METES. He was here as a chauffeur of the Legation. He was recalled on demand of the Department of State and sent back to Rumania.

Lazareanu later became chief of this press service. He assumed the responsibility for all the work of the press service of the Legation. Since he became chief of the press delegation, he did no more work than he had done before. It was always Mr. Vogel¹ who worked on the press bulletin for which the material was taken from American newspapers, from Associated Press releases, and from the teletype, to inform Mr. Ralea.

Among the most important duties of Lazareanu was to send information about everything that happens in the United States, to keep liaison with the leftists and with the Communist Party of the United States, and with the legations from behind the iron curtain.

Here is how it happened that I saw these things. In August 1947, while Mr. Ralea was in Europe, Mr. Mardarescu,² who was Chargé d'Affaires, called me into his office. Mr. Lazareanu was also there. Mr. Mardarescu, in the capacity as the active chief of the mission, said, "Mr. Metes, we want to ask you to do something."

I sat down. First Mr. Mardarescu spoke to me and then Mr. Lazareanu. Lazareanu said:

Mircea, since you are a Transylvania-born Rumanian, since your wife is the daughter of a priest, and since for the most part the Rumanian-Americans came from Transylvania, you can understand them better, they can understand you better, and they can trust you. You are the only one, since Riposanu is no longer a member of the Rumanian Legation, who will be able to help us.

Transylvania is one of the northern provinces of Rumania. People from Transylvania emigrated to the United States before the First World War, some 45 or 50 years ago.

Mr. DEKOM. There is also a difference in dialect?

Mr. METES. Yes: old-time Transylvanians speak a language which is quite different from the language of old Rumania. They have also been under entirely different cultural and historical influences. I think 999 out of 1,000 Rumanians in the United States came from Transylvania.

Mr. Lazareanu told me:

You will be able to get their confidence. It will not be very difficult work for you. First, you are to inquire about the number of Rumanian people; secondly, what kind of political beliefs or leanings they have, what kind of organizations—not just political, but also religious, cultural, and sport organizations—they have. You will be sent there from the Legation. The Legation will pay your expenses, but you must not tell them what mission you have there; just that you made a

¹ For the testimony of Alfons Vogel, see p. 289.

² Vlad G. Mardarescu, counselor of legation.

trip for pleasure, and to become acquainted with your people from Transylvania. Then, after you are there 5 or 10 days, you will come back and you will make a report about what you did there, about what information you got from these people. On another occasion, you will be sent back, also for a so-called pleasure trip, to Cleveland and Detroit, and other cities in which there are Rumanians, and try to make small political organizations, or to advise the already existing organizations, no matter whether they had religious or cultural affiliations, to federate or to form a coalition under the leadership of "progressives" in order to become stronger.

"Progressives" was the word they used very often to describe extreme leftists or Communists. They never spoke in the Legation of the Communist Party or the members of the Communist Party as "Communists." They were "Progressives," all of them.

Lazareanu continued:

But you must not call these organizations political organizations at first. You should only suggest that they be organized, because organizations and organized people are stronger than a people completely dispersed.

Then you will have to contact those Rumanians who we know have leftist leanings and have them take over the leadership of the organizations you will form.

You must not call these organizations Communist organizations, but just progressive organizations. You have to inform them about what happened in Rumania, about the new freedom of the Rumanian working and peasant classes, about the freedom of everybody who works in Rumania; and to let them know that Rumania is completely independent; that just Wall Street and the American warmongers say that Rumania lost its independence, is a part of Russia, is ruled by the Russians, and it has to follow the Russian line.

Afterward, you will be able to establish one or two small organizations, but not directly connected to you—you must not have any direct connection with these organizations. You will leave them in charge of the people who we know are truly and certainly "progressive" and go on to others.

I said: "Yes, it is true, I am from Transylvania, but I have no political inclinations and I really do not like to play politics. I have never played politics in my life. I am not the most suitable person to be sent there, maybe I will make mistakes and the Legation will have trouble. I do not consider these Rumanians as a Rumanian colony in the United States. They are not Rumanian citizens, but American citizens, and I think if the American authorities hear about our doings there, not only myself, but the Legation, will have some repercussions and not a pleasant position here. We do not have the right to mix into American interior affairs. I think you will have to think more about this offer before starting this work.

"Secondly, I do not consider this Rumanian minority in the United States politically very important to the United States, because they are no more than 100,000 or 150,000 people. In comparison with the population of the United States, it does not represent an electoral or political force at all. Furthermore, they are very divided, not just politically, but religiously and culturally, and it is dangerous even to try to organize them.

"Thirdly, if I go there and try to organize them, I have to tell them things which they like to hear, because I cannot just get in touch with them and tell them to get organized.

Suppose I would be able to establish a small organization there, what importance would this organization have on United States internal politics or in Rumania?"

They said, "You are wrong. You are wrong, first, because it is not important that such an organization must have millions of members.

It is enough to have a nucleus first. This organization will grow and they will get more people. I agree with you that you will never be able to introduce into this organization all the Rumanian-Americans, but later, 5 or 10 years later, when the moment comes, we will have here a small organization on which we can count."

I said, "Yes, maybe you are right, but really I prefer not to be sent out in this capacity. I do not think I am the right man for this job. If you think otherwise, I ask you to wait until Mr. Ralea returns and to speak to him. It is a sufficiently important thing not to make a quick decision."

Lazareanu said, "I am sure Mr. Ralea will have the same opinion as I have."

I said, "Yes, but even so, let's wait a little."

They agreed. They did not ask me until Mr. Ralea returned. After his return Mr. Ralea told me, "You know, Mr. Metes, I intend to send you for a short trip to Cleveland and Detroit."

I said, "Yes, Mr. Mardarescu and Mr. Lazareanu told me some weeks ago about these things, but really, I do not think that this assignment will be suitable for this trip." I tried to explain to him my position. I suggested that someone else be sent there, even Mr. Lazareanu. But Lazareanu said, "I would go there, but my appearance is not a Transylvanian appearance; I have a kind of Jewish face and I cannot say that I am a Transylvanian. I cannot say, even if I speak Rumanian well, that I am a person from Transylvania." He also said, "You have another factor that helps you; your wife is the daughter of a Transylvanian priest."

After I spoke to Mr. Ralea, he asked me if I spoke to Lazareanu, and I told him that I had. Later, at a small meeting we had with Mr. Lazareanu, Mr. Vogel, and Mr. Mardarescu, Mr. Ralea said, "I have the same opinion as Mr. Metes has concerning this matter."

Lazareanu immediately began to restate his arguments; but Mr. Ralea said, "No, I prefer to send a cable to Bucharest and ask the Foreign Ministry if such activity is or is not indicated."

Later on, some of the people from the Legation went to Cleveland and other places. I believe these trips were for organizational purposes. My opinion is confirmed by the fact that they tried to hide from me, even to deceive me, about their travels. I would like to tell the committee about one such instance in the summer of 1948.

One day, I had to obtain the monthly signatures on the salary statements. I went to the offices of Preoteasa, Magureanu,¹ and Lazareanu, but none of them was in. I was told that they had not come in that day, but no one knew where they were. I thereupon called the home of Lazareanu (where Preoteasa also lived), and Madame Lazareanu answered. She told me that Preoteasa had left Washington last night with Lazareanu to go to Cleveland.

The next day, I asked Magureanu whether he had been away, and he, surprised at my question, said, "Yes; I was in New York with Lazareanu."

Later on, I asked Lazareanu, "Did you go to Cleveland yesterday?" He said, "No; I was in New York. Just Mr. Magureanu and Mr. Preoteasa were in Cleveland." The fact is that they all three were in Cleveland. Madame Lazareanu said they went to Cleveland, when I asked her.

Grigore Preoteasa, Minister Counselor. Constantin Margureanu, First Secretary.

One of the most important links in the propaganda chain of the Rumanian Legation is the Rumanian Communist newspaper—"progressive newspaper," they used to call it—Romanul-American, published in Detroit. It is edited by Harry Fainaru and George Vocila.

This newspaper describes everything that happens in the United States, or that is done by the United States, as completely wrong; and everything that happens in Russia and in the countries behind the iron curtain as wonderful. For someone like myself, who has seen conditions in Rumania under the Communists, this attitude is completely ridiculous. Everything in this country is unimaginably better than in Rumania, even before the war, when we had no Communist governments and conditions were very much better than they are now.

MR. DEKOM. In the light of your own personal experiences, would you discuss the comparison between life in the United States and life in Rumania?

MR. METES. I was considered wealthy in my country. My father was a lawyer, and I had more opportunities in my country than the average Rumanian. I had a car; I had a telephone; I had a bathroom.

I really tell you that I never could imagine that a workingman or a former peasant from Rumania could have here, or anywhere in the world, such a good life as they do in America. I saw some Rumanians who came 45 years ago, knowing nothing about anything, two or three or four grades in elementary school, having here the best material situation I could imagine for myself there in Rumania. I myself did not have in Rumania what these people have, and I was considered in my country wealthy. I know a family of four or five people who have four cars, two bathrooms—and he is not an intellectual. When the man came here, he was a poor Rumanian peasant from Transylvania.

To return to the subject of the Romanul-American, Fainaru and Vocila were always invited to the Rumanian Legation for receptions, and so forth. They came very often to the Rumanian Legation, and they always spoke first with Mr. Lazareanu and then sometimes they saw also Mr. Mardarescu or Mr. Ralea.

Mr. Lazareanu came back from his trip to Rumania after Ana Pauker took over the Foreign Ministry in the fall of 1947. He brought with him an important lot of papers in a small suitcase. They were photostatic copies of documents and important for propaganda reasons—Rumanian official documents taken from files of the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Justice, or the Ministry of Interior.

I saw many of them on Lazareanu's desk; not all of them, because there were hundreds concerning Rumanian political leaders who were refugees in the United States or in Europe; also concerning Rumanian political leaders in jail in Rumania—Mr. Maniu, Mr. Leucuta,¹ and others. After this set of documents were brought here, Mr. Fainaru began a series of articles based on these documents in the Romanul-American.

I recognized them immediately because, by chance, I saw one of the photostats laying on the desk of Lazareanu and the same photostatic copy appeared in the Romanul-American. It was about Mr. Niculescu-Buzesti, one of the former Rumanian Foreign Ministers.

I asked Lazareanu, when I saw the newspaper, if he wrote the article. He said, "No; it is Fainaru's article."

¹ Aurel Leucuta, Minister of Economy in the post-armistice coalition government.

"But," I said, "even if you did not write the article (it was written in a better Rumanian language than Fainaru is able to speak or write), the photostatic copy is yours."

He said, "Oh, no; it is not mine. It is the Foreign Ministry's."

I said, "Yes, but is the Romanul-American the Rumanian Foreign Ministry's official gazette to get such photostatic copies?"

He said, "No; it is the only way to fight these * * * (and he used very unpleasant words to characterize the so-called reactionaries)."

I also believe that Lazareanu, as well as other members of the Legation, wrote articles for this newspaper occasionally, because some of the Rumanian articles in this newspaper are too well written in the Rumanian language to be considered written by Fainaru, or any other Rumanian who did not finish his studies in Rumania. This is obvious, because the Rumanian-Americans speak Rumanian very badly. Even if they speak it correctly, they speak the language of 45 years ago in Transylvania.

Perhaps, also, some English articles are written by Lazareanu; because he speaks English well. He made phonetic English studies in London, and he writes English well.

I also have knowledge of the fact that Fainaru received money from Minister Relea. I was the bookkeeper and cashier of the Legation, and I paid the salaries and had to check all the bills that came in. All the bank statements were brought to me for checking.

When we arrived in this country, we opened a general account in the American Security Trust Co. under the name of the "Legation of Rumania." At the same time, Mr. Relea opened a bank account for his personal use and for so-called special expenses. This account was also at the American Security Bank under the name of "Mihai Relea, care of Legation of Rumania." This statement was sent direct to Mr. Relea, because it was his personal account.

Once, by error, the postman delivered to the wrong person, an envelope with Relea's bank statement. The statement was perhaps so folded that he saw just the "Legation of Rumania" through the window of the envelope, and he brought this statement to my office. I don't remember exactly whether the statement was sent from the American Security Bank or another one.

Since the envelope was similar to the envelopes we always received our bank statements in, I opened it.

Later, I took out the checks to go over them. I checked one; it was for Brentano's Book Store. The second one was "Pay to the order of H. Fainaru, \$600," and then written out "Six hundred" with the signature of Mr. Relea.

Mr. ARENS. Is that H. Fainaru, the same Fainaru who testified this morning?

Mr. METES. Since I do not know another person with this name, since Mr. Fainaru, who is sitting here, was seen by me in the Legation as a guest of the Legation, as a guest of the Minister, as a guest of Mr. Lazareanu, I don't think it is possible for it to be another one. But to the best of my knowledge, this Mr. Fainaru must be the same as H. Fainaru, whose name was written on that check. I am sorry I did not know enough and I was not attentive enough to make a photostatic copy, just to show the truth. It is too late, but I remember the check exactly. I saw "H. Fainaru," and I was surprised, because

I could not imagine—it was not the normal checking account of the Legation, because that was used to pay salaries, electricity, and other expenses of the Legation. There was assigned to the Legation and handled by the Minister a so-called special fund. In Rumania, the Finance Ministry calls this special fund the “fund for higher interests of the state.”

This special fund is allocated to different departments in the country. For instance, the War Department, the Department of the Interior, and the Department of Foreign Affairs used to have a higher special fund in order to be able to spend this money for certain information they have to buy.

Perhaps the committee would be interested if I explained that the Rumanian budget has a provision concerning the creation of a “fund for higher interests of the state.” All other normal funds, appropriated specifically for a specified purpose, must be justified by documents, but not the special fund.

At the Legation, if I had to pay a bill, I had to get a receipt, translate the receipt into the Rumanian language and send it to the Rumanian Foreign Ministry. The special fund was justified only by the person who handled the money directly to the chief of the department. In this case, the special fund has to be justified by Mr. Ralea directly to the Foreign Minister. This money was used to pay for information and propaganda purposes.

We all knew that Mr. Lazareanu got from Mr. Ralea from this special fund for different purposes. Sometimes when he gave the money, I was there. The bills for the normal expenses of the press service came directly to me to pay from the other fund.

Mr. ARENS. What was the amount of the fund?

Mr. METES. I don't remember exactly. I remember, first, it was \$30,000. Then, a few months later—I don't recall, because I did not handle this money—he asked for and received more money. When Ralea left on a trip to Europe, or even here in the United States, he used to give a certain amount to Mr. Lazareanu for so-called expenses of the press service. What is strange is that the expenses of the press service were paid through the regular way from the Legation's account. So, I don't know what other kinds of expenses Lazareanu might have had.

When I saw Fainaru's name on a check, I was surprised, and realized that it was not a statement of the Legation's, because I did not remember paying Fainaru from the Legation's account at any time. I knew, because I used to check the books of the Legation.

We did make payments to Brentano's, because we bought books there for the Legation or the Government.

I had made payments to the Romanul-American and America, another newspaper published for Rumanians, for some advertisements concerning packages to Rumania. But these checks were made out to the order of America, or Romanul-American, but never to “Mr. Fainaru,” or any person in particular.

I put the checks back in the envelope with the statement. I went to Mr. Ralea and gave him the envelope.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know of other instances in which money from the special fund was paid out?

Mr. METES. Yes. In February 1948, I sent the salaries for the people at the so-called New York consulate.

Mr. Crivelescu, the vice consul, sent a servant, a Rumanian citizen, from New York to Washington with some papers. I say "so-called consulate" because this consulate was opened without asking the normal permission of the Department of State. One year later, this consulate had to be closed at the request of the State Department.

When the servant arrived in Washington, I wanted to use this opportunity, in order to send the salaries to New York, without having to go through the formalities of registered letters and such things. I put the checks in an envelope. Before I sealed the envelope, Mr. Lazareanu came to me and gave me a little white sheet of paper folded over, and said, "Please put this paper in; there is \$300 in the envelope. Seal it, but not with the normal glue, but also with the official seal of the Legation, sealed with sealing wax, and give it to the servant to take to New York."

It was a sheet of paper about the size of that [indicating] stenotype paper—a little wider maybe—folded in two or three. He left my office and I opened this paper and I saw written there, "Dear Nelu"—Nelu is the first name of Crivelescu—"I send enclosed herewith \$300 for our friend 'M'"—just the letter 'M.'—"Please try to get a receipt from him and if it is not possible to get such a receipt, then you will have to make a receipt and I will countersign that payment was really made. You will know why I send the money."

I put the money in the envelope, sealed it, and gave it to the servant.

That day, and not very much later, the telephone rang at the Legation. This was not a switchboard telephone and when someone called the Legation the bell rang everywhere where there was an extension. One was on my desk and I picked it up and I said "Hello, Rumanian Legation." Lazareanu or somebody else said "We are speaking." He had picked up the telephone before I did. I listened for awhile. He said "Dear Nelu, I sent that money for our friend, Mr. May. Then he explained to him that he should give this money to "our friend" and to try to get a receipt. On several other occasions, I heard about information being given to the people at the Legation from this source concerning relations and difficulties and quarrels among Rumanian and Hungarian political refugee leaders here in the United States.

To fully understand these activities of the Rumanian Communists, I may perhaps try to explain to you their attitude, their beliefs—those beliefs which move them. In the fall of 1947, for example, one of the members of the Rumanian staff, Mr. Vasiliu,¹ who was the third secretary, and myself, were called to the Minister's residence. Mr. Ralea tried to make a friendly speech to us. He tried to emphasize all the defects of the capitalistic system and to describe for us the Communist Party's fight for what he called "freedom and democracy." That was one of his favorite phrases "freedom and democracy." In conclusion he said:

I want to draw your attention to the fact that this is not a novel, not a story, it is true. More than half of the people of the world are directed toward communism. Maybe these people have a serious reason for doing it. Sooner or later, you can be sure, Socialist and Communist rule will be established all over the world.

Mr. Vasiliu, the third secretary of the Legation, had been accused by Sterian, the chauffeur-spy member of the Communist Party, of

¹ Mircea Vasiliu, Third Secretary.

having meetings with Mr. Ruposanu, already considered a dangerous political refugee and a big reactionary. Vasiliu, a young man about 25 years old or 26 years old, was very, very embarrassed and afraid, because he knew exactly what would happen to him on going back to Rumania with any such recommendation from Mr. Sterian.

Ralea called Vasiliu and me to the residence to influence us to go back to Rumania and to join the Communist Party if it were possible, and to become good Communists. That speech lasted over an hour and a half, but the point of it was that since half the people living in this world are going toward communism, perhaps it is something good and in a period of time, the whole world will be Communists.

The same opinion was, of course, held by Lazareanu and some of the others. I remember one particular instance, almost 3 weeks after I sent in my resignation. One Friday night at 11:30, Mr. Preoteasa, the chargé d'affaires and Mr. Lazareanu came to my apartment and they tried to convince me to go back to Rumania.

I was no longer a member of the Legation. I had sent my resignation by cable to Rumania, so there was nothing to explain, because I was very, very clear.

They stayed about 35 or 40 minutes, trying to convince me to go back. They said, "Don't you think you are a traitor?" I said, "To whom? To the Communist Party, or my country? My country is ruled by 2,000 people and since I have some education, I remember that the population of Rumania is over 17,000,000. I don't think those 17,000,000 people living there would consider me a traitor of the Rumanian people."

They said, "If you do not go back, don't forget, your family is there. Your family will suffer for your action."

Mr. Chairman, that was the worst blackmail I could ever imagine from a so-called diplomat, because that is what they were sent here for, to be diplomats.

When their persuasion and threats failed to intimidate me to go back to Rumania, they said, "Five or ten years later you will have to answer for this."

I said, "To whom?"

They said, "To the people."

I said, "What people? There are so many people in the world."

They said, "To the American people, even to the American people."

The implication in their threat is that the Communist Party would take over the United States in 5 or 10 years. Maybe they wanted to say that 5 or 10 years later the American people would be under Communist rule where everybody is afraid, where the secret police and the jail are always behind the people.

This is my statement, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?

Mr. ARENS. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman. Thank you Mr. Metes.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, Mr. Arens, call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Vogel, will you please stand and raise your right hand?

**TESTIMONY OF ALFONS VOGEL, FORMER PRESS COUNSELOR,
RUMANIAN LEGATION**

The CHAIRMAN. You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before the subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. VOGEL. Yes, so help me God.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, at this point in the record I should like to insert the return of the subpoena served on Mr. Vogel.

(The subpoena is in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. ARENS. Will you identify yourself by name and occupation and residence?

Mr. VOGEL. My name is Alfons Vogel. I have no occupation at this time, and I live in Scarsdale, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. You are here in response to a subpoena?

Mr. VOGEL. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. To appear before this committee?

Mr. VOGEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What affiliations have you had in times past with the Rumanian Government?

Mr. VOGEL. I was appointed in July 1946, as press counselor to the Rumanian Legation in Washington, D. C.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you serve in that capacity?

Mr. VOGEL. I served as press counselor for the first 6 months. When Mr. Lazareanu,¹ who was on the staff of the Legation, came back from Rumania in March 1947, he informed me, after an observation of mine, that it is of no use to make suggestions like the one I made during the conversation, because he is the new chief of the press service, and that I have to follow his orders. I was very amazed, in any case, and I asked, "Why is it?" I told him, "You have never been a newspaperman and I have been a very active newspaperman."

He said, "You are a sports writer, that is all."

I said, "Nevertheless, sports writer or music reviewer, I am a professional newspaperman, and you have never been a newspaperman. And suddenly he was appointed press counselor. He was before that cultural counselor of the Legation.

He came over 1 month later than I did. I came over on September 14, 1946, and he came in October, the 12th or 13th, 1946. During the first 6 months, in any case, I got the impression, while officially press counselor of the Legation, that I could not act normally, such as I understood it. It is true that I had been for the first time in diplomatic service. I was previously an active lawyer and sports writer and juridical writer. I was not perhaps too experienced in the diplomatic service, but nevertheless I thought out of what I have learned at law school and what I have read on different occasions, that the first mission, the first duty of a diplomat is to try to keep in shape the relations between the two different countries. Ours was a special case, because Rumania has been in the Axis, and I thought my duty would be to try to show to the American people and to the American public opinion the truth, that the Rumanian people are very democratic minded, very religious, they like their property and they are against

¹Alexander Lazareanu.

totalitarianism. But my first steps, I saw, did not agree with the views of some people of the Legation and I was hindered in my activities.

They have asked me to print a bulletin; for instance, to write about Rumania.

I told them, "Now, I am only several weeks here in the country, and besides, as I see the American press, it is of no use, for instance, to spread a bulletin about Rumania. There are in the United States almost 140,000,000 inhabitants and we cannot issue a bulletin to reach the masses of the American people."

Mr. ARENS. In what publications or how was this information to be disseminated?

Mr. VOGEL. They did not tell me exactly. But one of the ways they told was just to take a telephone book or telephone books from all over the country, for instance, as one way, of which they gave me an example, because I asked, "How would you distribute such a bulletin?"

"Besides," they told me, "We will get addresses from friendly organizations we have here, with names of Rumanians and names of friends of Rumania and so on." They did not tell me exactly.

Mr. ARENS. How were you to disseminate the information or propaganda, by letters or bulletins?

Mr. VOGEL. A bulletin, a periodical bulletin which they asked me to print. I told them, "Besides that, we need a budget."

Mr. ARENS. What is the name of this bulletin or publication which is disseminated to these persons?

Mr. VOGEL. The Rumanian News, I guess. The official one, issued by the Legation, was the Rumanian News, I guess.

Mr. ARENS. What is the extent of its circulation?

Mr. VOGEL. When I was with the Legation, there were 700 copies, and it was not printed.

Mr. ARENS. Have you had any contact in the course of your affiliation with the Rumanian Embassy, with Mr. Fainaru, one of the previous witnesses?

Mr. VOGEL. I saw him several times at the Legation.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you ever seen this newspaper [indicating] before?

Mr. VOGEL. The Romanul-American, yes; we have, in the Legation.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know what the political line of this newspaper is?

Mr. VOGEL. My opinion is that it is Communist.

Mr. ARENS. What information, if any, do you have respecting the payment of money to Mr. Fainaru or his paper by the Rumanian officials in this country?

Mr. VOGEL. I have two recollections, exactly. Once, I saw on Mr. Lazareanu's desk a slip of paper handwritten in red with some items. It was quite a slip of accounting. One item that I recall exactly was: "Mr. H. F." and I did not know any other person as "H. F." except I know Mr. Harry Fainaru. Underneath it was "for brochures."

Maybe seeing it once, and not knowing maybe some details, some amplifications, some amplifying explanations, it wouldn't mean too much, but it was just during the period when we got at the Legation almost 10 copies—maybe there were 12—and, as I testify here under oath, I wouldn't be able to say exactly 10 or 12 copies—of the booklet against His Majesty, King Michael, of Rumania.

Mr. DEKOM. Who published that booklet?

Mr. VOGEL. It was printed; yes, sir. Then Lazareanu came in with an envelope with some of the booklets, and handed me the booklet, and said, triumphantly—"Look how we work."

From one point of view, I understood the nuance in his tone—"how we work." That meant, number one, "I don't work in the way they understood." Number two, that they understood their "duties."

I looked in the booklet and I saw it was the usual smear propaganda, not almost generally against the Royal House, against the Dynasty, but directed against King Michael. Maybe I am not dynastic from a structural point of view. My personal belief is in the usual republican—I mean the usual American republican spirit. I prefer a president to be elected, as you have it here, for instance, and to be committed to the constituents and to the people. Nevertheless, I knew personally some of the members of the Royal Family in Rumania and my opinion is that they helped a lot to improve that country.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly confine your next comment to the information you may have respecting the transmission of money to Mr. Fainaru?

Mr. VOGEL. Yes, sir.

When I got this booklet, I asked Lazareanu, "Where did you print it—here in Washington?" Because I knew there is no print house with Rumanian letters in Washington.

He said, "No, it is from Detroit." This, you know, meant, in any case it was through "friends."

I told him, "That is quite expensive."

He said, "Well, I did arrange everything; I managed to arrange it."

I "congratulated" him on being able to do that. Then, seeing the slip of paper with the name "H. F." and the amount of money—\$400 or \$500—the amount of money was mentioned beneath it—"for brochures" and the amount of money \$400 or \$500—I can't recall exactly—I could see that.

The same afternoon Minister Ralea met me on the stairs and he told me, "Why did you tell me that Lazareanu steals money from the Legation and tries to put it in his pocket?" He said, "He explained to me this morning everything about where he spent \$2,200." The \$2,200 was an amount of money which I knew, from the First Secretary of the Legation, was the balance of an account for the press.

I used to get money from this account, for instance, to pay the news services, the papers we had, to pay for pencils, to pay for envelopes we needed, but the rest I did not get a cent in any case.

I know now where he paid a part of this amount of \$2,200. When I saw this "H. F." and "for brochures," I connected with it the brochures Lazareanu brought me. That was one time.

Mr. DEKOM. Before you go on, did the brochures have any indication as to where and by whom they were printed?

Mr. VOGEL. I don't recall. The only thing I recall is that Lazareanu told me that they came from Detroit.

Mr. ARENS. Will you continue with your other instance, please?

Mr. VOGEL. Yes, sir. Another time—we were on the third floor—and near my room was the switchboard, in a small room. Once I had to go inside—I don't recall for what—and I opened the door, because

I thought nobody was in there, because Lazareanu's office was on the corridor, the second or third room, and this room was for a secretary.

I opened without knocking—it was quite a public room, I would say—and when I opened the door, I saw inside Lazareanu and Mr. Fainaru, and Lazareanu was handling bank notes—dollars—it is easy to differentiate the size of a dollar bill from other currency—to Mr. Fainaru. I could have thought, "Maybe there is nothing in the whole matter" but Lazareanu, as soon as he saw me, quickly put the money back in his pocket like this [indicating]. I apologized for entering without knocking, and went out.

Those were the two occasions I know of in connection with money, between the two of them.

MR. DEKOM. Do you know of any instances when the people of the Legation or Lazareanu have tried to buy or bribe or subsidize other newspapers?

MR. VOGEL. Yes. Once he instructed me to discuss the matter with an individual—I don't know exactly what the person's title is—to buy the paper *Solia*, which was mentioned, because *Solia* was a paper founded by one of the Rumanian churches here, which was against the Rumanian Government's activities, I would say.

I asked him, "Why don't you do that?"

He told me, "They know I am a Communist and you are not a Communist."

I told him, "Well, but it is very dangerous to do such a thing." I speak from the legal point of view, as a former lawyer, that they just wanted to bribe somebody to buy campaigners in this way.

Several times afterward he told me, "Well, we find the means to do it." Once also he told me, "I am in connection with somebody to buy a radio broadcast in Detroit." But, of course, as they did not use to talk too much to me, I do not know too much.

MR. DEKOM. Were you ever asked to speak before any leftists or pro-Communist groups?

MR. VOGEL. Yes. I was asked in 1947, January or February. It was a meeting at the beginning of February of 1947.

The CHAIRMAN. Who asked you?

MR. VOGEL. Officially, the Minister of the Rumanian Legation, Mihai Ralea.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

MR. VOGEL. Here in Washington. The meeting was at Detroit. At the same time, I had to leave for Paris on February 6th for administrative matters of the Legation to see Foreign Minister Tatarescu,¹ and I asked Minister Ralea, "How could I go?" It was, I guess, in Detroit—it is written in the paper *Roumanul-American*, a January 1947 issue, and you can find it easily.

I asked him "How could I go the 3d or 4th of February if I have to leave from New York to sail on February 6?" I did not want to go because I did not want to be a tool for communistic purposes.

He told me, "Why do we have to? Lazareanu, always he has to say something. He had designated you to go." He said, "Before he left, he told me you have to go there."

I answered him, "Why I especially?"

¹ Gheorghe Tatarescu.

He told me, "Because you are not a Communist and that would be much better for us."

I told him, "Professor (he is a professor), it would not be possible for me. I want to go to Providence, R. I., before sailing overseas, for family business, and it would not be time enough for me to go there before leaving the United States, to see some of my family."

He said, "O. K., we will get somebody else." The next day, he told me, "Mr. Riposanu will go there." Mr. Riposanu went, and when he came back and I had an opportunity to talk to him, he was very disappointed in what he had seen. He told me it was a kind of a Communist gathering. The attendance was very poor, about 110 or 120 people, if I recall correctly.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Chairman, we ask that the witness be kept under subpoena, but excused temporarily.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; it is so ordered.

Are there any more witnesses?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, we have no more witnesses, except that Mr. Fainaru wanted to make a statement, and I want to ask him one question before he proceeds with his statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. You are under oath still, so will you take the stand?

TESTIMONY OF HARRY FAINARU, MANAGING EDITOR, ROMANUL-AMERICAN, DETROIT, MICH.—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. I would like to invite your attention to one of the laws of the United States, Mr. Fainaru, and then ask you a question with reference thereto. I invite your attention to the Foreign Agents Registration Act, which provides for the registration of any individual affiliated or associated with or supervised, directly controlled, financed, or subsidized, in whole or in part, by any foreign principal.

I ask you whether or not you or your paper have registered under this act?

Mr. FAINARU. No, we didn't register, because we are an American newspaper for Rumanian-Americans.

Mr. ARENS. Have you registered under this act?

Mr. FAINARU. No, because I am an American citizen.

Mr. ARENS. Has your paper?

Mr. FAINARU. No, because we are an American newspaper, written for Rumanians; that is, for Americans of Rumanian descent.

Mr. ARENS. I believe you had a statement which you wanted to read.

Mr. FAINARU. My name is Harry Fainaru; I am a citizen of the United States of America. I am managing editor of the newspaper Romanul-American, located at 2144 East Grand Boulevard, Detroit 11, Mich.

As a citizen I am fully aware that among the many functions of congressional committees are also the power to investigate with a view of providing corrective measures that would strengthen the democratic processes and institutions of our country. But I was shocked to receive a subpoena from the Immigration and Naturalization Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee of the United States Congress, whose contents direct me to violate the Constitution of the United States and its Bill of Rights, which I pledged to uphold and defend

under oath, just as you, the members of the above-mentioned committee, have given your oath when you took your seats in the Senate of the United States.

There is a United States law which requires every newspaper to publish annually a report concerning its ownership and circulation. The newspaper Romanul-American, like any other newspaper, has complied with the law. Any inquiry that goes beyond that law is a clear violation of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights, a violation of the freedom of the press.

The subpoena served on me by your committee commanded me to bring along the following:

* * * a list of all present and former officers and employees of the Romanul-American, a list of all persons who have been officers, employees, agents, contributors of the Romanul-American; a list of all persons who do now or have in the past had ownership, either in part or in whole, of the Romanul-American, or any of its facilities; a list of all persons, agents, associations, corporations, or other organizations which have furnished the Romanul-American with information for purposes of publication in its columns; a list of all sources outside of the United States, including agents of foreign governments, foreign correspondents, or foreign newspapers, which have supplied material or information for publication in the Romanul-American, either directly or indirectly; and a list of all foreign publications, including newspapers, pamphlets, and books from which material has been copied, condensed, or used, either directly or indirectly, for publication in the Romanul-American.

My newspaper has complied with the law, and there is now on file with the proper governmental authorities, statements as to the ownership and circulation of my newspaper. It is obvious, therefore, that this inquiry is not set up for any legitimate purpose of government but is part of an attack on the basic American freedoms, including the absolute freedom of the press.

It is further obvious that the contents of the subpoena as quoted above is so far-reaching in scope, so daring in its un-Americanism, that I consider it my sacred duty—as a citizen of this country, as a journalist and editor, and as a member of the American Newspaper Guild—to call it to the attention of the entire American press, to the editors and publishers of this country, and to the American people as a whole, that the implications inherent in this subpoena, if carried to its logical conclusions, would destroy the fundamental rights of the freedom of the press, which have been won by our people with their blood.

I would be held in contempt by the entire newspaper profession of this country if I allowed this attack on the freedom of the press to go unanswered.

Article I of the ten original amendments to the Constitution states:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press * * *.

Viewed in the light of the above constitutional article, and in the light of our long history of the freedom of the press, the contents of the subpoena constitutes a flagrant violation of article I, and commands me further to commit a similar violation, which, under oath, I pledged to uphold and defend.

Mr. ARENS. Are you familiar with the freedom of the press in Communist Soviet Russia?

Mr. FAINARU. No, I was not there. But I know what I read in the papers.

It is obvious that by the very wording of the subpoena, the Committee has usurped its congressional powers, and by implication, attempts to effect a smear or to question the patriotism of the newspaper I edit. Therefore, as managing editor of the Romanul-American, I state that conformity to policies of agencies of government is not a test of freedom of the press, but rather, it is a subversion of that basic freedom.

The newspaper Romanul-American is dedicated to the principle of the freedom of the press as guaranteed by the Constitution but it does not thereby sacrifice its constitutional right to take an independent position on any public question which it considers to be in the best interests of its readers and the American people.

From its inception, it has been a fighter and defender of the rights of man, a fighter and defender of the civil and democratic liberties of the American people, of which the Americans of Rumanian descent are an integral part.

It has a long and honorable record in the struggle for peace, democracy, security and freedom for the common man, in the struggle for the rights of labor. Naturally, it does not identify the interests of the Nation with those of Wall Street and the men of the trusts.

William Cullen Bryant, one of America's distinguished editors and poets, posed the question of the freedom of the press very precisely in 1837, when he said:

The right to discuss freely and openly, by speech, by the pen, by the press, all political questions, and to examine and animadvert upon all political institutions is a right so clear and certain, so interwoven with our other liberties, so necessary, in fact, to their existence, that without it we must fall at once into despotism or anarchy * * *.

We deem it our sacred honor and privilege to serve the people of this country, made up of men and women of all races, creeds, colors, and nationalities. It is for that reason that our newspaper rallied the Americans of Rumanian descent during the hour of our Nation's greatest peril. To rally them behind the war program that was to defeat the destroyers of our basic human and constitutional rights, and to unite them for battle so that our country would not suffer the fate suffered by our kin in Rumania, when they were thrown into a criminal Fascist war by the traitor, Gen. Ion Antonescu, and the so-called political refugees of the Grigore Niculescu-Buzesti, Cretzianu and Radescu¹ type who, unfortunately, have been embraced by certain people in our own State Department as "ardent democrats and patriots."

Just as we dedicated all of our energies and abilities during the war in the interests of our Nation, so are we dedicated now to the preservation of the peace, to the preservation of the rights and liberties established by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, which no one must be allowed to tamper with, including especially the protection of the rights of all minorities and those of the foreign-born—citizens and noncitizens alike.

In accord with this principle, our newspaper has fought and will continue to fight against the outrageous use of the weapon of deporta-

¹The late Grigore Niculescu-Buzesti, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Rumania. Alexandre Cretzianu, former Rumanian Ambassador to Turkey, and former secretary-general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Nicolae Radescu, former Prime Minister of Rumania.
All three of these men found refuge in the United States.

tion in order to intimidate foreign-born Americans. It is no accident that this weapon has been used especially against labor leaders and leaders of working class organizations by Wall Street, in order to weaken labor and divide the American people in their opposition to the Wall Street program.

In view of the above considerations, I ask that this committee withdraw this subpoena and thus contribute to the maintenance of the freedom of the press, instead of violating that provision of the Constitution which clearly guarantees it.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, that is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Fainaru, you will be regarded as being under subpoena.¹

The committee stands adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 2 p. m. the committee was recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

¹The witness was released from subpoena on July 25, 1949. Correspondence to Harry Fainaru, dated January 13, 1950, was returned with the following notation: "Sorry, Mr. Fainaru is not connected with this office anymore. Românu American, 2144 E. Grand Boulevard, Detroit 11, Michigan."

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

FRIDAY, JULY 15, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION
AND NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2 p. m. in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Pat McCarran (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators McCarran (presiding) and Eastland.

Also present: Senators Magnuson, McGrath, Miller, O'Connor, and Ferguson.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee; Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The record will disclose that some weeks ago we submitted certain questions to the Department of Justice and also to the State Department bearing on the subject matter of the bill S. 1832. Sometime thereafter the Department of Justice rendered answers, by way of a communication to the chairman, to the questions as propounded. The State Department on that occasion did not render answers.

Later we communicated with the State Department, and have their answers, which will come up tomorrow at the hearing.

The chairman of this committee thought best that the questions and their answers be not submitted or made public during the time that certain trials were in progress, one in New York and one here in the city of Washington. Those trials having been concluded and disposed of, the Attorney General and his assistants are now before the committee, and the questions and answers will go in the record, and then the Attorney General will read the questions and give his answers as submitted. Then, on each question and each answer that is given, any member of the committee or the counsel may interrogate the Attorney General.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, if you please, I should like to place in the record at this time the letter of transmittal from the Attorney General which accompanied the information in answer to the questions submitted by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The letter of transmittal will be inserted in the record.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, D. C., July 14, 1949.

HON. PAT McCARRAN,
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Attached hereto are answers to the 11 questions propounded to the Department of Justice on June 1, 1949, by the Special Subcommittee to Investigate the Immigration Laws, under Senate Resolution 40, Eighty-first Congress, during hearings on S. 1832, a bill to amend the Immigration Act of October 16, 1918.

In conformity with my advice to your subcommittee at that time, the questions have been answered insofar as it has been deemed consistent with the public interest. In harmony with this, I recall that the chairman stated that he was not requesting the divulgence of either sources of information or detailed facts in specific cases which are currently under investigation or in which criminal prosecution is imminent, nor the production of secret files, the custody and protection of which is a responsibility of this Department, or to make public disclosure of specific information in any individual case.

With these considerations in mind, the questions have been answered to the best of this Department's ability. Some of the questions, because of the confidential nature or the availability of the type of information involved, are more or less detailed than others. For example, to answer question 6 in more detail than has already been answered in question 3, which is related, would call for information concerning possibly existing internal-security situations and necessarily involve cases which would be currently under investigation. To answer question 2 in detail, which relates more to foreign than to domestic intelligence, would require months of work and considerable manpower which is urgently needed in current operations of the Department. For an example in this regard, the information and statistical analysis upon which the answer to question 9 is based required several months of research and careful study.

I should state in conclusion that this letter and attachments are in response to the subcommittee's request for replies to its 11 questions and should not be construed as an expression of the views of this Department with respect to the bill under consideration.

Hoping that the accompanying material will be of assistance to your subcommittee, and with kind personal regards, I am,

Sincerely,

TOM C. CLARK, *Attorney General.*

The CHAIRMAN. The Attorney General may now read the questions and give his answers as they are submitted to us. As each answer is given, members of the committee or counsel for the committee may, after the answer is given, interrogate the Attorney General.

All right, General, you may proceed.

STATEMENT OF HON. TOM C. CLARK, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES; ACCOMPANIED BY PEYTON FORD, THE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL; MICHAEL J. HORAN, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL; WATSON B. MILLER, COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE; AND L. PAUL WININGS, GENERAL COUNSEL, IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

Attorney General CLARK. The first question is:

How many Communists or Communist agents are known to the Department to have entered the United States as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments during each of the following periods: The past 5 years; the past 2 years; the past year; the first quarter of 1949; the month of April 1949; the month of May 1949?

To answer this question, it must be assumed that representatives from iron-curtain countries are Communists or Communist agents. Based on that assumption, the following statistics are submitted. Countries included are Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, U. S. S. R., and Yugoslavia. By way of explanation, it should be pointed out that these statistics reflect the number of admissions to the United States under subsections 3 (1) and 3 (7) of the Immigration Act of 1924, as amended (8 U. S. C., 203 (1) and 203 (7)), as recorded by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice. They do not necessarily reflect the total number of visas issued in these categories, which is a matter within the jurisdiction of the Department of State. In other words, the total number of admissions may exceed the total number of visas issued, inasmuch as a person to whom such a visa was issued may have made several trips to and from the country on the same visa. It should also be pointed out that, aside from recording the admission of persons possessing 3 (1) and 3 (7) visas, the Department of Justice has no jurisdiction over the admission of persons in these categories (8 U. S. C., 136 (r), 215; 22 U. S. C. 288d). It should also be noted that not all of the countries involved were designated as "iron curtain" 5 years ago.

The following statistics are as of May 1, 1949. Complete figures for the month of May 1949 are not yet available.

TABLE 1

Period	Total	Sec. 3 (1)	Sec. 3 (7)
5 years ended June 30, 1948.....	6,563	5,725	838
2 years ended June 30, 1948.....	2,192	1,430	762
Year ended June 30, 1948.....	778	520	258
July 1 to Dec. 31, 1948.....	316	247	69
Jan. 1 to Mar. 31, 1949.....	230	152	78
April 1949.....	46	31	15

Senator FERGUSON. Could you tell us what 3 (1) is?

Attorney General CLARK. 3 (1) is diplomatic.

Senator FERGUSON. What is 3 (7)?

Attorney General CLARK. 3 (7) is UN.

Senator FERGUSON. So, there are no others coming in except diplomatic and UN.

Attorney General CLARK. That is what the question asked for, "international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments."

Senator FERGUSON. And you assume that they are all Communists because they are part of the government and it is a Communist government?

Attorney General CLARK. That is right; they are either representatives of a Communist government to the UN or representatives of their own government here in the consular service.

Senator FERGUSON. Sometime ago eight men came across on a diplomatic visa and went out to a plant in Buchanan, Mich., and worked in that plant to learn to makes axles. Would that kind of people be included in this diplomatic group?

Attorney General CLARK. If they had diplomatic visas, yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. If they had diplomatic visas? Do you know whether or not we are admitting any people to do that kind of job who are not under a diplomatic passport?

Attorney General CLARK. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. FORD. They came in, I am advised by Mr. Miller, as 3 (1)'s.

Mr. MILLER. The Hastings Equipment Co. at Buchanan, Mich.

Senator FERGUSON. The Clark Co.

Mr. MILLER. That is the one.

Senator FERGUSON. They came in as diplomats?

Mr. MILLER. Officials under 3 (1), not diplomats; officials of foreign governments, because all industry in Russia is nationalized, and shop foremen and superintendents and so forth could thus be called officials of the Russian Government.

Mr. FORD. Diplomats are officials of a foreign government.

Senator FERGUSON. Would that be a similar passport to what the Senator would use if he went into one of these countries?

Mr. FORD. Yes, sir.

Attorney General CLARK. I am not too familiar with some of these things on passports. They are all issued by the State Department. However, I have with me some immigration officials.

Senator FERGUSON. I want to clear up one point.

Attorney General CLARK. This is supposed to include all of the visas that were issued in the 3 (1) category and 3 (7).

Senator McCARRAN. 3 (1)'s are diplomatic?

Attorney General CLARK. Those are officials of a government, Mr. Miller tells me.

Mr. FORD. Diplomatic.

The CHAIRMAN. Officials of a government or diplomatic?

Senator FERGUSON. How would a man who is going to take training as a workman to make these axles be classed as a diplomat or how would he be a government official within the meaning of that?

Mr. FORD. I do not know, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. Mr. Miller, you are familiar with the eight men out at Clark Equipment Co.?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir; we kept pretty good track of them while they were there and where they went after that. Our answer to that question was gleaned by an investigation we were able to make informally; and we were told that, because all or nearly all the industrial economy in Russia was nationalized, these persons, who might have just been shop foremen or superintendents, could be classified as officials of the Russian Government.

Mr. FORD. It is up to the foreign government to designate anybody they want to do so.

Senator FERGUSON. That is what I want to get at. So that, when they want to send agents in like those eight men, they would send them in as diplomats?

Mr. MILLER. As so recognized by this Government.

Senator FERGUSON. They could not come in as visitors, because Communists are not admitted as visitors.

Attorney General CLARK. We will not let them in, just as we turned down three or four the other day.

Senator FERGUSON. They are excluded; are they not?

Attorney General CLARK. Yes, sir. However, very often it depends on the government, I suppose. The only experience I had in it was when they had a meeting in New York about a month or two ago and officials of the government came in. I think Russia had three or four and some of the others.

Of course, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has no supervision over the 3 (1)'s and 3 (7)'s. They would not know why they were issued. You might ask Mr. Peurifoy about this.

Senator FERGUSON. You say you made the best investigation you could?

Mr. MILLER. Quite informal. Because of the two classifications, we have statutory prohibition against putting them under bond or, even after their status has expired, to attempt to send them out of the United States without the assent of the State Department.

Senator FERGUSON. Why could you not make the complete investigation even though you cannot put them under bond?

Mr. MILLER. Because of section 15 of the act of 1924.

Senator FERGUSON. You think that prevents you?

Mr. MILLER. I know it does.

Senator FERGUSON. Where did those people go after they left the Clark Equipment Co.?

Mr. MILLER. They separated. One or two of them went to other plants where small contracts were being executed on behalf of the Soviet Government, the said contracts having been negotiated through the Russian purchasing corporation known as Amtorg.

Senator FERGUSON. Are any of those people still in this country?

Mr. MILLER. We were able to note the departure of all of them, sir, with the exception of one, and in that instance we think there was a gross error in the spelling of the name and we were not able and we have not yet been able to note his departure.

Senator FERGUSON. So, there could be one still remaining now?

Mr. MILLER. There could be one still remaining.

Senator FERGUSON. How long ago did they come in?

Mr. MILLER. I have forgotten the date, sir; but you and I discussed that at the time, I believe.

Senator FERGUSON. I remember.

Mr. MILLER. Because they did more than a year ago, and it was an axle contract.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes; there was a contract. They made a contract with the company through the State Department.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were they in this country?

Senator FERGUSON. He said better than a year ago.

When did the last one leave, Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. I do not have the figures with me, sir; but they come and go, of course. It is my recollection that we checked the last one of them in the fall of 1948. As to the last one, we could not make identification of or locate the man.

Senator FERGUSON. Does that leave your department rather up in the air in relation to these people after they get in here? You cannot do much about it?

Attorney General CLARK. Sometimes we make representation to the State Department as to the activity of people who are here under these visas. Then they have authority. Mr. Peurifoy would know more

about the details of that. We ask that people be withdrawn. That has happened in the past.

Senator FERGUSON. Are these people you give us the number that have come in or that you believe are here at this date?

Mr. FORD. I think the question will answer it, if you will read the question.

Senator FERGUSON. As of May 1. That would mean that the many were remaining that you had checked. Is that correct?

Mr. FORD. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. That could not be right. From July 1 to December 31, 316.

Attorney General CLARK. That is the number that entered, according to the question.

Mr. FORD. You cannot be accurate on it, Senator, because they could come and go on one visa. One man might enter 10 times.

Attorney General CLARK. This is the number of individual visas that were issued; is that right?

Mr. FORD. Number of admissions.

Mr. HORAN. The Service records the admission of the people under these visas. In other words, a person who possesses one visa that may have been issued may enter 10 times and be recorded by the number of admissions that have been under a 3 (1) visa. In other words, it does not necessarily mean that there are 6,563 visas issued; it means that that many admissions were had under the 3 (1) visa.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, one individual holding a visa may come in any number of times?

Mr. HORAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know it is the same individual every time?

Mr. HORAN. If he is in possession of the visa issued to him, he is the same one, but the Service just records the number of admissions.

The CHAIRMAN. Could not someone else come in on his visa?

Mr. HORAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not?

Mr. HORAN. It is not issued to him. He could not, according to law.

Mr. FORD. Certainly he might.

Attorney General CLARK. It is improbable, however. They have descriptions of people.

Senator FERGUSON. I wonder if I could ask whether this date April 1949 is just one single date. Is that the whole month of April; 46; 31 and 15?

Attorney General CLARK. That is 46 admissions.

Mr. ARENS. If the Senator please, I should like to clear up one point. Mr. Miller can check me on this, but the approximate figures that we have are that, since 1938, 151,000 Government officials, 3 (1)'s, have been admitted into the United States. Since that period, 8,520 3 (7)'s, affiliates of international organizations, have been admitted into the United States through 1948. Now, is it the testimony of the Department here that the Department and the Immigration Service does not have power to exclude any of those aliens?

Attorney General CLARK. Under these visas?

Mr. ARENS. As 3 (1)'s and 3 (7)'s?

Mr. MILLER. Would you like to have the law which applies to the situation read into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. What is your answer under the law as you construe it?

Mr. MILLER. The law is perfectly clear.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your answer?

Mr. MILLER. The answer is "Yes," Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, what?

Mr. MILLER. The Immigration and Naturalization Service or the Department of Justice cannot apprehend the people and force their departure from the country without the consent of the Secretary of State.

The CHAIRMAN. How about excluding them?

Mr. MILLER. We can exclude persons in category 3 (7) under certain circumstances. The Attorney General has the power, also, after investigation, to admit under provisions of the law called the ninth proviso of the act of 1917. Not many are excluded, however.

Senator FERGUSON. What is the law about excluding? You say the Attorney General has discretion?

Mr. MILLER. The Attorney General has discretion under the ninth proviso of section 3 of the act of 1917 to admit persons temporarily otherwise excludable, which is invoked very, very seldom, and very sparingly.

Mr. ARENS. It is clear, is it not, that it is the view of the Department in interpreting the law that it has no power to exclude a 3 (1) or a 3 (7)?

Mr. FORD. That is correct.

Mr. MILLER. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. As a practical matter, the Department has not excluded any 3 (1)'s or 3 (7)'s?

Mr. MILLER. May I state a case where exclusion might be made? That would be a person coming in other than under formal circumstances, such as a correspondent who has a sort of cachet or charter to the United Nations, although a representative of a communistic newspaper in Europe. That sort of person could be excluded.

Senator FERGUSON. Do I understand that, if any check was to be done on exclusion of 3 (1)'s and 3 (7)'s, it would have to be done by the State Department in not issuing the visa?

Attorney General CLARK. That is true.

Senator FERGUSON. After they get the visa and then they come in?

Attorney General CLARK. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. And they stay in practically as long as they want to without much investigation because of the nature of this section?

Attorney General CLARK. If we should find that it is not to the interest of the United States that they stay here, we would make representation to the State Department.

Senator FERGUSON. Have any been excluded under that?

Attorney General CLARK. Yes.

Mr. FORD. The question is, Senator, whether they maintain their status as 3 (1)'s and 3 (7)'s.

Senator FERGUSON. That is rather a broad classification. As you say, they are working for the government.

Attorney General CLARK. Sometimes they lose their diplomatic status by the change in diplomats, things like that.

Senator FERGUSON. Does this diplomatic status go so far that if he were down here in Washington he would have immunity from arrest?

Mr. FORD. That is a question of international law.

Senator FERGUSON. And where he lives is Russian territory?

Mr. FORD. It is a question of international law which is very complex and very confused.

Senator FERGUSON. International law has not been codified.

Mr. FORD. There are marked differences of opinion.

Attorney General CLARK. Some countries claim that anybody connected with a consulate enjoys diplomatic immunity, and therefore is not subject to arrest. Others say they have to be in the diplomatic class.

Senator FERGUSON. What do we say?

Attorney General CLARK. That is our position, as we understand it: that all of our people are.

Mr. FORD. We took the position in the Gubitchev¹ case that he did not enjoy diplomatic status. The Russians said he did.

Senator FERGUSON. Would you say the eight men at Clark Equipment Co. had diplomatic status?

Mr. FORD. No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. You would have said not?

Mr. FORD. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Therefore, their visas technically should not have been issued under the classification?

Mr. FORD. No; that classification goes to two things: Diplomatic status and officials. There is a difference.

Senator FERGUSON. What about officials? Would you say they were officials?

Mr. FORD. They say they are officials.

Attorney General CLARK. If we had the facts indicating violation of Federal law, we would say that we would have the right to prosecute them because they would not enjoy what we would claim to be immunity from prosecution. We have done that in two cases: The Redin² case and the Gubitchev case. We would have done that, I assume, in the Carr³ case if we had had the evidence.

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, their official status would not give them diplomatic immunity?

Attorney General CLARK. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. I wonder if I could make one more inquiry to make this clear. If a person presents himself at a port of entry in the United States with a visa as an affiliate of a foreign government or a visa as an affiliate of an international organization, it is the view of the Justice Department that, under the law, notwithstanding the fact that the man may be excludable as a subversive if he did not have one of these two visas, because of the fact he has a 3 (1) visa or 3 (7) visa the Department cannot stop him? Is that not true?

Mr. MILLER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your answer?

¹ Valentin Gubitchev, a UN employee who was arrested on espionage charges.

² Lt. Nicolai Redin, of the Soviet Navy, who was charged with espionage in Seattle and acquitted.

³ Sam Carr, organizing secretary of the Communist Party in Canada, who was convicted in Canada of being a Soviet espionage agent following the exposure of a Soviet spy ring in Canada and the United States by Igor Gouzenko, former code clerk at the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa.

Attorney General CLARK. As I understand it, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Since 1938, there have been approximately 150,000 3 (1)'s admitted and approximately 8,000 3 (7)'s admitted.

Mr. MILLER. As disclosed by the annual report of the Attorney General.

The CHAIRMAN. Of that number, how many have been excluded, or deported?

Mr. ARENS. None have been excluded, as I understand it, because the Department takes the view that they do not have power under the law.

Senator FERGUSON. You mean this Department, the Department of Justice?

Mr. ARENS. The exclusion is only a function of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. I am speaking only of the exclusions.

Attorney General CLARK. In addition to the statistics shown above, there have been 11 known Communists admitted from countries other than those listed above, who were accredited to international organizations under sections 3 (2), 3 (3), or 3 (7) of the 1924 act, as amended.

TABLE 2.—Number of admissions of aliens as government officials, their families, attendants, servants, and employees under sec. 3 (1) of the Immigration Act of 1924, as amended, by specified countries of last permanent residence (years ended June 30, 1944 to 1948, and July 1, 1948 to April 1949)

Country of last permanent residence	Total 1944-48	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	July 1948 to April 1949 ¹
Total.....	5,725	1,616	1,634	1,045	910	520	430
Bulgaria.....	7				2	5	14
Czechoslovakia.....	322	20	7	71	107	117	66
Estonia.....	7	4			1	2	
Hungary.....	104	2	5	33	39	25	30
Latvia.....	1		1				
Lithuania.....	3					3	
Poland.....	551	30	141	166	120	94	63
Rumania.....	76		5		55	16	4
U. S. S. R. (European and Asiatic).....	4,493	1,552	1,444	724	546	227	178
Yugoslavia.....	161	8	31	51	40	31	75

¹ Preliminary.

TABLE 3.—Number of admissions of aliens as members of international organizations under sec. 3 (7)¹ of the Immigration Act of 1924, as amended, by specified countries of last permanent residence (years ended June 30, 1946 to 1948, and July 1948 to April 1949)

Country of last permanent residence	Total, 1946-48	1946	1947	1948	July 1948 to April 1949 ²
Total.....	838	76	504	258	162
Bulgaria.....	4		3	1	2
Czechoslovakia.....	115	22	60	33	26
Estonia.....					
Hungary.....	6		4	2	1
Latvia.....					
Lithuania.....	1			1	
Poland.....	106	2	76	28	19
Rumania.....	6		2	4	
U. S. S. R. (European and Asiatic).....	489	47	306	136	85
Yugoslavia.....	111	5	53	53	29

¹ Clause added by act of Dec. 29, 1945

² Preliminary.

Mr. ARENS. Could I ask one question here, General, if you please?

In your table here you list persons to whom visas have been issued, those who have come from Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. In your opening comment you made the assertion that persons coming from iron-curtain countries are deemed to be Communists. You have Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia included there. Is it not fair to say that these officials who arrived prior to the taking over of their countries by Communists are not in that category? You did not mean to imply there that those persons would be?

Mr. FORD. That is why we put the last sentence in on the first page.

Attorney General Clark. That is 5 years ago.

Mr. ARENS. That just clarifies the record that the statement of persons coming in from iron-curtain countries being classified as Communists would not embrace these people from the Baltic States before they were taken over by the Communists.

Attorney General CLARK. The second question is:

How many aliens who entered the United States as affiliates of international organizations and how many aliens who entered the United States as affiliates of foreign governments are known to the Department to have been engaged in espionage or related activities, or other activities of a subversive nature, prior to such entry?

The Department of Justice in this field is confined primarily to domestic espionage, counter-espionage, sabotage, subversion, and related matters affecting the internal security. Foreign intelligence is handled by the Central Intelligence Agency. While some information of this type is made available by the Central Intelligence Agency to the Federal Bureau of Investigation of this Department, it would be impossible to furnish complete data in reply to this question unless all the persons in this category, for an indefinite number of years as the question would indicate, were checked against all the files of the FBI which would require months of time and considerable personnel to accomplish. Even if this were done the answer would not be conclusive because this is primarily a responsibility of CIA.

The CHAIRMAN. I would say that the committee has the information from the Central Intelligence Agency and we will make that a part of the record following the appearance of the State Department tomorrow.

Attorney General CLARK. Question No. 3 is:

How many of such aliens, in each class, are known to the Department to be engaged, or to have been engaged, in espionage or related activities, or other activities of a subversive nature, in this country?

The Department of Justice has espionage and intelligence investigations pending concerning approximately 685 aliens, not all of whom, however, are necessarily confined to the above classes. Approximately 4 percent of the foregoing investigations involve persons attached to the United Nations at New York City. This is not to imply that these parties are actively engaged in espionage or intelligence work but merely that available information requires these investigations and that they are presently in progress.

Four: Describe a typical pattern of such espionage or other subversive activity, and appraise the extent and scope of such activity.

An example of an alien attached to a foreign diplomatic establishment engaged in attempted espionage activity in the United States is the following case from the files of the Department, concerning a

military attaché of an embassy of an iron-curtain country in Washington, D. C.

The attaché arrived in the United States subsequent to 1945 and remained in his diplomatic capacity until his departure prior to 1949.

It has been determined that the attaché was under instructions to organize a military intelligence network in the United States. The general staff of this country is known to have issued specific detailed instructions to the attaché in Washington in 1946 regarding the organization and objectives of these intelligence operations.

Intensive investigation of the attaché was begun shortly after his arrival and continued until his departure. This investigation disclosed that his principal contacts in the United States were certain other naval and military attachés and consulate personnel of his own and other iron curtain countries.

The investigation also reflected that the activities of the attaché were apparently aimed at developing individuals who were associated with foreign-language groups and publications in this country. He was known to have been engaged in the purchase of considerable equipment, usually through United States brokers.

It was reported that the attaché sent regular reports to his superiors in his own country concerning developments in the United States, but there has been no definite evidence developed that he obtained other than information from public sources. The investigation reflected that the attaché was, without question, dedicated to organizing an intelligence network in the United States to obtain espionage information, but from sources available it would appear that he was not successful.

It may be, therefore, that other iron-curtain countries have issued instructions of a nature similar to those known to have been issued to the attaché in the foregoing example, outlining the objectives of intelligence activity in the United States. Such cases as the so-called Canadian espionage case, the case of Nicolai Redin who was tried in Seattle in 1946, and others, indicate that aliens attached to official establishments may be active in intelligence activities or in directing such activities. It may be recalled that Igor Guzenko, the code clerk who defected in Canada in 1945, estimated that 60 percent of all persons attached to the official establishments of one iron-curtain country are engaged in intelligence activities of some character.

The success or failure of a foreign intelligence network, dedicated to espionage or other subversive activities in the United States, will of course be influenced by the number of individuals recruited by them in the United States who have access to the kind of information sought by the intelligence service or who are in a position to engage effectively in other subversive activity.

Other examples are as follows: There is the case of an employee of an iron-curtain country's consulate whose main duty apparently was developing the Communist Party among national groups in the United States. This employee is suspected of having submitted data through the embassy of the employing country and appeared to be a close friend of the head of that country's intelligence service. This employee does not participate openly in Community Party activity in this country but has maintained his contacts through the leaders of the nationality groups.

Another person and his wife, who are active in the American-Russian Institute, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (both organizations have been named by the Attorney General, pursuant to Executive Order 9835, as Communist organizations), and many other organizations, are reported to be the medium of exchange between the consulate of an iron-curtain country and the Communist Party of the United States.

An employee of the United Nations is reported to be a contact of a suspected agent of an iron-curtain country. Another employee, who is suspected of working for the intelligence service of an iron-curtain country, is believed to have obtained a United Nations position through an embassy official of that country.

Another person who is the subject of an investigation has departed from the United States to an iron-curtain country, reportedly carrying a diplomatic pouch containing information regarding intelligence matters in the United States. This person was closely associated with an iron-curtain country's official.

Numerous reports have been received that a certain newspaper published in the United States was subsidized by an iron curtain country. The publisher of this newspaper has reportedly maintained close contact with the diplomatic officials of that country and has printed news favorable to that country.

An official of an iron-curtain country's legation serves as supervisor and controls all activities on behalf of the Communist Party among a nationality group. In that connection it is reported that the Cominform ordered each of the satellite countries to organize in each ministry of foreign affairs a section for political counter-espionage.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask a question here, Senator?

Does the Immigration and Naturalization Service or Department of Justice receive CIA intelligence reports on persons who are seeking admission into the United States?

The CHAIRMAN. What is CIA?

Mr. ARENS. Central Intelligence Agency.

Attorney General CLARK. I am sure the FBI would exchange information of that type.

Mr. ARENS. Even though the Immigration and Naturalization Service or the Department of Justice knew of the activities of these people whom you have described here in answer to this question prior to their admission in the United States and even though the Immigration and Naturalization Service may have known that these individuals were coming into the United States to engage in these activities, under the existing law the Immigration and Naturalization Service and Department of Justice are powerless to exclude them? Is that true?

Attorney General CLARK. I have made representations successfully to our State Department that did exclude them, but under the law we would have no authority to exclude them under these categories.

Mr. ARENS. That is your understanding, too, of the law, Mr. Commissioner?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, Mr. Chairman and, as the Attorney General said, upon negotiation when we exchange viewpoints with the Department of State agreement has been reached.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know of a single case in the course of the last 10 years where the State Department has refused to issue a visa to a person applying as a 3 (1) or 3 (7) ?

Mr. MILLER. I am not sure I have that information. We would not have that information generally.

Attorney General CLARK. I know of some personally in the last 3 months. I believe they were 3 (1)'s and 3 (7)'s. It was this meeting in New York. I think they did exclude some in those categories.

Mr. ARENS. It would not be exclusion technically but failure to issue visas?

Attorney General CLARK. That is right. Under the law, as you have indicated, we would not have authority at all.

Question No. 5 is:

How many aliens to whom visas have been issued as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments in the course of the last 5 years have been excluded by the Attorney General from admission into the United States?

None. The Attorney General is without authority to exclude persons possessing 3 (1) and 3 (7) visas (8 U. S. C. 203 (1), (7)). Aliens in these categories are exempt from the exclusion statutes (8 U. S. C. 136 (r) ; 22 U. S. C. 288d).

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you right there, General, and perhaps Mr. Winings might be able to give an answer to this question, with respect to the headquarters site agreement through which the 3 (7)'s come, section 6 provides as follows—section 6 of annex 2:

Nothing in the agreement shall be construed as in any way diminishing, abridging, or weakening the right of the United States to guarantee its own security and completely to control the entrance of aliens into any territory of the United States other than the headquarters district and its immediate vicinity as to be defined—

and so forth. Do you have a comment to make on that ?

Mr. WININGS. I was going to say that I think the extract as you read it speaks for itself. If the person is coming to the United Nations Headquarters, he is authorized without our interference to proceed to and from the headquarters area.

We do under section 6 have authority to limit him to the headquarters area if he is an admissible alien under our law, but we cannot keep him out of the United States as such. We can keep him out of the territory of the United States which is not composed of the headquarters district and vicinity.

Mr. ARENS. Do you care to comment on the operation of this section insofar as the Justice Department is concerned in trying to keep people in the so-called headquarters district ?

Mr. WININGS. That is a legal question. I think probably I am not competent to discuss it.

Attorney General CLARK. It is difficult to do. Of course we do have regulations in the Immigration Service, particularly on reporters and newspaper people.

The CHAIRMAN. You would have to keep the individuals under continual surveillance.

Attorney General CLARK. To be 100 percent effective, we would. It would be almost impossible to do that with these large numbers. For example, we have provided that newspaper people, of which there are quite a number sent here from iron-curtain countries, not

only have to enter the United States on the east coast but they have to go to the headquarters of the United Nations and remain there. You will remember there was quite a discussion in the newspapers at one time when I denied the right of one of the newspaper reporters to come down to Washington with I believe the Prime Minister of France or some country over there, and later we let him come down for one afternoon. We have the regulations to implement the statute you mentioned, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does Gubitchev come under that category?

Attorney General CLARK. We contend that Gubitchev is not immunized by his papers that are here. That is why we are prosecuting him. He claimed, as did the Russians, that he was in the diplomatic category.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a little out of his regimen as a newspaper reporter.

Attorney General CLARK. He was not in the newspaper category. He was connected with the Russian Government.

Mr. WININGS. He was an architect assigned to the Russian delegation of the United Nations.

Attorney General CLARK. He was not a newspaperman?

Mr. WININGS. He was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you say he was an architect?

Mr. WININGS. Engineer or architect.

Attorney General CLARK. He was connected with the Russian group that was with the United Nations.

Question No. 6 is:

Does the Department have knowledge of Communist spy rings now existing in the United States which include as active participants aliens who entered this country as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments?

As will be noted, this question calls for information concerning internal-security matters in the United States, which include as active participants aliens affiliated with international organizations and foreign governments.

In order to answer this question, the Department would have to disclose information concerning matters presently under active investigation. It is believed that the disclosure of such information would be inconsistent with the public welfare by reason of the national-security interests involved.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say we have further information covering this point also from the Central Intelligence Agency.

Attorney General CLARK. Yes.

Question No. 7 is:

If so, describe the typical pattern of such a spy ring.

The answer to this question would likewise require the disclosure of information concerning cases under active investigation, which it is believed would be contrary to the public interest. However, as a typical example of the type of case which would be involved, reference is made to the case concerning the attaché as set forth in answer to question 4.

Question No. 8:

To what extent do the records of the Department show espionage or distribution of subversive propaganda and the organization or promoting of subversive groups in the United States to be under the control and direction of aliens who

have entered the United States as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments?

Presented herewith are data relating to propaganda activities of agents of foreign principals in iron-curtain countries who are registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act (22 U. S. C. 611 et seq.). It should be pointed out, however, that the fact of filing propaganda as defined in the act does not in any way indicate that it is subversive. The requirements of the act are that political propaganda transmitted through any instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce shall be appropriately labeled and copies thereof shall be filed with the Librarian of Congress and the Department of Justice. Under section 4 (c) of the act, copies of the propaganda are available for public inspection at the Library of Congress. That portion of the following data concerning propaganda activities conducted by foreign embassies and consulates in this country relates to information which was obtained from sources other than registration under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, since diplomatic officials are exempt from registration under section 3 (a) of the act as amended.

A compilation of data regarding registrants from iron-curtain countries according to citizenship indicates the following: American citizens, 73; aliens, 35. These figures represent not only individuals who are registered as agents of foreign principals from these countries but also officials and other persons in policy-determining positions in corporations or associations who have registered as agents from the countries involved and who are required to file the so-called exhibit-A forms.

Mr. ARENS. Before you get into the specific ones you allude to in your statement, do you care, as Attorney General of the United States, to make an appraisal on the basis of your experience and background as to the extent to which the Communist "apparatus" in the United States is under the direction and control of agents who are sent into the United States? You set forth a number of particular instances of Communist activity which are under the direction and control of agents. I wonder if you would care to make an over-all appraisal.

Attorney General CLARK. We have some evidence to that effect that the line of the Communist Party here is the line of the foreign government. As far as any direct connections are concerned, those are matters which I would rather not discuss at this time. They involve the case in New York. However, I think you could read the propaganda that is put out and go through some the picket lines that I have to go through every time I make a talk anywhere and you can recognize it pretty easily.

Mr. ARENS. Do you care to elaborate on that, General, and make any general appraisal as to whether the Communist "apparatus" in the United States is under the direction and control of a foreign power or whether it is a home-grown product?

Attorney General CLARK. As I say, that is one of the problems involved in this case in New York, and I would rather not comment on it any further than I have.

BULGARIA

The only information available concerning propaganda activities carried on by Bulgaria concerns the distribution of an English-language magazine entitled "Free Bulgaria", which is published in Sofia,

Bulgaria. This publication is distributed by the Bulgarian Legation in Washington. There is no information available on the number of copies distributed or the number of recipients.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The press department of the Czechoslovak newspapers in New York City distributes a Czechoslovak news bulletin, published Monday through Friday, to Czechoslovak newspapers in this country. In the past, the consulate general has also distributed an English-language biweekly magazine, *The Central European Observer*, published in London, but it is not known whether this publication is still being distributed here.

LATVIA

Mr. Rudolf Shillers, registration No. 284, 5529 Hudson Street, New York 14, N. Y., is registered as an agent of the Latvian Minister and Chargé d'Affaires, Washington, D. C. He describes his activities on behalf of his foreign principals as that of following up the American press concerning articles and essays about Latvia and other Baltic countries, writing press reports, cooperating with relief organizations whose activities are beneficial to Latvian displaced persons.

Registrant reports that he made one speech on November 18, 1948. Other than that, he reports no propagandist activities and does not list expenditures on behalf of a foreign principal.

LITHUANIA

Mr. Anthony O. Shallna, registration No. 182, 305 Harvard Street, Cambridge 39, Mass., is registered as an agent of the Lithuanian Government. Registrant describes his activities as that of "honorary consul of Lithuania" at Boston.

He lists no expenditures on behalf of a foreign principal and states that he made six speeches at political rallies, Independence Day exercises, and before professional and business groups.

POLAND

(1) The Gdynia America Line, Inc., registration No. 81, 32 Pearl Street, New York City, is registered as an agent of the Gdynia America Shipping Lines, Ltd., of Gdynia, Poland.

Registrant distributes press release advertising its steamship services. It also conducts radio programs designed to advertise its passenger and cargo services. Registrant reported that it conducted 26 Polish-language broadcasts, 26 Italian-language broadcasts, and 39 French-language broadcasts. The broadcasts in Polish and Italian were in the nature of weekly programs over Station WHBI, Newark, N. J., and Station WHOM, New York City. The French-language broadcasts consisted of spot announcements during the "French Hour" over Station WBXX.

(2) The Polish Press News Agency (PAPRESS), registration No. 372, 50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City, is registered as the United States agent of the Polish Press News Agency, Warsaw, the semi-official news agency of Poland. Registrant reports no distribution of news releases in this country.

(3) Mr. Randolph Feltus, registration No. 381, 128 East Fifty-sixth Street, New York City, is registered as a public-relations adviser to the Polish Ambassador to the United States. Registrant in his last supplemental statement reports no distribution of any propaganda in this country on behalf of the Ambassador.

(4) Mr. Andrzej Liwnicz, registration No. 383, 299 Madison Avenue, New York City, is registered as an agent of the State-owned film monopoly, Film Polski of Warsaw, Poland.

Registrant stated that \$6,725 was expended by him on behalf of his foreign principal.

During the month of November 1948, he reported five film showings at two schools, the Polish consulate and the Polish Research and Information Service in New York, and at the Polish Embassy in Washington, D. C. In May 1949, he informed this office of the distribution of five different 16-mm. film titles and miscellaneous Polish newsreels which were exhibited by two schools, the Polish Research and Information Service, the Polish Embassy, and one individual.

(5) Mr. Leopold Szor, registration No. 410, 151 East Sixty-seventh Street, New York City, is registered as an agent of Dr. Wilhelm Billig, general director, Polish Radio, Warsaw.

Registrant stated that his expenditures amounted to \$2,000.

Registrant's activities include the sending of radioscripts to Warsaw and broadcasting UN news daily to Warsaw from the British Broadcasting Corporation's studios in New York City. The UN broadcasts over BBC were discontinued on December 15, 1948. Registrant reported 12 radio programs over the Polish radio, Warsaw, and 13 Sunday broadcasts over station WHBI, Newark, N. J., for the Gdynia America Line, Inc.

(6) The Polish Research and Information Service, registration No. 473, 250 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York City, is registered as the official information office in this country of the Press and Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Polish Government in Warsaw.

Registrant reported that his expenditures on behalf of the foreign principal amounted to \$70,515 (approximately).

Registrant engages in the following informational activities in this country:

1. Prepares publications and distributes to newspapers and other publications, press services, libraries, educational institutions, and, in some case, public officials:

(a) *Biuletyn Polski*, a Polish-language news bulletin published Monday through Friday. Registrant reported that from January 1, 1949, to May 1, 1949, there were 67 issues of this publication, 250 copies being distributed per issue.

(b) Vocational Education, described by registrant as a report. During May 1949, 5,000 copies of this report were distributed.

(c) The Polish Army Learns About Brotherhood, was described by registrant as a report. On March 31 and April 15, 1949, 400 copies were distributed.

(d) Jewish Life in Poland, a bimonthly publication. On March 31 and April 15, 1949, 1,200 copies were distributed.

(e) Social Welfare in Poland, was described as a report. On March 31 and April 19, 1949, registrant reported that a total of 5,400 copies were distributed.

(f) Cultural Life in Poland is a bulletin. On February 22 and March 14, 1949, 6,000 copies were distributed.

(g) Poland of Today, an English-language monthly magazine. During the period March 5-14, 1949, registrant reported a circulation of 15,000 to 16,000

copies, which is probably the correct monthly circulation for this publication. For the month of February 1949, registrant reported the same circulation figure as given above.

(h) A pamphlet containing a statement by the chairman of the Polish Delegation to the UN; 800 copies were distributed in February 1949.

(i) Poland and the Ruhr Question, a pamphlet, 800 copies of which were distributed in February 1949.

(j) The Polish Minister on Human Rights, a pamphlet, 800 copies of which were distributed in February 1949.

2. Distributes copies of broadcasts received from Poland, known as Warsaw Daily Broadcasts, to the press attachés at the Polish Embassy in Washington and the Polish Legation in Ontario, Canada, the director of the Polish Press News Agency in New York City, and to the Federated Press in New York City. Registrant reported that copies of Warsaw Daily Broadcasts were distributed to four named individuals daily.

3. Distributes documentary films and photographs and participates in exhibitions.

4. Conducts research, on request, on various problems of Polish life.

5. Officials associated with registrant have delivered lectures on Polish matters.

RUMANIA

The Rumanian Legation in Washington distributes at irregular intervals an English-language press bulletin entitled "Rumanian News." No figures are available on the distribution of this publication.

U. S. S. R.

(1) Helen Black, registration No. 6, 15 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City, is registered as an agent of Press Photo and the Literary-Musical Agency (Presslit), both of Moscow.

Registrant reported that during the period her expenditures on behalf of her foreign principals amounted to \$1,447.45.

On behalf of Press Photo, registrant sells photos and mats received from the U. S. S. R. to newsphoto agencies, newspapers, magazines, and book publishers in this country. Registrant reported the following figures as covering the distribution during the latter half of 1948 of photographs on behalf of Press Photo: July, 169; August, 52; September, 154; October, 72; November, 62; December, 36.

During the period from July 1 to December 31, 1948, registrant reported that on behalf of the Literary-Musical Agency she negotiated for the publication of 14 books and 2 plays.

(2) The Four Continent Book Corp., registration No. 94, 38 West Fifty-eighth Street, New York City, is registered as an agent of the All-Union combine, Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, Moscow.

Registrant reported that its expenditures on behalf of its foreign principal for the period July 1 to December 31, 1948, amounted to \$13,564.61.

Registrant sells Soviet books, pamphlets, periodicals, and newspapers in this country and exports American books and publications to the U. S. S. R.

The following figures were given for publications distributed in excess of 35 copies:

January 1949: 4,100 copies of Russian-language books in 54 different titles; 2,140 copies of 14 different periodicals; 4,310 phonograph records.

February 1949: 2,350 copies of Russian-language books in 25 different titles; 1,250 copies of 12 periodicals.

March 1949: 3,650 copies of Russian-language books in 35 different titles; 4,182 copies of 13 periodicals.

April 1949: 1,750 copies of Russian-language books in 25 different titles; 2,435 copies of 13 periodicals; 150 copies of 2 kinds of maps; 2,200 copies of colored picture postcards on 22 different subjects; 775 phonograph records.

(3) Artkino Pictures, Inc., registration No. 103, 723 Seventh Avenue, New York City, is registered as an agent of Sovexport Film of Moscow. Registrant distributes Soviet films in this country.

Registrant reported that during the 6-month period covered by the supplemental statement its expenditures on behalf of its foreign principal amounted to \$19,351.13.

Registrant reported that during the period from August 23, 1948, to February 22, 1949, it released 12 new films and 5 news films. Registrant also gave the following information:

Month	Films distributed		35-mm. bookings for—	
	Soviet	German	Soviet films	German films
January 1949.....	58 copies.....	5 copies.....	20 theaters..	12 theaters.
February 1949.....	51 copies.....	14 copies.....	16 theaters..	9 theaters.
March 1949.....	56 copies.....	16 copies.....	18 theaters..	27 theaters.
April 1949.....	52 copies.....	do.....	16 theaters..	16 theaters.

(4) Earl Russell Browder, registration No. 374, 55 West Forty-second Street, New York City, is registered as an agent of three Soviet publishing houses, all located in Moscow—the United States Publishing House of the Council of Ministry of the U. S. S. R., the State Art Publishing House of the Committee on Art Affairs of the Council of Ministry of the U. S. S. R., the Publishing House of the Central Council of Trade-Unions.

For the 6-month period ending March 31, 1949, registrant stated that his expenditures on behalf of the foreign principals amounted to \$948.46.

On behalf of his foreign principals, registrant negotiates with American publishing houses for the publication of Russian books in this country (books are submitted to publishers in Russian or in English translation) and offers articles received from the U. S. S. R. for publication by newspapers and periodicals in this country. During the 6-month period ending March 31, 1949, registrant reported that he had negotiated for the publication of four books and had given five lectures.

(5) World Tourist, Inc., registration No. 485, 18 West Twenty-third Street, New York City, is registered as an agent of the All-Union Joint-Stock Company Intourist of Moscow. Registrant acts as a tourist agency, selling tourist and travel documents, tickets, and so forth, but reports no dissemination of travel, tourist, or other publicity material in this country.

(6) The New York bureau of the Telegraph Agency of the U. S. S. R. (TASS), registration No. 464, 50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City, is registered as an agent of the Telegraph Agency of the U. S. S. R., Moscow. Registrant transmits news from this country to the U. S. S. R., but reports no dissemination of information in this country.

(7) The Embassy of the U. S. S. R. in Washington, D. C., distributes an English-language magazine, published twice monthly, entitled "U. S. S. R. Information Bulletin." In addition, the Em-

bassy has distributed various press releases from time to time, such as the lengthy four-part release distributed in the United States in February 1948, entitled "Falsificators of History."

YUGOSLAVIA

(1) Mr. Monroe Stern, registration No. 386, 1520 Sixteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C., is registered as the information officer for the Yugoslav Ambassador to the United States. Registrant answers inquiries and assists in the preparation of speeches and statements made by the Ambassador and helps prepare pamphlets and other publications distributed by the Embassy.

According to information supplied by registrant, the Yugoslav Embassy issues, on occasion, press and news releases (with a circulation varying from 15 to 350 during the year 1948) and distributes various pamphlets and publications of diverse circulation (e. g., on one occasion in 1948 the circulation of one pamphlet was 400; on another, 10,000).

Registrant reported on October 25, 1948, that 4,500 copies of the publication News of Yugoslavia were distributed. He also reported on September 29, 1948, the distribution of 5,000 copies of The UN-Cooperation Must be Secured, which is a pamphlet containing a speech by Mr. Edvard Kardelj, the chairman of the UN delegation from Yugoslavia.

(2) Tanjug, registration No. 493, 36 Central Park South, New York City, is registered as the United States agency for the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug of Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

Registrant reported the following figures for expenditures on behalf of its foreign principal: October 1948, \$1,558.36; November 1948, \$10,381.49; December 1948, \$1,402.59; January 1949, \$2,794.73; February 1949, \$1,281.17; March 1949, \$2,674.09.

Registrant distributes press releases based on material transmitted from Yugoslavia to a mailing list consisting, as of December 1948, of approximately 490 newspapers, periodicals, news services, or interested individuals or organizations in this country; distributes photographs received in single copies from Belgrade; and transmits news reports to Belgrade.

An example of activity on the part of persons attached to an embassy of an iron-curtain country is as follows:

In 1947, the Department was informed that a meeting of leaders of an iron-curtain country nationality from the United States, Canada, and the country's Embassy, Washington, D. C., was held in New York City. This meeting was called for the purpose of discussing policy and certain differences of opinion which had arisen concerning future activities of the elements of this iron-curtain country in the United States. Represented at the meeting, according to the Department's source of information, were persons affiliated with the Nationality Groups Commission of the Communist Party of the United States; Serbian Section, Communist Party, U. S. A.; Croatian Section, Communist Party, U. S. A.; Macedonian Section, Communist Party, U. S. A.; American Slav Congress; Slovenian Section, Communist Party, U. S. A.; and Croatian Section of the Communist Party of Canada.

After a general policy meeting among these individuals, two persons from the country's Embassy in Washington were introduced, and

there was a general discussion of the United Committee of South Slavic Americans. The latter organization has been designated as Communist under Executive Order 9835.

In the course of discussions, it was pointed out that several representatives felt that the United Committee should be made a part of the American Slav Congress (another organization which has been designated as Communist under Executive Order 9835).

Mr. ARENS. You are speaking, of course, of the Yugoslav Embassy as you referred to before?

Attorney General CLARK. Yes.

One of the persons from the Embassy is reported to have stated that the poor condition of affairs with regard to the United Committee must be blamed on the Communist Party and no one else, and that the United Committee was the responsibility of party members. He is reported to have criticized those who felt that there was no need for this organization, and mentioned that various debts incurred by the committee could be taken care of; and that, in order to implement successfully the continued activities of the organization, the party must assign responsibility to comrades in New York, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, and elsewhere to work with the committee. This person also reportedly stated that it was not desirable that the United Committee of South Slavic Americans become a mass organization like the American Slav Congress and that, if necessary, the Embassy was ready to help by sending two or three people from the particular iron-curtain country into the various localities to speak at such meetings as could be arranged. He reportedly advised that the Communist Party had assumed leadership in the particular iron-curtain country and that the Communists in the United States must, in their own way, assume leadership and take the responsibilities for carrying on the work of the organization.

The other person from the Embassy delivered an address echoing the sentiments of his colleague. After the discussions, the following conclusions were accepted by the various representatives attending the meeting:

(1) The American Slav Congress should be the Communist Party's top organization in the United States, and it will continue to work as a mass organization.

(2) Certain specific Communist Party members were to be assigned responsibility for the work of the United Committee of South Slavic Americans in the indicated cities of the United States.

(3) The American Committee for (this particular nationality's) Relief and the American Association for Reconstruction in the particular iron-curtain country would continue on their existing basis.

Mr. ARENS. Again, General, it is obvious that you are speaking of the American Committee for Yugoslavia Relief and the American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia?

Attorney General CLARK. I was mistaken when I said that was Yugoslavia. This example is an embassy, but it is not necessarily the Yugoslav Embassy. It is an embassy here in Washington, D. C., however.

Mr. ARENS. General, I have just one observation. It is apparent—is it not?—from the facts which you have developed here, that there

is a direct tie-up—at least, in the instances which you have set forth—between the affiliates of the foreign governments and your Communist “apparatus” in the United States?

Attorney General CLARK. I would not be in a position to go any further than I have in this statement. I think the statement is pretty clear on that; and, having these cases pending over the country, I have gone over this statement very carefully. If I said anything ad libbing here, I might say something that affects those cases. I do not think what I have written here would. I know you understand.

Mr. ARENS. I understand, General.

Attorney General CLARK. The ninth question is:

To what extent do the records of the Department show espionage or other subversive activity in the United States to be engaged in by persons who are aliens, foreign-born, or of foreign-born parents?

Espionage and subversive cases are not classified on a basis of the nationality of the participants and suspects. Hence, current statistics in this regard are not practicably available. However, after several months of research, a statistical analysis has been made, based on a careful study of 4,984 of the more militant members of the Communist Party, United States of America, as of 1947.

Of that 4,984 cases analyzed, it was found that 2,202 or 44 percent of the individuals studied were either of Russian stock (i. e., born in Russia or of Russian or mixed parentage, with at least one parent born in Russia) or were married to persons of Russian stock. Thirty-seven percent of the individuals studied were of Russian stock, and 7 percent were married to persons of Russian stock, making the total 44 percent.

These 2,202 cases may be further broken down as follows:

A. Subjects of Russian stock:

1. Subjects born in Russia

(a) Aliens-----	79
(b) Naturalized citizens-----	756
Total -----	835

2. Parents born Russian

(a) Both parents-----	742
(b) 1 parent-----	277
Total -----	1,019

Total subjects of Russian stock----- 1,854

B. Subjects married to Russian stock:

1. Spouse born Russian----- 88

2. Parents of spouse born in Russia

(a) Both parents-----	185
(b) 1 parent-----	75
Total -----	260

Total subjects married to Russian stock----- 348

Total subjects of, or married to Russian stock----- 2,202

It was further found that an additional 614 subjects of the individuals studied, or 12.5 percent of the 4,984, were either of stock from the countries adjacent to Russia (Poland, Finland, Rumania, Lithuania, Turkey, Latvia, and Estonia) or were married to persons of such stock.

The following is an analysis of these 614 cases :

A. Subjects of stock from countries adjacent to Russia :	
1. Subjects born in such countries :	
(a) Aliens.....	36
(b) Naturalized citizens.....	334
Total.....	<u>370</u>
2. Parents born in such countries :	
(a) Both parents.....	134
(b) 1 parent.....	56
Total.....	<u>190</u>
Total subjects of such stock.....	<u>560</u>
B. Subjects married to such stock :	
1. Spouse born in such country.....	
2. Parents of spouse born in such country :	15
(a) Both parents.....	20
(b) 1 parent.....	19
Total.....	<u>39</u>
Total subjects married to such stock.....	<u>54</u>
Total subjects of, or married to, such stock.....	614

Combining the statistics relating to Russian stock with those relating to stock from countries adjacent to Russia, it will be seen that 2,816, or 56.5 percent of the 4,984 cases analyzed, were either of stock from Russia or the adjacent countries or were married to persons of such stock.

In addition, it was found that 1,739 individuals, or 34.9 percent of the total 4,984 subjects, were either of stock from other foreign countries or were married to stock from other foreign countries.

The following are the statistics :

A. Subjects of other foreign stock :	
1. Subject born in other foreign countries :	
(a) Aliens.....	102
(b) Naturalized.....	795
Total.....	<u>897</u>
2. Parents born in other foreign countries :	
(a) Both parents.....	327
(b) 1 parent.....	270
Total.....	<u>597</u>
Total subjects of other foreign stock.....	<u>1,494</u>
B. Subjects married to other foreign stock :	
1. Spouse born in other foreign country.....	
2. Parents of spouse born in other foreign country :	84
(a) Both parents.....	77
(b) 1 parent.....	84
Total.....	<u>161</u>
Total subjects married to other foreign stock.....	<u>245</u>
Total subjects of, or married to, other foreign stock.....	1,739

Thus it will be seen that a total of 4,555, or 91.4 percent of the 4,984 subjects, were either of foreign stock or were married to persons of foreign stock; 3,908 of these, or 78.4 percent of the total 4,984 subjects, were of foreign stock, and 647, or 13 percent of the total 4,984 subjects, were married to persons of foreign stock.

In only 429, or 8.6 percent of the 4,984 cases, were the subject and his parents, and if married the spouse and the spouse's parents, all born in the United States.

To recapitulate—

	Number	Percent
1. Subjects of, or married to, Russian stock.....	2,202	44.0
Subjects of, or married to, stock from countries adjacent to Russia.....	614	12.5
Total of Russian and adjacent countries.....	2,816	56.5
2. Subjects of, or married to, other foreign stock.....	1,739	34.9
3. Total, all foreign stocks.....	4,555	91.4
4. Subject and parents and if married, spouse and parents all born in the United States.....	429	8.6
5. Total.....	4,984	100.0

According to the World Almanac, 1947, the 1940 census reported 34,576,718 persons of white foreign stock in the United States, including 2,610,244 persons of Russian stock. The total white population of the United States was reported as 118,214,870 and the Negro population was reported as 12,865,518, making a total population of 131,669,275.

Accordingly, less than 2 percent of the white population consisted of Russian stock, yet 44 percent of the subjects of these 4,984 cases were either of Russian stock or married to Russian stock.

Stock from the countries adjacent to Russia consisted of 3,971,077 persons, or less than 3 percent of the total white population of the United States, yet 12.5 percent of the subjects of these 4,984 cases were either of stock from these countries or were married to persons of such stock.

White stock from all other foreign countries consists of 27,995,397 persons, or about 24 percent of the total white population of the United States, yet 34.9 percent of the subjects of these 4,984 cases were either of such stock or married to persons of such stock.

Only approximately 30 percent of the white population of the United States consisted of foreign white stock, yet 91.4 percent of the subjects of these 4,984 cases were either of foreign stock or married to persons of foreign stock. Seventy-eight and four one-hundredths percent of the subjects of these cases were of foreign stock and 13 percent of the subjects were married to persons of foreign stock.

On the other hand, only 8.6 percent of these subjects were born in the United States of parents born in the United States and, if married, had native-born spouses of native-born parents, although about 70 percent of the white population consisted of native stock.

It should also be noted that of the 4,984 cases studied, 217, or 4.3 percent, were aliens.

The membership of the Communist Party has fluctuated considerably during the past 2 years. In January 1947 the Communist Party, U. S. A., claimed 74,000 members; in February 1948 it claimed

68,000 members; in August 1948, 60,000 members; and in October 1948, 59,000 members.

Ten: Describe the extent, scope, and nature of the activity or activities of those organizations which have been proscribed by the Attorney General as subversive organizations.

Presumably this question is concerned with the organizations which have been declared by the Attorney General to come within the scope of Executive Order No. 9835, relating to the loyalty of Government employees, wherein the Attorney General is charged with the responsibility of furnishing to the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission the names of organizations which, after appropriate investigation and determination, he has designated as totalitarian, Fascist, Communist, or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence, to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means. The considerations below refer specifically to the organizations which have been designated as Communist and subversive pursuant to the afore-mentioned Executive order.

The activities of Communists among various groups follow a general pattern, each presumably intended to meet the special requirements of the group. For activity among youth there are the teen-age clubs, summer camps, dances, and high-school and college organizations. Among national minority groups and racial groups, the activities are planned to accentuate nationality and racial differences, to emphasize any discrimination, to retard Americanization, and to prevent their successful assimilation into our way of living. In their activities among labor groups, Communists continually aim to create a feeling of class consciousness. Thus the pattern, while different to meet the needs of each group, is always gaged toward the same aim of pitting class against class, group against group, in an endless effort to foment strife, discontent, confusion, and disorganization.

Dealing in general with the question of the extent, scope, and nature of the activities of the organizations which have been designated as Communist and subversive pursuant to Executive Order 9835, it may be observed that the extent of the activities of these groups varies with the scope of their activities. Some organizations extend not only within the continental United States but to the Territories as well. Others, which by their titles are designed to influence minority groups, operate only where those groups are found. They extend geographically according to the nature of the group, whether it be an organization operating among youth, labor, racial minorities, foreign-nationality groups, or groups brought together for some specific cause or purpose.

The scope of their activities is generally indicated by the names of the organizations themselves. Some clearly were organized for the purpose of fostering American policy favorable to the current policy of a foreign state; others are designed to promote the defense of specific individuals or to serve generally as legal defense or legal aid groups for Communists, or others whose cases can be rendered into causes celebres to serve the ends of the Communists; others again are designed to teach Communist dogma and tactics. The nature of the activities of these organizations follows the general pattern of at-

tempted infiltration, followed by the obtaining of strategic control, except, of course, in those cases where the organization is created by the Communists themselves. Many times actual Communist control is disguised through the use of apparently innocent individuals in seemingly key positions, whereas real control rests in the hands of persons who appear to occupy lesser positions. The nature of the activities varies with the objective of the organization; if it is designed to raise funds, there may be a few formal meetings other than a large conclave with attendant publicity; others whose purposes relate to indoctrination operate through meetings in local branches or lodges, through schools, through publicity campaigns, through the form of handbills, pamphlets, and organization publications.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you one question?

As you probably know, the Senator's bill, S. 1832, provides for the exclusion and expulsion of persons who are affiliates of subversive organizations proscribed by the Attorney General. Without at this time getting into the details of the bill, would the general care to express himself respecting the extent of the investigation and the care which is used by the Department of Justice as a prerequisite to the proscription of a particular organization as a Communist organization?

Attorney General CLARK. First, let me say, back in 1946, I think, we got from all the agencies of the Government whatever information they had on these various organizations and that was turned over to about 30 lawyers in the Criminal Division. It was sifted through those lawyers. Then I organized each of the assistant attorneys general, including Mr. Ford, the assistant, the Solicitor General, and the Assistant Solicitor General, into a panel and each one of those organizations was then reviewed by this group of assistant attorneys general, the assistant, Solicitor General, and Assistant Solicitor General. When they narrowed them down, if they all agreed I went over them and I would place them on the list. If they did not agree, then we would have a meeting, usually at lunch, at which we would discuss each of the organizations that was not agreed upon. We might ask for more information from the FBI or whatever sources furnished the information.

Mr. ARENS. As a prerequisite to the proscription, there were FBI reports as to the activities of the organization or a careful investigation of the organization?

Attorney General CLARK. Not only FBI but we got them from every agency that had any investigative groups or had any investigation. It was all correlated among all the agencies of the Government.

Mr. ARENS. How many organizations have been proscribed by the Attorney General as subversive organizations?

Attorney General CLARK. I do not know the exact number but the total is about 170, I would say.

Mr. FORD. I do not know the total either.

Attorney General CLARK. There are two lists. Some are Fascist, some are Nazi. The total would be around 170 or 175.

Question 11 is:

According to the information in the possession of the Department, how many aliens have been deported from the United States in the course of the last 10 years under the statutes which provide for the deportation of subversives?

As of April 15, 1949, 3,278 warrants of deportation had been issued which were not enforceable by reason of a refusal by the aliens' countries of origin to issue passports or other travel documents with which to effect deportation. Of the aliens covered by these warrants, 2,147 are iron-curtain nationals and of that number 1,180 are Russians. Of the 3,278 deportation orders, 112 were specifically issued under the act of October 16, 1918, as amended, which relates to subversive classes.

Senator MAGNUSON. Mr. Clark, could I ask a question right there?

Attorney General CLARK. Yes.

Senator MAGNUSON. Supposing it is determined that an individual was subversive and let us assume that his origin was an Iron-Curtain country and that country refused, either deliberately or otherwise, to accept him; then is there any other course we can pursue? Is there any other place we can send him or must he just stay here?

Attorney General CLARK. We can send him to only two places and those two only under the agreement of those countries. The two places are the place of birth and the other is the place from whence he came to the United States. As a consequence we have, as I have pointed out many times, Senator, some 4,000 alien Communists in the United States who, as I described it, are walking the streets.

Senator MAGNUSON. They could be here by design?

Attorney General CLARK. Definitely, some of them are.

Senator MAGNUSON. They could be here because their country will not issue the passport to allow them to come back.

Attorney General CLARK. That is right.

Senator MAGNUSON. In order to deliberately keep them here.

Attorney General CLARK. I believe that is true in several instances. Of course they could go to another country if they were able to get a visa and wanted to get a visa, but they have to apply for it themselves. I cannot force them to go, you see. I think one visa has been issued by the Russians since 1945. With that exception we have not been able to obtain any.

Senator MAGNUSON. Would you favor legislation that would allow the Attorney General some procedure whereby these people could either be sent to some place? If they are deemed to be subversive, surely they should not be allowed to walk the streets, particularly where it is evident there has been a design on the part of the country not to issue the passport in order to keep them here.

Attorney General CLARK. Well, sir, we proposed that legislation in 1948 and it was Senate bill 1987.

Senator MAGNUSON. Which is pending now.

Attorney General CLARK. It authorizes the Attorney General to take into custody those people in instances along the line you pointed out and pending their receipt of visa papers. That legislation has had a pretty rugged and rocky road in the last few years.

Mr. ARENS. Irrespective of the reason for the failure of these persons to be deported, it is true, is it not, that in the course of the last 10 years only 10 persons have been deported under the anarchist or Communist deportation statutes?

Attorney General CLARK. I do not know the exact number. I think it is in the statement, though. Let us take Eisler,¹ for example. We could not deport him unless he got a visa.

¹ Gerhart Eisler who escaped on the M S Batory on May 6, 1949.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that?

Attorney General CLARK. Eisler, the fellow who ran away.

So the number of actual deportations is not a fair guide from the standpoint of the number we have attempted. As I stated here a moment ago, 3,278 warrants have been issued. I am sure you have read in the papers in the last year or two of the many hearings that have been held incident to deportation. We have been a little more successful in the last 60 days. Mr. Miller can tell you more of the individuals, but we have gotten more of them away in the last 60 days. But even then you can count them almost on one hand. That is success compared to what we have had in the past.

Senator MAGNUSON. With respect to these people who are deemed to be, or in your opinion are, subversive in which there has been an attempt made to deport them and that attempt has failed because of legal limitations and they are, as you pointed out, walking the streets, does the Department keep them under surveillance at all times?

Attorney General CLARK. We cannot do that, Senator.

Senator MAGNUSON. There are just too many?

Attorney General CLARK. It would take an average of 25 people to watch a person 24 hours a day in a city like New York. It would be a physical impossibility to watch 4,000.

Senator MAGNUSON. So that because of lack of legislation and the limitation of the present laws, at least 3,278 less the number that has actually been deported, which are very few, are just walking the streets and doing what they can do?

Attorney General CLARK. I think we have four up in Ellis Island that they filed habeas corpus on the other day. One of them came up today and I think three Monday. With those exceptions and unless they are charged with other offenses, assuming they are not charged with other offenses, why your thinking would be right.

The CHAIRMAN. They are at large?

Attorney General CLARK. That is right.

Mr. FORD. One thing I might point out. Of that number, 3,278, all of those do not fall within the proscription of the 1918 act. Those are just numbers.

Mr. ARENS. Do you care to make any general observation respecting the difficulty under the present law of deporting a man under the subversive statute, exclusively under the subversive statute? I understand you try to catch them frequently on other grounds even though they may be subversive.

Attorney General CLARK. Of course, it is difficult for us to get conclusive evidence of their subversiveness aside from the difficulties that Senator Magnuson has brought to light here with reference to the visa, which is very difficult. We have not had as difficult a time with the proof as we have had with the visas. After the hearing, why of course they can appeal and take the matter up with the Board of Immigration Appeals and they bring it up to me and some of them take it to the Supreme Court. We have taken up quite a number.

Mr. ARENS. An alien Communist is under the law deportable, is he not?

Attorney General CLARK. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You have difficulty, however, in establishing in an individual case, do you not, whether or not the subject of your deportation proceedings is a Communist?

Attorney General CLARK. That is true, difficulty in proving it.

Senator MAGNUSON. I cannot help making this observation.

It is difficult for the average layman and American citizen who does not approve of these people at large, like all of us, to understand the legal technicalities involved and therefore of course the Attorney General gets the blame whether he can do it or not.

Mr. FORD. We get it both ways, Senator. There is no way to win.

The CHAIRMAN. The Attorney General gets the blame but the country gets the bulk of the subversiveness.

Attorney General CLARK. Of course those who are active, such as in the case of New York, why we bring suits against them. However, it is very, very hard at this time not only because of difficulties of proof but the difficulty as to the visas.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask another question for further enlightenment of the Senators on the law?

Under the existing law other than in the categories of 3 (1) or 3 (7), the Immigration and Naturalization Service has a discretionary power, does it not, to exclude from the United States a person who in the judgment of the Immigration and Naturalization Service is coming to the United States to engage in activities detrimental to the public interest?

Attorney General CLARK. We not only have that authority but we exercise that authority. Just last week we exercised it. I have forgotten the name of the town but it was up on the Canadian border.

Mr. ARENS. In that type of case it is not necessary, is it, for the Immigration and Naturalization Service to prove membership in the Communist Party or to prove overt action?

Attorney General CLARK. We usually have the information ourselves or we are able to obtain it from other sources, sometimes outside the United States, that are very helpful.

Mr. ARENS. Under the present law the statute which vests the Attorney General with power to exclude from the United States those persons who on the basis of the information satisfactory to the Attorney General are coming to the United States in detriment of public safety is not applicable to persons who come with 3 (1) or 3 (7) visas? Is that true?

Attorney General CLARK. Yes, sir; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, will you proceed, General?

Attorney General CLARK. In addition to the foregoing, there are 416 cases in which warrants of deportation have been issued in which final passport refusal has not as yet been received, but in which cases there is every reason to suppose that deportation cannot be effected because of such refusal. There are 91 of the 416 pending cases which involve persons who are subject to deportation under existing law to iron-curtain countries.

At the present time there are under investigation with a view to deportation, or under actual deportation proceedings, the cases of 833 aliens who, prima facie, are deportable under the act of October 16, 1918, as amended. Assuming that all of these aliens will eventually be ordered deported, it is expected that these orders will be nonenforceable in the majority of the cases for the reason that the countries of origin will refuse to issue travel documents.

From July 1, 1948, to May 31, 1949, there have been five persons deported under the subversive statutes. Persons classed as subversive

or anarchistic are deported under the act of October 16, 1918, or under the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, as amended by the Alien Registration Act of 1940, and may therefore include persons other than persons engaged in communistic activities.

Mr. ARENS. When you say persons under the existing law, that does not include, does it, persons who were admitted into the United States with 3 (1) or 3 (7) visas, namely those persons who have been admitted as affiliates of foreign governments or persons admitted as affiliates of foreign organizations?

Attorney General CLARK. That does not include them.

Mr. ARENS. The word "persons" does not embrace 3 (1)'s or 3 (7)'s?

Attorney General Clark. As used here, it would embrace it.

Since April 1, 1948, nine other persons known to be subversives who were under warrants of deportation have departed from the United States at their own expense.

In a number of other cases aliens were deported or permitted to depart voluntarily for causes such as illegal entry or admission without proper documents, although they were also suspected of being of a subversive class. This was done in order to expedite deportation since proof of entry without documents can be established more readily than can subversive activity.

Mr. ARENS. We discussed a moment ago, General, the fact that the Justice Department does not have power to exclude anyone with a 3 (1) or 3 (7) visa. Now do the general expulsion statutes as distinguished from exclusion apply to 3 (1)'s or 3 (7)'s?

Attorney General CLARK. The statutes themselves do not. Of course, in some instances, as I have pointed out, we do call the circumstances to the attention of the State Department and they use their influence to have them withdrawn.

Mr. ARENS. The only way a 3 (1) or 3 (7) who is in the United States and who is a subversive can be expelled from the United States is by representation made by the Justice Department to the State Department which would then withdraw his diplomatic status? Is that true?

Attorney General CLARK. I would say that they would make representations to the foreign country from whence he came and he was persona non grata and then they would hope that the country would withdraw him. Of course, every time we do that we usually get some persona non grata ourselves and they ask us to withdraw some of our people. So it is a reciprocal problem. It is one that is used against us whenever we use it just as when we have some case sometimes against one of the parties who is here from some foreign source, why we might suffer some cases in our Embassy which we say are not true cases, that is, they are not based on true facts, but the Government claims they are.

Mr. ARENS. Is it clear that under the existing laws the Department of Justice has no power to deport a person who is in the United States with a 3 (1) or a 3 (7) visa?

Attorney General CLARK. That is right.

There are two or three things I should like to point out, Mr. Chairman, if I could. There are about 3,500,000 aliens, I understand, in the United States today. We naturalized about 1,800,000 of them during the war. I would not want my testimony or the statistics that have been drawn here by the various divisions of the Depart-

ment of Justice to be a reflection in a general way on the aliens of this country who are now residents here. Most of them are law-abiding people. Our country has been made great by alien blood and I would not want my testimony to be taken as a reflection on that great body of people who now reside here.

There are some, as I have indicated here, who are engaged in some activities that are against our system and I think we can take care of them all right, but I would not want this to be construed as an indictment of that whole group.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say was the number of the Communist Party as reflected by that last report?

Attorney General CLARK. Fifty-nine thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. In the United States?

Attorney General CLARK. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. By Communist Party, do you mean card-bearing Communists and not the group which would embrace the fellow travelers?

Attorney General CLARK. They have abandoned their card system in large part, so I would not say they are card-bearing but I would say they are the ones to which they lay claim to according to the records.

Senator MAGNUSON. What we call the American Communist Party or underground Communist Party that carry the cards of the Internationale?

Attorney General CLARK. It is the American Communist Party.

Senator MAGNUSON. Those who in some States legally register as Communists and vote as such?

Attorney General CLARK. That is true.

Senator McGRATH. Why does the Communist Party publish the number of their membership? Other political parties do not do it.

Attorney General CLARK. They are bragging.

Senator McGRATH. I was wondering if they do not publish false figures to hide the fact that they may be growing larger and stronger rather than weaker. The figures you have indicated here show a drop of 10,000 each year. I would not think the party would be proud to publish those figures. Do you happen to know the source from which they come?

Attorney General CLARK. We got them from the FBI. I would say not only from the public figures but from our information the party is not nearly as strong as it was, I would say a year ago.

Senator McGRATH. Do you think the figures are an accurate reflection of the development of the party?

Attorney General CLARK. I think they are bragging some.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, you mean the party in the United States?

Attorney General CLARK. Yes, sir.

Senator MAGNUSON. What was the Communist vote in the last Presidential election?

Mr. FORD. They did not have any ticket.

Senator MAGNUSON. Is there a break-down in the States where they had candidates?

Mr. FORD. I presume there is.

Senator MAGNUSON. I wonder if they do not take these figures from the votes they get from the avowed Communist candidates in the various States.

Attorney General CLARK. These are supposed to be based on their records.

Mr. FORD. These are their own figures.

Mr. ARENS. General, do you want to make an observation, if you please, respecting your estimate of the number of persons who are under party discipline who may not be actually members of the Communist Party?

Attorney General CLARK. Those who deal in the problem say that possibly there would be 10 to 1 who were absolutely dominated, but according to those people who are versed in it, I would say that there are 10 so-called fellow travelers to one actual Communist. I would not want you to think that I believe those 10 are dominated by the 1, but as shown by the Communist front organizations that we have on the list there are many who are not out-and-out dues-paying Communists. At the same time they follow the line either through ignorance or design. It is estimated by those who are versed in this activity or this problem that it would run about 10 to 1.

Senator O'CONNOR. General, according to your other statement to the effect that you did not wish your testimony considered as reflecting on the great number of persons, I rather got the opposite impression that really through analysis you were expressing yourself as of the belief that the great majority are loyal.

Attorney General CLARK. Overwhelmingly.

Senator O'CONNOR. And that the number of the others would be relatively small.

Attorney General CLARK. That is true, sir.

Senator O'CONNOR. I do not wish to ask any specific question because you have indicated that because of the pendency of certain litigation you do not want to pass on them. Do you feel that the Department or other agencies of the Government are advised as well as could be expected of the movements and activities of subversive individuals in the country?

Attorney General CLARK. I certainly do. I think you could rub out those words "as well as could be expected." I think we are advised.

Senator O'CONNOR. I realize of course, just as you have indicated, that you cannot have 100 percent surveillance all the time, nevertheless through all sources of information you and others in the Federal Government are advised of what is transpiring whether it be United Nations employees or others and do know what is going on.

Attorney General CLARK. It is our job, and I think we are on top of it 100 percent.

I should like to say this: Of course, what I do in these cases is try to enforce the law. Sometimes I am criticized very severely, because I would not let somebody come into the United States, some musician, we will say. I remember a case. But I have no discretion in those matters. The law says that I shall not permit a Communist to enter the United States except in the exceptions as pointed out by the counsel and by myself. So I have no discretion. I have to carry out that law. So, when a fellow reaches the United States, and I say he cannot come in, why, there is a hullabaloo about it, about Clark being tough or rough or something of the kind. It is because I am carrying out the law. I do not mean that I am critical of the law. I want it understood that my job is to enforce the law and to try to do it in this field

as well as other fields that are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice.

The CHAIRMAN. The trouble is, General, that through other avenues in the law your hands are tied and there are those coming into this country by the hundreds and thousands that you cannot reach.

Senator MAGNUSON. And those who are here, too.

The CHAIRMAN. And those who are here, too.

Mr. ARENS. Under section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917 there is exclusion of subversives, but the ninth proviso permits the Attorney General to admit for temporary periods otherwise inadmissible aliens. You have discretionary power there?

Attorney General CLARK. Yes. We exercise that sparingly; too sparingly, some people say.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

If not, we thank you, General, for appearing before us today.

Attorney General CLARK. We thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Winings, will you come up here?

Will you state your name, place of residence, and your official position, if any?

STATEMENT OF L. PAUL WININGS, GENERAL COUNSEL, IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. WININGS. My name is L. Paul Winings, general counsel of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice, and my residence is Washington, D. C.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been affiliated with the Immigration and Naturalization Service?

Mr. WININGS. Directly for about 22 years and indirectly for 26 years.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been general counsel for the Immigration and Naturalization Service?

Mr. WININGS. Since January 1945.

Mr. ARENS. You have a thorough familiarity with the immigration and naturalization statutes?

Mr. WININGS. I should have. I hope I have some familiarity with it.

Mr. ARENS. Would you express yourself in résumé form with reference to those statutes which provide for the exclusion of subversive aliens from admission into the United States?

Mr. WININGS. The act of February 5, 1917 (39 Stat. 874), in section 3 provides for a limited classification of persons who might fall in what has come to be described as subversive persons category. It provides for their exclusion.

By the act of October 16, 1918, which, as you will observe from the date, followed very closely upon the basic Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, Congress extended and enlarged the classification of persons who have come to be known as subversive aliens.

By the tenth proviso of section 3, which is codified as title 8 U. S. C. 136, Congress chose to include a provision that the provisions of the Immigration Act of 1917 should have no application to accredited officials of foreign governments and members of their official staff and families.

The act of 1918, sometimes called the Anarchist Act, has ever since its enactment been construed in *pari materia* with the act of 1917 since, while it directed the exclusion of aliens, it provided no machinery. It added simply to the additional classes who could be excluded under the immigration laws or could be deported under the existing immigration laws. Hence, government officials and their families have been held to be admissible upon identification as being in that class without our ability to do more than to identify them and to make certain that they were of the class which they claim as government officials or members of the government official family.

Mr. ARENS. Would you allude to the 3 (7) category, the international organization category?

Mr. WININGS. In 1945—I believe the date of approval was December 29—Congress passed the International Organizations Immunities Act, which prescribed that certain organizations in which the United States participated or for which it appropriated funds for the work should have the privilege of having members of foreign countries coming to the United States as representatives of foreign countries to these international organizations admitted under the same provisions as respects their entry and departure from the United States as already had been accorded to foreign government officials and their families.

Mr. ARENS. And the headquarters site agreement, if you please?

Mr. WININGS. Among the international organizations listed is the United Nations headquarters. When the United States invited the United Nations, and the United Nations accepted the invitation, to establish the seat of the United Nations headquarters within the boundaries of the United States, an agreement was entered into which was approved by the Congress, in which provision was made that the representatives of the member states were to be permitted to proceed to the seat of the United Nations without impediment in their transit to and from such seat of the United Nations. We were permitted to stop them long enough to find out that they were properly accredited representatives of the foreign state destined to the United Nations headquarters, and in that respect they are treated just like government foreign officials.

Mr. ARENS. How many international organizations are there to which a person receives 3 (7) visas?

Mr. WININGS. I regret that I cannot give you the exact number but I could furnish that for the record.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us an estimate on that?

Mr. WININGS. I would say somewhere around 30 or 40 at this time.

I may add that the International Headquarters Agreement Act provides that the international organization meeting the qualifications laid down in the act must also be recognized as such by the President and he declares his recognition through Executive orders which he has issued from time to time recognizing various international organizations. Many of these organizations are affiliates of the United Nations; operate under the charter of the United Nations.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Winings, would you look at the other side of the coin and give a general description of the expulsion provisions of the immigration law applicable to subversives with particular reference to the applicability of those statutes to persons who are in possession of 3 (1) or 3 (7) visas?

Mr. WININGS. As I said before, with reference to the exclusion of government officials, the provision of the statute is that the act shall not have application to them and the act includes not only provision for exclusion but also for expulsion; and if the act has no application to them, then of course the provision on expulsion has no application to them either.

Mr. ARENS. In addition to that, the act provides, does it not, that no 3 (1) or 3 (7) can be expelled from the United States without the approval of the Secretary of State?

Mr. WININGS. That is so, but subsequent to the passage of the act of 1917 and a considerable number of years later—in fact it was in 1941, I believe, although I am subject to correction on the exact date—Congress amended the law to provide that if Government officials should abandon their official status within the United States, then of course they no longer were entitled to be regarded as Government officials, but also put a limitation on our right to remove them by saying they should not be required to depart without first obtaining the consent of the Secretary of State.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, is it true that under the existing law even though a 3 (1) or 3 (7) abandons his status as a 3 (1) or 3 (7), he cannot be forcibly removed from the United States without the approval of the Secretary of State?

Mr. WININGS. That is correct; that is the way I understand the law.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Winings, would you kindly direct your attention to S. 1832 which was introduced by the chairman, Senator McCarran, to amend the Immigration Act of October 16, 1918, as amended. Are you familiar with the provisions of this bill?

Mr. WININGS. Well, I must admit to some familiarity with it but I do not believe that I am in a competent position to express an opinion upon the policy or viewpoint of the Service or the Department on the bill since we have not been requested formally for it.

Mr. ARENS. I am not asking at this time for an expression of opinion on the policy phase of it. I am asking you to direct your attention to the bill if you will do so. As a matter of fact, you consulted with the representatives on the staff of Senator McCarran on the language of the bill, did you not?

Mr. WININGS. Yes; I tried to help; I tried to be a helpful technician in carrying out what I understood was the staff's wishes in the matter.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly proceed to give an analysis of the bill from the standpoint of the changes in the existing law which the bill would accomplish and make if you will, please, appropriate references to the existing law?

Mr. WININGS. I confess, first of all, I did not come prepared to make such an analysis. I had not intended to testify concerning this act.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you specifically on each particular section. Inviting your attention, first of all, to section 3 of the bill, which prohibits the issuance of a visa to any alien who seeks to enter the United States for the purpose or a purpose of engaging in certain acts, under the existing law it is true, is it not, that a visa cannot be issued if the consul officer knows or has reason to believe that the alien seeks to enter the United States for the purpose of engaging in activities detrimental to the security interests of the United States?

Mr. WININGS. That is substantially the present law; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Now would you glance at this first section, which embraces any alien, and elaborate as you read the provisions of the section on the changes in the law which would be consummated or effected should this bill be enacted?

Mr. WININGS. Just reading it here, it occurs to me that some of the provisions could be included under the existing authority of the consul, if he so read it. For instance—

obtaining or transmitting information, not available to the public generally, respecting the national security.

I assume that consul could, under existing law, if he thought a person coming for such a purpose was contrary to the national security, deny a travel document.

Mr. ARENS. In essence, this first section here reenacts the existing law but makes it applicable to any alien; is that not true?

Mr. WININGS. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, under the operation of this section as proposed in the bill, all aliens or any alien who seeks to come to the United States to engage in these subversive acts which are substantially the subversive acts proscribed in the present law, would be refused a visa. Is that not true?

Mr. WININGS. I so understand it, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly direct your attention to section 3, subsection (c). May I read it and then we will get your elaboration on the effect of this as compared to the present law. Subsection (c) of section 3 reads as follows:

The Attorney General shall exclude and deport from the United States any alien who applies for admission if the Attorney General knows or believes that said alien seeks to enter the United States with the purpose of engaging in any of the activities set forth in categories (1), (2), or (3) of subsection (a) of this section.

Would you compare that with the exclusion and expulsion provisions of the existing law?

Mr. WININGS. As I see it, the new provision which has been added in categories (1), (2), and (3) are additional to those in existing law and, as you stated before, it seems to me that they would apply to all aliens irrespective of their status or office, whereas no such provisions are in existing law and I do not understand that this provision would necessarily exclude a foreign government official merely because he might belong to, let us say, a subversive organization unless he fell within one of the three categories in this bill.

Mr. ARENS. It excludes him, does it not, only if that individual, irrespective of his status, is seeking to come to the United States for the purpose of committing certain overt acts which are proscribed in the bill?

Mr. WININGS. One of the three additional categories added by the bill?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. WININGS. I so understand it.

Mr. ARENS. Now I invite your attention to those provisions of the bill, particularly subsection (b) of section 3 and subsection (d) of section 3 with reference to the proscription by the Attorney General of subversive organizations.

Mr. WININGS. I have examined those. Mr. Chairman, but I regret to say that I feel I should not be required to testify off the cuff about a thing as important as this. I was not invited to testify about this particular bill, as I understood it.

Mr. ARENS. I am not asking you to testify as to policy.

Mr. WININGS. My position requires me to have some responsibility for my opinion on the law itself. I hesitate to be so free to express it off the cuff.

Mr. ARENS. May I then ask you, with the permission of the chairman, if you will kindly review the present law applicable to exclusion and expulsion of subversives and review those provisions of S. 1832 with the view of priming yourself to give an analysis on the basis of your being an expert in the field of immigration and naturalization law?

Mr. WININGS. You mean I should prepare myself for a future time?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. WININGS. I shall be glad to do that, with the consent of my department.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you had better do that.

Mr. ARENS. I think that will be all for today. We will call you on a later day.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4 p. m. the subcommittee recessed until 10 a. m. Saturday, July 16, 1949.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
IMMIGRATION LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a. m. in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Pat McCarran, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding.

Present: Senators McCarran and Ferguson.

Also present, Senator Miller.

Also present, Messrs Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee; Otto J. Dekom and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

On yesterday we had before us the Department of Justice in reply to our subpoena, issued some weeks ago. In response to questionnaires that we put out to the Department of Justice and to the Department of State, in making a study of S. 1832, the committee today, as yesterday, has before it, in response to its subpoena, Mr. Peurifoy, of the Department of State, and Mr. L'Heureux, of the Visa Division, and other members of the State Department, to make answer to the questions propounded to them in the questionnaire.

You may proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. The witnesses today, if the committee please, are Mr. John E. Peurifoy, Deputy Under Secretary of State, and Mr. Hervé J. L'Heureux, who is Chief of the Visa Division of the Department of State.

Mr. Peurifoy, I respectfully suggest that you read the correspondence which has been transmitted from yourself to the chairman of this committee, and allude to the correspondence which he transmitted to you, with reference to the series of questions which were propounded under date of June 1, at which time you and others appeared before this committee.

Senator FERGUSON. Has the State Department filed answers as the Attorney General did?

The CHAIRMAN. They have filed answers, although perhaps not as completely as has the Department of Justice.

STATEMENTS OF JOHN E. PEURIFOY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, HERVE J. L'HEUREUX, CHIEF, VISA DIVISION, AND SAM BOYKIN, DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF CONSULAR AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. PEURIFOY. Would you like me to proceed to read?

Mr. ARENS. If you please.

Mr. PEURIFOY. The letter is dated June 14, 1949.

Senator MILLER. From whom is the letter?

Mr. PEURIFOY. I am addressing this letter to the committee, Senator. The letter is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 14, 1949.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: When I appeared before your committee on June 1, 1949, you handed me a list of questions to which I promised to provide you with the answers, provided it should be found to be in the public interest to do so. The questions concerned related principally to the extent of infiltration of espionage, propaganda, or other subversive agents of foreign governments into the United States under cover of the privileges and immunities granted under international law and the statutes of the United States to the diplomatic and official representatives of foreign governments and the officers and employees of recognized international organizations.

I have requested the appropriate officers of the Department to assemble and examine the pertinent files and advise me of their evaluation of the information contained therein in the light of the specific questions to be answered, in order that a determination could be made concerning the question whether the information may be furnished for the public use of your committee without prejudice to the security and other interests of the United States, including the conduct of foreign relations.

In the light of the foregoing explanation, the available files of the Department have been examined and the report I have received as requested is such that I have no hesitancy in giving it to you.

This letter repeats the questions and then my answer is given.

1. How many Communists or Communist agents are known to the Department to have entered the United States as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments during each of the following periods: The past 5 years; the past 2 years; the past year; the first quarter of 1949; the month of April 1949; the month of May 1949?

The answer is:

The Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice maintains official records regarding the admission of aliens to the United States. Therefore, the Department may officially furnish statistical information relating only to the issuance of visas to persons applying for entry into the United States.

Affiliates of international organizations normally receive official visas under section 3 (7), and affiliates of foreign governments normally receive official visas under section 3 (1), of the Immigration Act of 1924. Since persons, applying for official visas under either of the above categories, usually are not subject to exclusion from the United States under the excluding provisions of our immigration laws, they are not required to state whether or not they are Communists. In such categories, the fact that an individual is a Communist is not in itself a basis under the law for the refusal of a visa.

Accordingly, it is not possible for the Department to submit the accurate number, or a reasonable estimate, of Communists who have been issued visas for the purpose of coming to the United States in the categories referred to above. Persons known to be Communist agents and who are known to be seeking to enter the United States for the purpose of engaging in subversive activities are not issued visas.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, might I interpose a question at this point?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Does the Department of State receive intelligence reports respecting the background of persons who have applied for visas as affiliates of international organizations, or as affiliates of foreign governments?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you, Mr. Peurifoy, wish to answer that, or Mr. L'Heureux?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Yes; we do get reports.

Senator FERGUSON. That is, before they get their visas?

Mr. ARENS. If the case is referred to the State Department, frequently the consul will act on it in the first instance.

Senator FERGUSON. That is what I mean. He does not necessarily get in touch with you, does he?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. He does not.

Mr. PEURIFOY. Under the law, he has the authority, but he may refer the case to the Department for an advisory opinion.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. The consul will normally refer the case to us if he has received information, of a reasonably serious nature, that is adverse, and he wants an advisory opinion.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you not assume that everyone who makes an application for a visa under 3 (1) or 3 (7) from Russia or its satellites is a Communist?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. We naturally assume that; yes.

Mr. PEURIFOY. Yes; we assume that.

Senator FERGUSON. I suppose that, under the same circumstances, they assume that anybody from the United States who gets a visa to their country is a capitalist. That would be true, would it not?

Mr. PEURIFOY. I think so; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Does the Department have a recollection of any case in the course of the last 5 years where a visa has been withheld from a person applying as an affiliate of an international organization, or as an affiliate of a foreign government, upon the basis of security reports transmitted to the Department?

Mr. PEURIFOY. I believe I have the answer to that question in subsequent correspondence.

The CHAIRMAN. You can answer that now, if you wish.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I have no recollection of any such case.

Senator FERGUSON. I am glad you answered that, because I happen personally to be one that was excluded from going into Russia, under similar circumstances.

Mr. PEURIFOY. I might add, sir, that the Assistant Secretary of State was also in that same group.

Senator FERGUSON. He was also excluded.

I do not know why we may have been excluded, but it could have been because we were capitalists. But there would be a reason for looking in.

These things should not be as a matter of course, should they?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

When a person seeks to enter as an official, under section 3 (1), the United States, as other countries, has a sovereign right to refuse to receive him.

Senator FERGUSON. So under that, they refused admission to the Under Secretary and my party.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. They need give no reason.

Senator FERGUSON. They just stalled for a while, and then turned it down.

Have you ever turned one of their applications down?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Yes, but not on the basis of an adverse report alone.

Senator FERGUSON. I do not know what report they had on us.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. We have refused to admit certain persons.

For instance, we have refused to admit the Hungarian delegation to the so-called Shapley Peace Conference in New York City a few weeks back, which was a retaliatory measure for their having required our Minister to leave Hungary.

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, you do try to have reciprocity in these things, do you not?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. In order that these points may be clear, let me ask: It is true, is it not, Mr. L'Heureux, that from June 30, 1938, through June 30, 1948, approximately 151,000 admissions have been recorded of persons who possessed visas as affiliates of foreign governments and that in the same period of time approximately 8,500 plus admissions have been recorded of persons who possess visas as affiliates of international organization?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I believe that is true, although those are not our statistics. Those are the statistics of the Department of Justice, are they not?

Mr. ARENS. They are Immigration statistics.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. My recollection is that visas were issued in the past 5 years to approximately 75,000. So if these statistics go back to 1938, that would be reasonable.

Mr. ARENS. Before we proceed with the letter, is it the testimony of the Department that, to the recollection of its officials who are testifying here today, a visa has not been refused on the basis of security reports to a single individual applying either as an affiliate of a foreign government or as an affiliate of an international organization?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. As far as I know, that is true.

Mr. ARENS. You are now head of the Visa Division of the Department of State, are you not?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I am in charge of the Visa Division and have been since September 1947.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly proceed with the letter, Mr. Peurifoy?

Mr. PEURIFOY. The letters continues:

Assuming that a large number of such officials, coming from the Soviet Union or other countries having Communist-controlled governments, are Communists, there has been prepared a statistical report (copy attached) for the use of your committee, relating to official visas issued to officials of those countries. However, it must be emphasized that while most of the Communists coming to the United States as officials may be assumed to have come from the Communist-controlled countries, others may have come from other countries. It is not practical to identify such officials who may be Communists for the visa records even on an estimated basis.

Senator FERGUSON. Why is that, Mr. Secretary?

If they are officials, you do not question them; is that right?

Mr. PEURIFOY. That is right.

I said that we assumed that they are Communists.

Senator FERGUSON. That is, if they are from Communist countries; is that right?

Mr. PEURIFOY. That is right.

I have a break-down here of certain countries and the number of visas that have been issued from the different countries, which I am submitting for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will appear in the record at this point.

The material referred to is as follows:)

Nationality—country	Diplomatic and official sec. 3 (1) visas issued						Sec. 3 (7) visas issued ¹					
	Fiscal years			July through December 1948	January through March 1949	April 1949	Fiscal years			July through December 1948	January through March 1949	April 1949
	1944 through 1948	1947 through 1948	1948				1946 through 1948	1947 through 1948	1948			
U. S. S. R.	3, 739	829	230	105	6	3	545	448	153	51	3	1
Poland ²	610	300	146	58	31	13	163	139	42	35	2	1
Romania	93	92	49	11	2	2	3	3	2	-----	-----	-----
Hungary	110	80	33	12	19	2	5	5	3	2	1	-----
Yugoslavia	193	106	57	36	23	9	114	105	43	17	22	2
Czechoslovakia ³	373	205	99	51	17	10	148	115	50	36	9	2
Bulgaria	7	7	4	11	4	-----	8	8	3	1	3	-----
Estonia	3	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Latvia	1	1	-----	-----	-----	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Lithuania	6	4	4	2	-----	-----	2	2	1	-----	-----	-----
Total	5, 135	1, 624	622	287	102	41	988	825	297	142	40	6

¹ International Organizations Immunities Act of Dec. 29, 1945 (Public Law 291).

² Figures for last 5 years include visas issued before Communist control.

³ Figures for last 2 and 5 years include visas issued before Communist control.

NOTE.—Figures may not be complete for the period January through March 1949 and April 1949.

Senator FERGUSON. But a man may come in from England as an official and still be a Communist. You would not question him along that line, would you?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. If he is a public official, or if he is a UN delegate, you would not question him, would you?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But if he had been actively engaged in Communist activities abroad, would you not look into that?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Yes, sir.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. We would look into it and consider the facts, but we would not question him personally.

Mr. ARENS. You would be advised by the intelligence agencies of this Government; is that it?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true. Or we would be advised from reports that we collected ourselves.

Mr. ARENS. Approximately what is the rate of flow of these reports which come to the Department with reference to affiliates of international organizations, or affiliates of foreign governments, who are applying for 3 (1) or 3 (7) visas?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I cannot answer that.

Mr. PEURIFOY. Do you mean the number of reports? Is that what you mean?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

If I am wrong, I would like to be corrected, but I am just saying this to clarify the record.

The consul officer certifies to the Security Division those doubtful cases, or which are doubtful in his mind, on the 3 (1)'s and 3 (7)'s, does he not?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Yes, if they are serious enough.

Mr. ARENS. Approximately how many of those cases per week or per month are referred to the Department? I am referring to the doubtful cases referred by the consul in the 3 (1) and 3 (7) category.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I would say an average of about eight a month.

Senator FERGUSON. Can you tell us whether he ever turned anyone down because of an adverse report?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I could not tell you. But he (the consul) has not, as far as I know.

Every single visa that is issued to an official, whether it is under section 3 (7) or 3 (1), is reported to the Department, and, likewise, refusals should be so reported. But a consul would not refuse an official visa without the authorization of the Department.

Mr. ARENS. This figure that you gave of about eight a month, does that apply to cases where the consul feels they are doubtful?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. These are cases where the consul has information either himself that he sends in to us, or he has reason to believe, from reports that he has received, that there may be information of subversive activities.

Mr. ARENS. Then the Department receives security reports on those individuals; is that it?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Yes; we do. We ask the intelligence agencies here for such information.

Mr. ARENS. Your testimony here this morning is that you have no recollection, as Chief of the Visa Division, and Mr. Peurifoy as Deputy Under Secretary of State, of a single case in which an application has been filed under 3 (1) or 3 (7) and has been turned down; is that true?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is my recollection. At least, I have no recollection of any case that has been turned down. It is possible; but I do not recall any.

Mr. ARENS. We will get into the internal organization of the Department later, but now I would suggest, if it be agreeable with the Chairman, that we proceed with the questions.

Senator FERGUSON. Before you proceed, let me ask this:

If I make an application under either one of these sections, does that come to Washington?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Not necessarily.

Senator FERGUSON. So if there must be some doubt in the consul's mind there before he would send it to Washington, you are saying that 8 or 10 cases come here a month; is that it?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

Senator FERGUSON. Out of those 8 or 10 per month, you have never turned one down; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

Senator FERGUSON. And he has not turned down any that ever came to him; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Apparently none of them have been turned down.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. L'Heureux, when you say you have not turned any of them down, do you mean that the final decision in the Department has been not to turn any of them down?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I mean there have been no visas withheld by the consul or anyone else.

Mr. ARENS. When you say that you have not turned any down, you are not speaking of the Visa Division, are you, but you are speaking of the ultimate decision, are you not?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I am speaking of the Department of State, as an organization.

Mr. ARENS. We can discuss the procedure later on, but it clears through the various desks and the higher echelon in the Department; is that not true?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

Senator FERGUSON. Mr. L'Heureux, why is not the same practice used to get reciprocity behind iron-curtain countries that is used for public officials? You realize that no public official here is cleared by one of their embassies for a visa without delay and their sending it over there and acting on it.

Why is not the same practice followed in your Department?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I could not answer that, Senator, because that is a policy matter.

Senator FERGUSON. Can you answer that, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. PEURIFOY. I am afraid I cannot.

Senator FERGUSON. I am just trying to find out why we do not have reciprocity.

Mr. ARENS. As a matter of fact, is it not true, Mr. Peurifoy, that men such as Mr. Dean Rusk¹ and Mr. Henkin,² who are not here today, are the ones, as I understand, who in the procedures—which we will discuss later—make these policy decisions?

Mr. PEURIFOY. They take into consideration the total picture. The Visa Division makes a recommendation on a particular case and they consult the various parts of the Department, including Mr. Rusk and the Office of the United Nations Affairs.

Ultimately, if there is disagreement, it goes to the Under Secretary of State, and then sometimes to the Secretary of State, on individual cases.

The CHAIRMAN. Who initially formulates the policy?

Mr. PEURIFOY. The Visa Division initiates the action in the case.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about the policy, now. Who initially formulates the policy?

Mr. PEURIFOY. If there is a question in the minds of the Visa Division, they will make a recommendation and send it to higher authority. They will consult the political officer from the country from which the person is applying.

As I understand it, sometimes it goes right on up to the top.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That happens rarely, but it does.

Mr. PEURIFOY. There have been occasions.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. There have been occasions where a case has gone to the Secretary and, on a few occasions, to the Under Secretary.

¹ Dean Rusk is Assistant Secretary of State for United Nations Affairs.

² Louis Henkin is expert on international organization affairs, Office of United Nations Affairs.

Senator FERGUSON. You are talking about individual cases; are you not?

Mr. PEURIFOY. But you do that on cases where there are questions. You do not really have a general policy on that. You have to examine each one on its merits, it seems to me.

Senator FERGUSON. Yes; that is what you seem to be doing. It is individual cases rather than a policy to send them all over here, or keep them all there.

Mr. PEURIFOY. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. But they send applications for their countries over there.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. L'Heureux, has there been a single instance in which the Visa Division security officers have made an adverse recommendation on an application for a 3 (1) or a 3 (7) visa in which that adverse recommendation was sustained in a higher echelon in the State Department?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. It would follow, from my previous answer, that no visa has been withheld.

The CHAIRMAN. Is your answer to that "No?"

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

Senator FERGUSON. How many adverse recommendations have you had from your visa officers?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. It is not necessarily a recommendation, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. How many adverse reports?

The CHAIRMAN. Or suggestions.

Senator FERGUSON. You can call them whatever you wish.

How many have there been saying that, in effect, "Here is material that shows that this person should not be admitted?"

Mr. L'HEUREUX. When it pertains to an official in the 3 (1) or 3 (7) category and we have reports where we think that such a person should not come in, or would not come in normally, under normal law, if he were not an official, and the Visa Division believes that his entry might be prejudicial to the interests of the United States, we bring out these facts in a memorandum and attach to it the intelligence reports that are on file in the Department and send them to the pertinent political desk, or to the United Nations unit in the Department, if it pertains to United Nations officials.

Senator FERGUSON. How many of that kind of reports have you sent up to somebody in a given period?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. They would include all the cases that I have mentioned, the average of eight a month, possibly, from the field.

Senator FERGUSON. Would all of those go up to a higher official?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Not necessarily to a higher official, but it would be to a political desk.

Senator FERGUSON. Would all of the eight a month go to this so-called political desk?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

Senator FERGUSON. How many of those had what you would call adverse reports?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. They would all have adverse reports.

Mr. PEURIFOY. You mean they would all have derogatory information.

Senator FERGUSON. But it would not all be derogatory information; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. L'Heureux, this adverse information is information in addition to membership in the Communist Party or affiliation with a Communist organization, is it not?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is right. That is merely on the basis we would refuse the person if he were not an official, over and above the fact that he is a Communist.

Mr. ARENS. You assume they are all Communists or communistically inclined if they come from those areas; do you not?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. This information you are speaking of is information in addition to that; is it not?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

Senator FERGUSON. Apparently, you cannot tell me what this information is, and I do not know what it is; and, therefore, I cannot place a direct question. But you have had information in these reports which shows that these people were not good security risks who came in here; is that true?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. They did not present a direct threat to the public safety.

For instance, they may have engaged in some kind of activity in some other country before coming here, allegedly.

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, they may have been espionage agents in other countries; is that it?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

Senator FERGUSON. But you felt that that fact alone did not indicate they were acting as agents in coming here; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is right, that they were not coming here for that purpose.

Then, concerning political relations with that country, certain stages of negotiations and reciprocity, it was decided they should come in notwithstanding this adverse information.

In no instance do I know of a case that, in my own opinion, presented a direct threat to the public safety where such a person came in.

Senator FERGUSON. Could you tell us what your definition is of a direct threat to the public safety?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. It would be a person who would be known by us to be an agent, and we feel reasonably certain that he was coming here to accomplish some definite act of espionage.

Senator FERGUSON. How would you ever know of such a case?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. We would know from reports that he is alleged to have been passing out propaganda information, passing out leaflets, espousing the Communist cause. He may have been the leader of a Communist organization in some country, but I do not know of a case where he actually committed some drastic act against the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Against what country?

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, if he dynamited a bridge in England and got out of England and went back to Bulgaria, you would not let him in here; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

Senator FERGUSON. But if he did not dynamite the bridge and he was there to dynamite it, and if you had information to that effect, and he got back to Bulgaria, he could get in here; is that what you say now?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. It is not a question of whether I am making the decision, or whether the Department is, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. We have to have an individual here to represent the Department.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. If you received information, Mr. L'Heureux, and Mr. Penrifoy, from a security report on an individual to the effect that that individual had applied for a 3 (1) or a 3 (7) visa, and that that person had, in addition to membership in the Communist Party, been supervising the placing of espionage agents in various installations in other countries, would you regard that as a case in which the individual should not be issued a visa for admission into the United States?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. If you had nothing but those facts and I had to make the decision, I would not permit such a person to come in.

But, naturally, the State Department may have considerably more information than just that. You would have that information plus something else.

The responsible officials of the Department have to consider the different stages of negotiations and different matters pending with that country, and reciprocity, exchange of personnel, and so forth. So that, while I, as an individual, or as the Chief of the Visa Division, who is charged with the administration of the law, or as just a plain, good American citizen, should say, "This person should not come in," when you tie that adverse information in with the conduct of foreign relations, there may be another decision made.

Senator FERGUSON. Have you had such a case?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not recall it.

Mr. ARENS. If you received a report to the effect that the applicant was in the military counterintelligence organization of a foreign power, would you recommend declination of the issuance of a visa?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I personally would: yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you have such cases that went to a higher desk and were not turned down?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not recall. There was one case, that I vaguely remember, where there was information of that sort, but it was not confirmed. It was just that it was alleged that he was going there to be a tool of the Communists, and nothing more. What they mean by a tool of the Communists means that he is coming to explain and propagate the Communist philosophy.

Then the question is: Is he coming for more than that?

That is all we had, you see.

Mr. ARENS. If you received a report on an individual to the effect that he was director of the activities of the espionage of a foreign government and was being sent to this country to exercise surveillance over certain of the Communists in the United States, would you turn down that application?

Senator FERGUSON. You are asking whether he would personally turn down such an application; is that right?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I would, definitely, on those facts, unless I was charged with some other responsibility which I had to coordinate that with the question of letting this person in.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you have that kind of case?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not recall it.

Mr. ARENS. If you received a report to the effect that a particular individual was affiliated with a branch of the intelligence service of an iron-curtain country and was being sent to this country to promulgate the work of that intelligence service, would you turn down that file?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. The answer is the same.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you have that kind of case?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not recall one.

Mr. ARENS. If you received a report to the effect that a particular individual was prominent in the intelligence service of a foreign country and that he and his wife were active organizers of the Communist Party and, presumably, were being sent into this country to promulgate that work, would you turn down that file?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. The reply is the same.

Senator FERGUSON. I assume the answer would be the same to my question.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get that clear.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. You see, Senator, I do not pass on these cases personally. I have men under me in the Security Section of the Visa Division. One is in charge of the Security Unit, and he consults with the Assistant Chief of the Visa Division, whom you all well know, Mr. Alexander, and the case does not necessarily come to me.

Senator FERGUSON. Who is the man through whom this would go?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. It would go through this security man in the Visa Division.

Senator FERGUSON. What is his name?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Mr. Larkin.¹

Senator FERGUSON. Is he here today?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. He is not here today.

Then it would go to Mr. Alexander.² It would be coordinated with the Security Division of the Department of State.

The CHAIRMAN. It would not go to you at all; is that it? And, yet, you are Chief of the Visa Division.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. There is an awful lot of work to do in the Visa Division.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand, but here is a case that is to be turned down.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. There was a case, before the telegram authorizing the issuance of the visa was sent out—

The CHAIRMAN. Will you just refer to the question just propounded?

Mr. ARENS. Let me ask you a similar question, on another file.

If you had received information respecting a man who was directing Communist propaganda activities in another nation and was presumably being sent to this country to develop secret Communist cells in the United States, would you turn that file down?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I would turn him down unless there was other evidence that countermanded that.

Senator FERGUSON. Why would not that kind of case get to you? That was the chairman's question.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That case would get to me, but not for decision, Senator. It would be initiated in my division and sent up to the political desk for political considerations.

¹ Richard C. Larkin.

² Robert C. Alexander, Assistant Chief, Visa Division

The CHAIRMAN. It would come to you for your decision, in your division, would it not?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not make decisions on officials.

The CHAIRMAN. Who does make the decisions in your Department, will you tell me? You have told us the course that it would take; that you would decide a case adversely and then you would send it up, but no case has ever been turned down.

Who makes the decision? We want to get him here. Who makes the decision in the Visa Division, of which you are the Chief?

Senator FERGUSON. Mr. Arens read you a case. Let us consider that case as a hypothetical case. Where would it go for decision?

Mr. ARENS. Let us take the next case and ask him about that, Senator, if you please.

Senator FERGUSON. All right, we will take the next case and perhaps we might get the question answered.

Mr. ARENS. Would you turn down the application of a person who applies and for whom information was available to the Department that that individual had been a Communist organizer, who had participated in a Communist revolution and had planted a bomb in a cathedral in a foreign country, which blew up and killed 500 people? Would you admit that person?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I, personally, would not; no.

Senator FERGUSON. That is almost the same as my bridge case, only it is much worse.

Senator MILLER. You say that personally you would not. Would there be a superior authority, or higher authority, that could?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Who would that person be? Can you give us the channel through which it would go?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Covering each country, there is, what we call a political officer, who may be a Foreign Service officer or a departmental officer. There is a man on the French desk that looks after all of the French applications.

Senator FERGUSON. Can you follow a particular case?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is what I intend to do.

There is one that covers the Russian desk.

To take a case with an adverse report, obviously, I would not authorize the issuance of a visa. I would refer that case.

Senator FERGUSON. To whom?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. If it were a Soviet application, it would be referred to the officer on the Russian desk.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you say you would not pass on it?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I would not pass on it.

Senator FERGUSON. You would just send it to the Russian desk; is that it?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I merely bring out these adverse facts because political considerations determine whether this person should be received as an official, or not.

Assuming that he is coming under 3 (1) as an official of his government, not to the UN, but to our Government, it would go to the Russian desk, and the political officer there would probably say, "Well, notwithstanding that, we think that he should come in."

Senator FERGUSON. Does he have authority to pass on that?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. He has authority to pass on that.

Senator FERGUSON. So all we would have to do to find out what case this was, what country was involved, would be to call that man from that political desk and he could tell us whether or not he approved the application; is that correct?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. If he may disclose the facts.

Senator FERGUSON. I am not asking for names or anything else. We are trying to get the policy. We are trying to formulate a law for the policy. We will never be able to pass a law that will take care of individual cases. We will have to have a policy.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. This political officer may say, "Now, we have this information from this source that counterbalances this fact. In view of our relations with the Soviets on this particular thing, and this person whom they are trying to send here, we think, notwithstanding that, he should come in."

If I do not agree with his conclusions, I will then take it up with the Office of Consular Affairs at the present time.

Senator FERGUSON. Who is the officer in charge of consular affairs?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is Mr. Sam Boykin, who is Director of the Office of Consular Affairs.

Senator FERGUSON. Would he review all of them, whether French or English or any other?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. He would not review it. He is in the administrative end. But he would see to it that the case got up on a higher echelon.

Senator FERGUSON. Then he would be a messenger, would he not?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. He is the Director. Administratively, he would see that the case got into the higher channel.

Senator FERGUSON. Where would it go then?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. It would go to the Assistant Secretary of State.

Senator FERGUSON. Who is that?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. At the present time it would be Hickerson, would it not?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Mr. Perkins¹ is the new man. He has not come in yet. He would be heading that.

The CHAIRMAN. Who has it been in the past?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Mr. John D. Hickerson, Director of the Office of European Affairs. He now is Assistant Secretary in charge of United Nations Affairs.

Senator FERGUSON. Had he been the officer in charge?

Mr. PEURIFOY. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. What are the duties of that Office?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. He can determine that that person should come in; and if I get a directive from him through channels from the Office of Consular Affairs, then I send a telegram authorizing the issuance of the visa.

Senator FERGUSON. Then you do not know the reason why after you get word from him; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not.

Senator FERGUSON. Are you the appealing officer from the first desk, so-called, that it would go through? You said that you could take it to Mr. Boykin, that you could appeal.

¹ George W. Perkins.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I could appeal; yes. I could appeal in the respect that if I felt strongly enough that this person should not come in I could ask that it go to a higher echelon.

Senator FERGUSON. How many appeal cases have you had in the past?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I personally have had three to five in the past 2 years.

It is estimated that about 10 were appealed on that basis to a higher echelon in the past 5 years.

Senator FERGUSON. That is 10 in 5 years; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. You have had about five of them, is that it?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Three to five.

Senator FERGUSON. You have appealed only in three to five cases; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. You lost all your appeals; is that correct?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Have not the appeals from your decision been much greater than five? Are there not a number that go across your desk that are turned down?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. They are not really appeals, in the sense of the word, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I know that, but they have been called appeals here.

Let us get more simple terms. Is it not true that one month with another there are anywhere from 5 to 10 that you do not approve of that go to a higher echelon that are there approved?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not approve of them in the first instance, because I do not know the political considerations that would counteract.

The CHAIRMAN. You are avoiding my question.

Is it not true that one month with another there are anywhere from 5 to 10 of which you do not approve, which you send on to a higher echelon, where they are approved?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I wanted to get.

In every instance that you have had that category where you have not approved of them, they have gone to a higher echelon and have there been approved; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. L'Heureux, would you turn down the application or recommend unfavorable action on the application of an individual who was reported to be the leader of a terrorist band in a foreign government and concerning whom you would receive information that he had shot more people than you and I could bury in a fortnight, who would be applying for a 3 (1) or a 3 (7) visa?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That would follow the same procedure.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you turn it down?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I would. I do not have the authority to turn it down, but I would not authorize the issuance of the visa without sending it up for further consideration.

Senator FERGUSON. Mr. L'Heureux, Mr. Arens has mentioned now more than five cases and you have only made appeal in five cases. Can you tell us why appeals were not made in these cases?

I am taking for granted that counsel would not read you a question without some basis of fact.

Mr. ARENS. There should be a distinction made between appeal and referral, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. We can even consider both referral and appeal.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I assume that if all these cases came to the Visa Division, that they were referred to a higher echelon.

Senator FERGUSON. However, how do you account for the fact that appeals were made, as you say, in 10 cases in 5 years, and he has already read you a number of cases and there are more? Would you not appeal that kind of a case? Would you not appeal the case of the man who dynamited the cathedral and killed the people?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I would definitely feel like keeping such persons out.

Senator FERGUSON. But would you not appeal it? Would you not take it up through Mr. Boykin's desk and on up?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. They are not all sent up that way.

You can take, for instance, the 3 (7) cases.

Senator FERGUSON. Let me ask counsel: Do you contend that was a 3 (7) or a 3 (1)?

Mr. ARENS. I would rather not, Senator, because of directions from the chairman, make any elaboration on what we are doing here.

Senator FERGUSON. It is not for the purpose of disclosing names or identities.

Mr. ARENS. It is persons to whom visas have been issued either as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. We have more latitude when they come in as representatives of the governments rather than under 3 (7).

Senator FERGUSON. You said 3 (7).

Mr. L'HEUREUX. 3 (7) is United Nations and other international organizations.

Senator FERGUSON. What would happen if that was a United Nations case?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I would refer it to the United Nations unit in the Department.

Senator FERGUSON. Whose desk is that?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. UNI.

Mr. PEURIFOY. Mr. Rusk was previously Assistant Secretary in charge of United Nations Affairs, and that is the one over which Mr. Hickerson is going to assume jurisdiction when he returns from his vacation.

The CHAIRMAN. Has Mr. Rusk been in charge?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. After the case gets on the Russian or French desk, or the UN desk, does it take the same channel through Mr. Boykin on up?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. You are really the appealing officer from the UN desk, are you not?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. There is no procedure for it.

Senator FERGUSON. I understand that. It is not like a court case.

But suppose he turns you down, who says, "I want it reviewed by Mr. Boykin's desk." Do you?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I would; yes.

Senator FERGUSON. Would anybody else?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. One of my assistants.

Senator FERGUSON. You have not had from both those desks more than 10 cases.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Where we felt that the person really should be kept out notwithstanding, that is true. I would turn them down on the basis of those adversely known facts, but there may be other facts, Senator.

We have to evaluate the source; we have to evaluate other facts that are connected with it.

Senator FERGUSON. How do you suppose we are going to get information to pass a law or to try to protect ourselves or do anything?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I really do not know, Senator, unless some procedures could be worked out where we could go into executive session, and if the executive official could give us authority we could disclose a little more.

Senator FERGUSON. The reason why we want the information is so that Congress can act. I do not want to bring anything out here that would affect our security.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. We have to consider security, and we must consider the conduct of foreign relations and other matters.

Mr. ARENS. Do you feel the same way Mr. Alexander felt after he testified before the staff of the subcommittee about a year ago on this matter?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not understand your question.

Mr. ARENS. Could you relate for the committee what happened in the case of Mr. Alexander when he was before the committee staff?

The CHAIRMAN. I doubt the propriety of bringing that up. It is a very sore spot with the chairman of this committee, and I think it never should have happened. I think somebody should be reprimanded for it, but it is not involved in this hearing.

Let me ask one question here: If a notorious killer in a foreign country, a member of the Communist Party, and notoriously so, was to apply for a visa, would he be granted such from your desk?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. As an official, or otherwise?

The CHAIRMAN. In any capacity?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. He would not be granted such a visa unless I received a directive from a superior officer in the Department, but then only if I am satisfied that he is not inadmissible.

If this person were not coming as an official, and I considered that he was not admissible under the law, I would not obey any directive that would direct me to break any law.

But if he is coming as an official, the Department of State is responsible for making that determination that he should come in.

The CHAIRMAN. Assuming that he was an official, that case would go to the United Nations desk, would it not?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Yes; if he is coming in under 3 (7), or to the pertinent political desk, if he is coming under 3 (1).

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps some of these questions may tax your memory, but do you recall any case, however flagrant it may have been, that you sent to the United Nations desk without your approval that was not approved by the United Nations desk?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not recall a single case.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know of any case at any other desk that was turned down?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. No, sir; I do not.

Senator MILLER. I would like to ask a hypothetical question so that I might follow this proceeding a little closer.

Suppose that you, for what appeared to be justifiable reasons, refuse to issue a visa and the person making the application referred that to some higher source; are there any instances where you have been directed to issue a visa in a case of that type?

I might clarify that. Are there instances where you would have refused a visa which you have subsequently been directed to issue from higher sources?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Are still speaking of officials?

Senator MILLER. Yes. There could be nobody but an official to direct you to do it.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. But I am referring to the applicant being an official, coming as an official.

Senator MILLER. I do not care whether it is an official or whether it is a person who belongs to any of these tabooed groups that we have been speaking of.

Mr. PEURIFOY. If he were an ordinary citizen of a country, would he not be stopped right there?

Senator MILLER. We have been talking about appeals and referrals, and one thing and another, have we not, practically all morning?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. We have been talking about persons coming in as officials of their government who are not inadmissible under our normal immigration laws.

Those cases I do not refuse without a directive from superior authority in the Department. I do not pass on the merits of official cases. I merely refer them higher if there is any reason why I believe the person should not come in.

But when it comes to other persons, who may be inadmissible under our excluding provisions, who do not have the benefit of the tenth proviso of section 3 of the act of February 5, 1917, the consul alone is responsible for refusal of the visa.

We do not refuse the visa in the Visa Division. We merely give the consul an advisory opinion pertaining to the security aspects of the case.

Where we inform the consul that this person is not admissible under the law, the consul withholds the visa.

Now, there is no such thing as an appeal in that case. There may be instances of cases of that sort.

Senator MILLER. You are carrying this thing off into procedural matters in which I am not interested in connection with my question.

I want to know whether there are any cases in connection with the matter that we have under discussion that you would have turned down had you not been interfered with by some superior and a visa issued. I think you can just answer that yes or no.

Perhaps my question was not quite clear.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I have never been given a directive to issue a visa where I thought the person should not receive a visa.

Senator MILLER. Do you know of any instances where they have been admitted where they otherwise would have been refused the issuance of a visa?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Do you mean by the consul?

Senator MILLER. Yes.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. There have been consuls who have issued visas who perhaps did not have all the information or perhaps erred in judgment. There have been instances where if I had been acting as consul I would not have issued the visa.

Senator MILLER. I took it, from your former answer, that there were probably instances where there had been admissions in cases where you would not personally have done it in your official capacity.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. You have contradicted your statement there. I think you did it inadvertently, but you made a direct contradiction.

Mr. ARENS. We can clear it by one question.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Is there any instance, to your knowledge, of a 3 (1) or a 3 (7) in which a visa has been refused after the Visa Division had been given adverse reports on the individuals?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. No, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. I am assuming on every one of these cases that you appealed, that you acted as really the appealing officer; that you would not have issued the visa, and then the visas were all issued.

Now you have answered Senator Miller's question the other way.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I thought he was referring to persons other than officials, if they are not officials—

Senator FERGUSON. Your answer would not have been correct on the record. I wanted to get it straight.

Mr. ARENS. Is it clear now, Senator?

Senator FERGUSON. Yes; it is clear now.

The CHAIRMAN. You get three different categories of answers and they contradict each other.

Mr. ARENS. I wonder if I could ask something to clear the record once more.

Is there any instance, to your knowledge, Mr. L'Heureux, or to your knowledge, Mr. Peurifoy, first of all, in which a visa has been refused to any applicant who applies as an official of a foreign government, or as an affiliate of an international organization?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I know of none.

Mr. ARENS. Is that your answer, Mr. Peurifoy?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Yes. Mr. L'Heureux is speaking for me.

Senator FERGUSON. You have no personal knowledge; is that it?

Mr. PEURIFOY. None at all.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. L'Heureux, would you issue a visa to an individual who applied as a 3 (1) or a 3 (7) who had been convicted and sent to jail in a foreign nation for operating a Communist center and who was reported to be the chief of the Cominform agents in a capital of a foreign nation?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I would not, on the basis of those facts alone.

The CHAIRMAN. You say, "I would not on the basis of those facts alone."

If those facts stated to you were presented to you as facts, would you issue the visa under any consideration?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. It being an official, I do not pass on it, Senator, but having those facts, I would refer those to the next echelon, who may give me the directive to authorize the consul to issue the visa.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you would have to issue the visa on the directive that came from the higher echelon, against your own better judgment: is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That may be.

Senator MILLER. That is the question I was trying to get answered.

Senator FERGUSON. You have done that in these 8 or 10 cases a month; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. In the cases of officials.

Bear in mind, Senator, out of these 8 or 10 cases that are referred to, I am usually satisfied regarding the reasoning of the political officer or the higher official of the Department that it is inescapable; that we must let this person in in view of the existing situation; that I think his attitude is quite reasonable.

Senator FERGUSON. You said there were about 10 cases like that; 5 in the last 2 years and 10 in the last 5 years.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Where I personally was not convinced that they were right. But that is not abnormal.

Senator FERGUSON. I am not criticizing you at all. I am just trying to get the information.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no criticism. We are trying to get information as to the operation.

Senator FERGUSON. You asked a question, Mr. Chairman, on which I would like to elaborate.

Now, you said if that was in the file alone, that they were Communists. What kind of mitigating circumstances could you get for that kind of a person?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. We might want to send a man to that same country for some particular purpose.

Senator FERGUSON. You would not want to send the same kind of a man, would you?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I mean the same status of official. I do not mean a man of the same character, but a person of the same official status, being sent to the country from where this man is coming, and we want our man over there for a particular purpose.

It is possible that the person who is responsible for making that decision may feel that if we refuse that man, our man may not get to the other country. Or there may be some other reasons.

Senator FERGUSON. Then, as I understand that, this is really what happens: A man like the one that dynamited the bridge can get into this country because you want to get some man into the other country for some purpose; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I said that is a possibility. I do not recall that case at all.

Senator FERGUSON. But that is true?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is a possibility; yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. In other words, you would let that kind of a man in here on a mission just because you want to get a public official or a UN delegate into his native country; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not say that I would, Senator, but I say that is a possibility.

Senator FERGUSON. I am talking about the Department.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is a possibility, that is true. But I do not recall that case, and I do not know why they acted that way, if the Department or the consul knew the facts.

Senator FERGUSON. But you do not think that any other nation behind the iron curtain ever admitted any of your public officials that they thought would conduct themselves like that, do you?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true. I do not think so.

Senator FERGUSON. You do not think they ever let into their country a man that they thought was going to be an espionage agent, do you?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true; and I doubt if we ever let one in our country that we thought was coming here for that purpose.

Senator FERGUSON. Why do you think that this kind of people that Mr. Arens has been referring to would come to this country?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I really do not know, because I am not familiar with those cases.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to pursue this line of questions a little further.

Would you admit to the United States an ambassador who had previously been in the United States actively organizing and working among Communist-front organizations designated by the Attorney General as subversive organizations, on a 3 (1) or a 3 (7) visa?

It would be a 3 (1) visa in that instance.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I would not have anything to do with that case at all. An ambassador is not referred to the Visa Division.

Senator FERGUSON. He does not come in as an ambassador.

Mr. ARENS. He comes in with a 3 (1) visa, Senator.

Mr. L'HEUREUX, would you admit into the United States, or would you question the application of, a foreign diplomat who had previously been in the United States as editor of a foreign-language Communist newspaper?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That, again, would depend upon the purpose of his coming here, and the reasons why the political officers felt that he should come, notwithstanding.

Mr. ARENS. Would you admit into the United States an individual who had applied for a 3 (1) or a 3 (7) visa for whom you had received information that this individual was an experienced saboteur, assigned to confidential tasks in the United States, and the ringleader of a spy network in the United States, working with a designated foreign-language group?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I would not.

Senator FERGUSON. Mr. L'Heureux, do you think it is possible that such a person could have entered the United States with a visa if that was in the file, or if that was known to the visa officer?

I do not care how high you go up to the present with that kind of case.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I cannot conceive of it, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. Would there be any surrounding circumstances that would allow that kind of a case to come in?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I cannot conceive of any, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. No matter whom you wanted to get into his country, you would not say that that man or woman could get in; would you?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I personally definitely would not, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you remember any such case that you appealed?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you remember any case with similar facts in it?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. L'Heureux, would you permit the issuance of a visa, or would you give an adverse recommendation on an individual who made application for a visa as a 3 (1) or a 3 (7), for whom you had information that this individual had frequently been in contact with a Soviet intelligence agent in the capital of a foreign government, and that he was in close contact with Communist circles in various countries which he visited, and that he had in other countries been in contact with known Communist intelligence agents?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That could only be determined in the light of all the facts that the Department of State would be in possession of at the time.

Whether those facts alone would render him undesirable if he were sent as an official of his country, the Department would have to determine on political grounds.

Senator FERGUSON. When you say an official of his country, I come back to a case that I know about, of eight men being sent here under official guise, going up to Buchanan, Mich., to work in a factory to learn how to make and supervise the making of axles, at the Clark Equipment Co. I think that was the name of the company.

Could those people come in under any such visa if that derogatory information was in the file?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. They could, Senator, if the Department of State deemed they were officials under section 3 (1).

If they were sent here by the Russian Government as officials of their country, on a mission, and the State Department recognized that mission as official, they would not be inadmissible.

Senator FERGUSON. Would that be so even though the mission was such as to just go in as workmen or supervisors in the factory to learn how to do this thing under the terms of a contract, a regular civilian contract, and they wanted to get axles?

They wanted to know how to make them in the future. They wanted to get plans and specifications.

That person would be in officially; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Yes.

Senator FERGUSON. When you refer to them as "officials," you do not mean that they hold a public office in their country at all, or that they are coming here in relation to any public office; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. If their country designates them as "officials," they come in as such; is that right?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

Senator FERGUSON. So it may be that the work they are doing is not official at all; is that true?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

Senator FERGUSON. But if they designate them under this category, you issue that kind of a visa; is that correct?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. If their government designates them as "officials" and sends them here as officials on an official mission, the State Department could determine that it is not an official mission according to our concepts, and they could be refused admission.

But if we acquiesce in the official designation, then they have all the rights and privileges under the law.

Senator FERGUSON. Have you ever turned any down that were not officials?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not recall, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. You did not recall any cases where you disputed the fact that they were coming in as officials?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not.

Mr. PEURIFOY. Mr. Chairman, if Mr. Stalin were to apply for a visa to come to this country, and we know he was convicted of espionage in his own country and sent to Siberia—and I assume Molotov and Vishinsky would be in the same category—the Department would issue a visa.

Mr. ARENS. Would you issue them visas, if they applied for them, if you knew they were coming here in order to organize Communist spy rings?

Mr. PEURIFOY. If it were known that was the purpose of their visit, I would say "No."

The CHAIRMAN. What would be your answer if that were only a partial purpose of their visit?

Mr. PEURIFOY. I would say "No."

The CHAIRMAN. Will you proceed with the reading of your letter, Mr. Peurifoy?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Yes, sir. [Reading:]

2. How many aliens who entered the United States as affiliates of international organizations and how many aliens who entered the United States as affiliates of foreign governments are known to the Department to have engaged in espionage or related activities, or other activities of a subversive nature, prior to such entry?

At present the Department knows of three cases of aliens who received visas "as affiliates of foreign governments," and no cases involving "affiliates of international organizations," who engaged in espionage or related activities, or other activities of a subversive nature, before their entry into the United States, with respect to the above cases confirmed reports concerning such activities were furnished to the Department subsequent to their entry into this country. If the Department had received this information before the visas were issued, they would not have been granted. None of these individuals is presently in the United States. All have been declared *persona non grata*.

In a number of other cases the Department has received unconfirmed reports indicating the individuals within the above categories may have engaged in such activities. However, the information, after a most serious consideration, was believed to be too indefinite or lacking in confirmation to warrant action.

Senator FERGUSON. The information with reference to the three aliens who received visas as affiliates of foreign governments was received while those people were in this country?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Were they sent out of the country on that account?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Yes, sir.

MR. ARENS. At this point, if the chairman please, I would like to produce for the record a letter from the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, in response to a letter which was transmitted by the chairman to the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and state that the chairman directed the staff to select from our files 100 typical names and transmit those names to the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, with the request for answers to certain questions contained in the Senator's letter to the Director of Central Intelligence Agency.

I should like at this time to read the latter of the chairman to the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and then the response of the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency to the chairman's letter.

The letter from the chairman to the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency is dated June 30, 1949, and reads as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
June 30, 1949.

REAR ADM. ROSCOE H. HILLENKÖETTER,
*United States Navy Central Intelligence Agency,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR ADMIRAL HILLENKÖETTER: There is attached to this letter a list of the names of 100 persons. This is a partial list of those persons to whom visas have been issued for admission into the United States either as affiliates of international organizations or as officials or employees of foreign governments, and their families.

Without disclosing the name or indicating the identity of any such person, and without revealing the sources of information contained in the files of the Central Intelligence Agency, you are respectfully requested to furnish me an answer to each of the following questions, for inclusion in the public record of the Senate Immigration and Naturalization Subcommittee:

1. How many of the persons whose names appear on the attached list have been engaged in subversive activity prior to their assumption of official duty in the United States as affiliates of international organizations or as officials or employees of foreign governments? The term "subversive activity" as used in this question denotes active participation in foreign intelligence organizations or active Communist organizational work, rather than mere membership in the Communist Party.

2. Describe a typical pattern or typical patterns of such subversive activity and a typical background or typical backgrounds of such persons who have been engaged in such subversive activity.

3. Describe in general terms the extent to which foreign governments are utilizing their officials and employees in this country, and their membership, in international organizations, for active intelligence work against the United States.

4. Describe in general terms the extent to which foreign governments are utilizing their officials and employees in this country, and their membership in international organizations, for active direction of and participation in subversive organizations in the United States.

I should be obliged if you will cause your answers to the foregoing questions to be transmitted to me as soon as possible.

With kindest regards, I am,
Sincerely,

PAT MCCARRAN, *Chairman.*

Attached to that letter were the names of 100 persons taken from the files of the subcommittee.

Senator FERGUSON. May I ask whether the hypothetical cases you have been reading to the witness and asking him questions about were included in the 100 cases?

Mr. ARENS. Some were and some were not. We just took a cross section of 100 names. We have considerably more than that.

Senator FERGUSON. Was the data similar to the data of the cases you gave?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

The letter from the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency to the chairman is dated July 13, 1949, and is as follows:

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY,
Washington 25, July 13, 1949.

The Honorable PAT McCARRAN,

Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary,

Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 30, 1949, requesting answers to certain questions contained therein for inclusion in the public record of the Immigration and Naturalization Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

I wish to point out that section 102 (d) (3) of the National Security Act of 1947 (Public Law 253, 80th Cong.), which established the Central Intelligence Agency, specifically provides that the Agency shall have no police, law-enforcement, or internal security powers and functions. For this reason our answer to question 1 of your letter, concerning the list of 100 foreigners which you attached, is restricted to our knowledge of the activities of these persons abroad and not to their activities in the United States. The latter information is completely within the jurisdiction of other agencies of the Government.

Similarly, our answer to question 2 of your letter is based on typical patterns and backgrounds of subversive activity engaged in by Soviet and satellite diplomatic officials abroad.

In view of the reasons set forth above, we have not given detailed answers to your questions 3 and 4. However, the patterns set forth in our answer to question 2 may well be duplicated in this country. The extent to which it is being done, however, and the details of this apparatus lie completely within the jurisdiction of the FBI of the Department of Justice, and detailed answers, if available, must come from them in view of the legal limitations on CIA as to internal security functions.

Question 1: "How many of the persons whose names appear on the attached list have been engaged in subversive activity prior to their assumption of official duty in the United States as affiliates of international organizations or as officials or employees of foreign governments? The term 'subversive activity' as used in this question denotes active participation in foreign intelligence organizations or active Communist organizational work, rather than mere membership in the Communist Party."

Answer: In view of the definition of "subversive activity" contained in this question, we have organized our answer in accordance with this definition:

(a) Thirty-two of the individuals named in your attached list have reportedly or allegedly been engaged in active work for the intelligence services of their respective countries.

(b) Twenty-nine of the individuals named in your attached list are high-ranking Communist Party officials. It must be assumed that by virtue of their positions they are working ardently for the benefit of their governments. This activity, by definition, and in the light of known Communist methods, must be considered to be subversive and against the interests of the United States.

(c) Twenty-one of the individuals named in your attached list have reportedly or allegedly been engaged in active Communist organizational work of an underground or subversive nature outside their homelands.

(d) Fifteen of the individuals named in your attached list are not included in our files with data pertinent to the questions asked.

(e) Three of the individuals named in your attached list reportedly show definite pro-American sympathies and/or disaffection with Communist ideology.

Question 2: "Describe a typical pattern or typical patterns of such subversive activity and a typical background or typical backgrounds of such persons who have been engaged in such subversive activity."

Answer: *Typical pattern.*—(a) Reporting on political, economic, industrial, and military conditions of the country concerned. This activity is carried out both through the collection of overt information from newspapers, periodicals,

or radio, and through agents placed within strategic installations. As a corollary to this activity, an attempt is made to recruit and place agents against the time when the diplomatic official is required to return to his homeland.

(b) Arrangement of communications facilities through which agents can make their reports either to Soviet or satellite diplomatic installations within the country, or directly to the homeland. In this connection, reports have been received of attempts of these officials to organize Communist Party cells among seamen serving on vessels sailing to the homeland. These seamen are then utilized as couriers.

(c) Surveillance of, and controlling, the activities of Soviet and satellite diplomatic personnel assigned to the country concerned as well as the activities of delegates from the homeland who enter the country to attend conventions or meetings, assuring that such personnel do not defect or become politically unreliable through contact with western influences.

(d) Disseminating party line propaganda within the foreign country. Also sending propaganda about conditions in the country back to the homeland in the form of articles designed to encourage unfavorable sentiment against this country.

(e) Work with immigrant groups who have settled in the country from the homeland or with citizens with former homeland connections. This activity is apparently regarded as particularly important. Attempts are made to activate Communist groups within immigrant elements. Immigrants are encouraged to send the more stable currency of the country back to the homeland where, when exchanged at an official rate, it represents a considerable income for the homeland government. Efforts are made to recruit immigrants to work for the homeland government and to use their established businesses, such as shipping or export-import firms, as a cover for the intelligence activities of the homeland. Networks are organized within immigrant groups in order to check native personnel abroad, to control immigrants and former natives and indoctrinate them in the party line. Strong efforts are made to break up an anti-Soviet or anti-satellite sentiments among immigrant groups. Attempts are also made to establish financial and commercial contacts with the immigrant groups for the benefit of the homeland.

(f) Act as intermediaries between the Communist Party of the foreign country concerned and the Communist Party of the homeland. Maintain communications and often procure funds for the homeland Communist Party.

(g) Organize pressure groups within the foreign country concerned in order to combat certain political or military measures being considered by that country which are deemed unfavorable toward the Soviet-satellite axis.

Typical background.—Soviet and satellite diplomatic officials who have been selected to carry out espionage or subversive activities in foreign countries vary widely in their backgrounds, qualifications, and training. A study, however, of available background information has disclosed certain characteristics which it may be of interest to note.

Primarily, the official chosen is an individual in whom the Communist regime of his homeland places the greatest confidence as to political reliability. He is often an old line Communist who has served the party faithfully over a period of years. Many of these satellite officials have spent some time in the Soviet Union and some have served in the Soviet Army. Others have gained their position in the Communist hierarchy through their service with partisan guerrillas during the war.

Many of the officials have records of long time diplomatic careers in the service of their countries. These often are described as unscrupulous and opportunistic individuals who find it to their advantage to serve faithfully the regime in power. That they serve well is implicit in the confidence which the Communists apparently place in them.

It is of interest to note that many of these officials have had legal training and have practiced as lawyers. Quite a few also have journalistic backgrounds. Not much mention is made of technical espionage training, although it may be assumed that many, particularly the old line Communists and those who have visited the U. S. S. R., have received indoctrination of this type.

It is of further interest that the wives of many of these men are ardent Communists in their own right and occasionally even act as agents themselves. They are mentioned as exerting strong influences on their husbands.

In conclusion, these officials do not appear to be, in most cases, men of high moral standards or idealistic motivation. Many of them are described as clever, unscrupulous, opportunistic, ambitious, and given to shady financial deals or occasional blackmailing.

I hope that this information may be of value to you in connection with your subcommittee's investigation. If there is any further assistance with I can render, please feel free to call upon me in this connection.

Sincerely yours,

R. H. HILLENKOETTER,
Rear Admiral, USN,
Director of Central Intelligence.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Peurifoy, will you proceed with your letter.

Mr. PEURIFOY (reading) :

3. How many of such aliens, in each class, are known to the Department to be engaged, or to have been engaged, in espionage or related activities, or other activities of a subversive nature, in this country?

The information requested in question 3 relates primarily to the work of the Department of Justice. At present the Department of State knows of three cases of aliens who received visas as affiliates of foreign governments who engaged in espionage or related activities, or other activities of a subversive nature in this country. These three aliens also engaged in such activity before coming to the United States and were therefore the same aliens referred to in answer to question 2. These aliens have been declared *persona non grata* as previously indicated and are no longer in the United States.

The Department of State knows of no such case involving "affiliates of International Organizations." There is, however, the case of Gubitchev which is presently before the court for a determination.

In a number of other cases the Department has received unconfirmed reports indicating that individuals within the above categories may have engaged in such activities. However, the information, after a most serious consideration, was believed to be too indefinite or lacking in confirmation to warrant action.

Senator FERGUSON. Were these three prosecuted?

Mr. PEURIFOY. No, sir. They were declared *persona non grata* and returned to their homeland.

Senator FERGUSON. No prosecution was had?

Mr. PEURIFOY. No, sir.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true. I doubt whether you could have prosecuted.

Senator FERGUSON. Why not, if they had been engaged in subversive activities? Here is what you say:

who engaged in espionage or related activities, or other activities of a subversive nature in this country.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. While they were here they enjoyed diplomatic immunity.

Senator FERGUSON. Did they? The eight men I mentioned in Michigan did not enjoy diplomatic immunity.

Mr. PEURIFOY. These three were attached to the embassies here in Washington.

Senator FERGUSON. Then they did have specific diplomatic immunity.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. The eight men you referred to did not have diplomatic immunity in any sense.

Senator FERGUSON. That is what I wanted to ascertain. The reason there was no prosecution in the cases of these three men was that they had diplomatic immunity?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Did these three to which you refer come into this country by permission over your desk, or did they come in by authority of a higher echelon?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. They originated in the field. I am not familiar with the three specific cases, except to say that they were diplomats.

Mr. PEURIFOY. The visas in those cases were issued by the consuls in the field since they were coming to embassies here.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any one present with whom you can check that?

Mr. PEURIFOY. I would like to have Mr. Boykin comment.

STATEMENT OF SAM BOYKIN, DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF CONSULAR AFFAIRS

Mr. BOYKIN. At the time they came, we had no information to this effect. It was only after they arrived here that we received the information.

Senator FERGUSON. That is indicated in the answer to the second question.

Mr. BOYKIN. The second and third questions involve the same people.

The CHAIRMAN. Then those cases did not pass over Mr. L'Heureux' desk at all?

Mr. PEURIFOY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not go through the Department of State at all?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. They came in through the consul in the field and you had no knowledge of their coming in, I take it?

Mr. PEURIFOY. We probably were informed.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. We would get the report of the issuance of the visa, but we were not informed prior to the issuance.

The CHAIRMAN. When a visa of that kind is issued in the field to a member of the Diplomatic Corps who is known to have been active in Communist activities before applying for permission to come into this country, do you not go into the matter and enlighten yourselves as to that person's activities in the past?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Do you mean whether the consul does?

The CHAIRMAN. I would think the State Department itself would do that.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Bear in mind that these men normally apply to the consul for a visa. They are coming in as officials designated by a foreign government. They are not inadmissible under the law. The consul may, so to speak, set up a lookout notice on the individual. Short of that, he will issue the visa because the law specifically makes them admissible. They are not inadmissible.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, there is no way of checking people of that type?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. So they come in *carte blanche*, you might say.

Mr. PEURIFOY. May I continue?

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. PEURIFOY (reading):

4. Describe a typical pattern of such espionage or other subversive activity, and appraise the extent and scope of such activity.

Since the Department of State does not have the responsibility for uncovering espionage and related activities concerning the internal security of the United

States, it is unable to answer this question. The Department understands that this question was similarly directed to the Department of Justice, which agency is primarily responsible for such activities.

It is understood that agency will furnish the information desired.

5. In how many instances, if at all, has the State Department, or any agency or officer thereof, insisted upon the entry into this country of an alien concerning whom a recommendation has been made by the Visa Division of the Department that the entry of such alien is against the security interests of the United States?

The Visa Division is charged with the responsibility of formulating initially advisory opinions of the Department relating to the technical and security aspects of visa cases. The Visa Division states that it does not recall more than approximately 10 cases in which its original recommendation that visas be refused on security grounds have not been accepted by the superior officers of the Department within the last 3 years. In these cases the responsible officers of the department dealing with all other phases of the conduct of foreign relations, as well as the question of the security factor involved in the issuance of visas, concluded that the security phase of each case was not sufficient to outweigh other aspects, such as the question of free speech, free access to the United Nations, reprisal or retaliation by foreign governments against officials of the United States entering or stationed in other countries, and other aspects of the conduct of foreign relations. In none of these cases does the Visa Division consider that the security of the Nation was jeopardized.

6. Does the Department have knowledge of Communist spy rings now existing in the United States which include as active participants aliens who entered this country as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments?

Question 6 relates primarily to matters of internal security within the United States and concerns the responsibility of the Department of Justice. The Department of State has no knowledge of Communist spy rings now existing in the United States which include as active participants aliens who entered this country as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments.

7. If so, describe the typical pattern of such a spy ring.

Since the Department has no knowledge of such activities, it is unable to answer this question.

8. To what extent do the records of the Department show espionage or distribution of subversive propaganda and the organization or promoting of subversive groups in the United States to be under the control and direction of aliens who have entered the United States as affiliates of international organizations or as affiliates of foreign governments?

Question 8 relates primarily to matters of internal security within the United States and concerns the responsibility of the Department of Justice. The Department of State only has such knowledge of the information requested in this question as was furnished to it by the Department of Justice to which agency the question has also been directed. It is believed that agency will provide the appropriate reply.

9. To what extent do the records of the Department show espionage or other subversive activity in the United States to be engaged in by persons who are aliens, foreign born, or of foreign-born parents?

Question 9 relates primarily to matters of internal security within the United States and concerns the responsibility of the Department of Justice. The Department of State only has such knowledge of the information requested in this question as was furnished to it by the Department of Justice to which agency the question has also been directed. It is believed that agency will provide the appropriate reply.

10. Describe the extent, scope, and nature of the activity or activities of those organizations which have been proscribed by the Attorney General as subversive organizations.

Question 10 relates primarily to matters of internal security within the United States and concerns the responsibility of the Department of Justice. The Department of State only has such knowledge of the information requested in this question as was furnished to it by the Department of Justice to which agency the question has also been directed. It is believed that agency will provide the appropriate reply.

According to the information in the possession of the Department, how many aliens have been deported from the United States in the course of the last 10 years under the statutes which provide for the deportation of subversives?

Question 11 relates primarily to matters of internal security within the United States and concerns the responsibility of the Department of Justice. The Department of State only has such knowledge of the information requested in this question as was furnished to it by the Department of Justice to which agency the question has also been directed. It is believed that agency will provide the appropriate reply.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN E. PEURIFOY,
Deputy Under Secretary.

Mr. Chairman, shall I continue and read your letter of June 17 to me?

The CHAIRMAN. If you will, please,

Mr. PEURIFOY. The letter written by the Chairman, dated June 17, is as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE OF THE JUDICIARY,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
June 17, 1949.

HON. JOHN E. PEURIFOY,
*Deputy Under Secretary, Department of State,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Reference is made to your letter of June 14, 1949, in reply to a list of questions which I submitted to you when you appeared on June 1, 1949, before the Immigration and Naturalization Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

Upon reading your letter of June 19, 1949, I find that some of the questions are unanswered and that the answers to other questions are incomplete. More particularly, I invite your attention to each of the following questions which were submitted to you which are either unanswered or the answers to which are incomplete:

1. On page 3 of your letter, in reply to the second question which was submitted to you with reference to espionage or related activities, or other activities of a subversive nature prior to entry by certain aliens, the following appears:

"In a number of other cases the Department has received unconfirmed reports indicating that individuals within the above categories may have engaged in such activities. However, the information, after a most serious consideration, was believed to be too indefinite or lacking in confirmation to warrant action."

You are respectfully requested to furnish me with the information respecting the number of such other cases in which the Department has received such unconfirmed reports; the nature of the activity referred to in the unconfirmed reports; and, the extent of inquiry which was made to confirm or discredit the information in the unconfirmed reports.

2. On page 3 of your letter, in reply to the third question which was submitted to you respecting espionage or related activities or other activities of a subversive nature in this country by certain aliens, the following appears:

"In a number of other cases the Department has received unconfirmed reports indicating that individuals within the above categories may have engaged in such activities. However, the information, after a most serious consideration, was believed to be too indefinite or lacking in confirmation to warrant action."

You are respectfully requested to furnish me with the information respecting the number of such other cases in which the Department has received such unconfirmed reports; the nature of the activities referred to in the unconfirmed reports; and, the extent of inquiry which was made to confirm or discredit the information in the unconfirmed reports.

3. On page 5 of your letter, in reply to the eighth question which was submitted to you respecting control and direction by certain aliens of espionage, distribution of subversive propaganda, and the organization or promoting of subversive groups in the United States, the following appears:

"The Department of State only has such knowledge of the information requested in this question as was furnished to it by the Department of Justice to which agency the question has also been directed."

You are respectfully requested to furnish me with a reply to the eighth question, irrespective of the sources of the information, of which the Department of State has knowledge.

4. On page 5 of your letter, in reply to the ninth question which was submitted to you respecting espionage or other subversive activity in the United States by persons who are aliens, foreign-born, or of foreign-born parents, the following appears:

"The Department of State only has such knowledge of the information requested in this question as was furnished to it by the Department of Justice to which agency the question has also been directed."

You are respectfully requested to furnish me with a reply to the ninth question, irrespective of the sources of the information, of which the Department of State has knowledge.

5. On page 5 of your letter, in reply to question 10 with reference to the extent, scope, and nature of the activity or activities of those organizations which have been proscribed by the Attorney General as subversive organizations, the following appears:

"The Department of State only has such knowledge of the information requested in this question as was furnished to it by the Department of Justice to which agency the question has also been directed."

You are respectfully requested to furnish me with a reply to the tenth question, irrespective of the sources of the information, of which the Department of State has knowledge.

6. On page 6 of your letter, in reply to the eleventh question with reference to the number of aliens who have been deported in the course of the last 10 years under the statutes which provide for the deportation of subversives, the following appears:

"The Department of State only has such knowledge of the information requested in this question as was furnished to it by the Department of Justice to which agency the question has also been directed."

You are respectfully requested to furnish me with a reply to the eleventh question, irrespective of the sources of the information, of which the Department of State has knowledge.

I should be obliged if you will cause your answer to the foregoing questions to be transmitted to me as soon as possible.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely,

PAT McCARRAN, *Chairman.*

In reply to your letter of June 17, Mr. Chairman, I wrote the following letter, dated June 22:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, June 22, 1949.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Department has received your letter of June 17, 1949, requesting further information with respect to the list of questions which you submitted to me on June 1, 1949, and which the Department answered on June 14, 1949.

The Department is glad to submit the additional information which has been specifically requested by you as follows:

Question No. 2: The Department has received unconfirmed reports that seven officials of foreign governments and seven officials of international organizations may have engaged in subversive activities prior to the time they were issued visas. The Department has also received unconfirmed reports that three officials of foreign governments and three officials of international organizations may have engaged in subversive activities prior to coming to the United States; however, such information was not received until after the visas had been issued.

In all these cases the allegations were carefully considered and it was determined that even if the allegations were true, the presence in the United States of the aliens concerned would not endanger the public safety—

Senator FERGUSON. That answer does not seem to me to be in conformity with the testimony here this morning.

The 14 people referred to in the first 2 lines of your answer and the 6 officials mentioned later in that paragraph are not duplicates?

Mr. PEURIFOY. That is correct, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, we have here from the Intelligence Department many more than those. Why does not your Department have that information?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is explained in a subsequent letter, Senator. This information was based upon cases we were able to get hold of. Our cases are filed alphabetically by name.

Senator FERGUSON. Did you not have the 100 names?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. We did not have the 100 names, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. You have never seen the 100 names?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Personally, I have not.

Mr. ARENS. What you mean is that those 7 cases you are talking about are 7 you could readily pull from your files, which cases would be consistent with the 100 that were referred to by the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Yes, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. That is consistent up to seven, but the admiral lists many more cases.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to make a statement off the record.

Senator FERGUSON. Then even though they have been subversive agents, they did come in?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true, Senator.

Senator FERGUSON. Could you not keep them out by appealing to the so-called desk of the United Nations?

Mr. PEURIFOY. We could turn them down.

Senator FERGUSON. That is what I am talking about.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. We could turn them down if they presented a direct threat to the public safety of the United States.

Senator FERGUSON. Where is there any law that states that there must be a direct threat to the security of the United States before you can turn them down? You are a judge as to whether or not there is a direct threat involved, are you not?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. The Department is; yes.

Senator FERGUSON. So you can turn down a United Nations agent?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Section 6 of the act of August 4, 1947, states that—
nothing in the agreement shall be construed as in any way diminishing, abridging, or weakening the right of the United States to safeguard its own security and completely to control the entrance of aliens into any territory of the United States other than the headquarters district and its immediate vicinity.

Senator FERGUSON. Then you have absolute discretion under your law. In other words, our domestic law has not been changed at all except insofar as it relates to the immediate vicinity of the United Nations buildings?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

Senator FERGUSON. Then you have the power to turn down people such as those Admiral Hillenkoetter mentioned?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. If it is the considered opinion of the Secretary, or those to whom he has delegated the authority to act, that individuals present a security threat, I would say that, under this section, we have the authority to withhold the visas.

Senator FERGUSON. Admiral Hillenkoetter, in his letter dated July 13, states:

Thirty-two of the individuals named in your attached list have reportedly or allegedly been engaged in active work for the intelligence services of their respective countries.

Twenty-nine of the individuals named in your attached list are high-ranking Communist Party officials.

Twenty-one of the individuals named in your attached list have reportedly or allegedly been engaged in active Communist organizational work of an underground or subversive nature outside their homelands.

You will note the number of individuals there. How do you account for the variance as between the number of cases you have turned down and those numbers?

Mr. ARENS. And that is only a cross section.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I cannot account for that, because I would have to pull out those files to see whether we had that information and what additional information we had.

Now, there is nothing in the set-up in the State Department that requires me to make any kind of an appeal. I do not pass on cases of officials. That is done by the responsible officers on the political desk in UNI. As Chief of the Visa Division, when I am in the process of sending an authorization to the consul to issue a visa and, if in that case I feel they have overlooked some factors, I will ask the consul to look into that matter. I do not do it in all cases because there is no use; they are not normally inadmissible.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the State Department have a security agency that checks these cases?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. We have a Security Division.

The CHAIRMAN. Why are not these cases referred to that Division?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. They are referred to that Division.

The CHAIRMAN. After they were referred to that Division, nevertheless, they were cleared?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true, Senator. All of the information of an intelligence nature that the Visa Division procures, it procures through the means of the Security Division.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not have reports of the character of those of the Central Intelligence Agency? Have you contact with them at all? Do they give you no information?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I think they do.

Mr. BOYKIN. They do, Senator.

Mr. ARENS. You get the regular CIA reports; do you not?

Mr. PEURIFOY. I would like to ask Mr. Boykin whether they give us the same information they have in their files.

Mr. BOYKIN. I have no way of knowing whether they have given us the same information they have given the Senator. I do not know whether these are specific cases they are referring to, either.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you seek that information?

Mr. BOYKIN. Yes, sir; we are very anxious to get that information.

Senator FERGUSON. Now, Mr. L'Heureux, you mentioned something about the immediate vicinity of the United Nations. What agency has charge of seeing to it that the law is obeyed and that these people who are not entitled to go to other places in the United States are not permitted to leave the United Nations and its vicinity? What agency has charge of that?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That would come under the Department of Justice.

Senator FERGUSON. Do you know how many cases they have of keeping people within the immediate vicinity of the United Nations?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not, sir.

Senator FERGUSON. Have there been any such cases?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. There have been some cases. I doubt whether they have restricted those who are entitled to official status under section 3 (7). They have restricted some who came under section 3 (2), such as correspondents, for instance, and other invitees.

Senator FERGUSON. Are they United Nations officials?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. They are United Nations officials in this sense: They are not representatives. They are invitees or accredited officials.

Senator FERGUSON. You do not have to permit those into the country at all?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. We must permit them transit to the site. We do not have to permit them to go anywhere else.

Senator FERGUSON. How many are confined to the site; that is, how many United Nations officials have been confined to the site and the immediate vicinity?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not know of any officials, classified under 3 (7) who have been confined to the site.

Senator FERGUSON. You do not know of any that have been confined to the site?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They come and go at liberty.

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Those officials who are inadmissible under our law and who do not get the benefit of the section 3 (7) status, come in as invitees. They come in as invitees under section 3 (2) or a limited visa that permits them to proceed from the port of entry, directly to the site and its vicinity, and transit on the way out. They are not permitted to go to other places.

Senator FERGUSON. No one has ever been confined to the site or the immediate vicinity?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. Quite a few of these cases under section 3 (2) have been confined to the immediate vicinity.

Senator FERGUSON. How many?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. I do not know offhand, but it would exceed 12 or 15.

Senator FERGUSON. Those 12 or 15 came in as agents of some kind?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. They came in as newspaper correspondents or as consultants, etc.

Senator FERGUSON. Gubitchev was what?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. He came under section 3 (7).

Senator FERGUSON. Was he a consultant?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. No, sir.

Mr. BOYKIN. He was a member of the secretariat.

Senator FERGUSON. Then he was an official under section 3 (7)?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is right.

Senator FERGUSON. And he was not confined to the site and the immediate vicinity of the site; is not that correct?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. He came in under section 3 (7).

Senator FERGUSON. Apparently you do not get my question. At the time he was arrested, he was not on the site of the United Nations or its immediate vicinity?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true, but he was not restricted.

Senator FERGUSON. That is true; he was not restricted.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, let us proceed.

Senator FERGUSON. And nobody has been restricted under his category?

Mr. L'HEUREUX. That is true.

Mr. PEURIFOY (reading):

Question No. 3: The Department has received allegations that five officials of foreign governments and four officials of international organizations may have been engaged in subversive activities in this country. The Department believes that disclosure of further information on these cases would be incompatible with the public interest.

Questions Nos. 8 and 9: The Department is unable to answer questions Nos. 8 and 9 because such information as it possesses was supplied by the Department of Justice for the Department's information in connection with individual visa cases and, therefore, is incomplete and does not afford a basis for a comprehensive description of an organization engaged in subversive activity.

Question No. 10: The Department does not have sufficient information to describe the scope and nature of the activity, or activities, of those organizations which have been proscribed by the Attorney General as subversive organizations.

Question No. 11: The Department of State does not maintain records on the deportation of aliens from the United States since it is not charged by law with this responsibility.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN E. PEURIFOY,
Deputy Under Secretary.

I would like now to read a letter from the chairman to me, dated June 27:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
June 27, 1949.

HON. JOHN E. PEURIFOY,
Deputy Under Secretary, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Reference is made to your letter of June 14, 1949, and your letter of June 22, 1949, in reply to certain questions which were submitted to you by myself, with reference to the problem of exclusion and deportation of subversive aliens.

In order to further clarify the information which you have transmitted to me, you are respectfully requested to furnish me with complete information on each of the following questions:

1. In how many cases in the course of the last 5 years has a visa been issued to a person as an affiliate of an international organization or as an affiliate of a foreign government, in which the Department of State had received reports, confirmed or unconfirmed, indicating that such person may have been engaged in subversive activity prior to the issuance of the visa? The term "subversive activity" as used in this question denotes activity of a subversive nature in addition to membership in the Communist Party. If it is impracticable for you to transmit to me the specific number of such cases, I should be obliged if you will transmit to me the best available estimate of the number of such cases.

2. In how many cases in the course of the last 5 years has a visa been withheld from a person applying for a visa as an affiliate of an international organization or as an affiliate of a foreign government, in which the Department of State had received reports, confirmed or unconfirmed, indicating that such person may have been engaged in subversive activity prior to the filing of the application for the visa? The term "subversive activity" as used in this question denotes activity of a subversive nature in addition to membership in the Communist Party. If it is impracticable for you to transmit to me the specific number of such cases, I should be obliged if you will transmit to me the best available estimate of the number of such cases.

I should be obliged if you will cause your answer to each of the foregoing questions to be transmitted to me as soon as possible.

With kindest regards, I am,
Sincerely,

PAT McCARRAN, *Chairman.*

The CHAIRMAN. Did you answer that letter?

Mr. PEURIFOY. Yes, sir. Shall I read my reply?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I think you had better proceed and complete the record.

Mr. PEURIFOY. My letter in reply to the letter I have just read was dated July 11, and is as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, July 11, 1949.

The Honorable PAT McCARRAN,
Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate.

MY DEAR CHAIRMAN: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of June 27, 1949, in which you request the answers to two additional questions concerning the issuance of visas to affiliates of international organizations and affiliates of foreign governments.

In the consideration of this additional request, it should be pointed out that derogatory reports of any nature, received in the Department of State, which may affect an alien's admissibility into the United States, are filed alphabetically, under the name of the alien concerned, for ready reference in the event the question of issuing a visa should arise.

It is estimated that there are approximately 1,000,000 visa files in the Department at present. In order to furnish you with precise figures, or reasonably accurate estimates concerning the cases falling into the categories described in your letter, it would be necessary to review these files which would consume approximately six man years of work. You will readily appreciate that this is not administratively feasible, bearing in mind the constant, heavy flow of normal work and the limited personnel available.

The information previously furnished to you in my letters of June 14 and 22, 1949, was obtained from those files which could be located through sundry memoranda and notations made by units of the Visa Division and through the memory of several officers of the Department responsible for the processing of visa cases of foreign officials coming to the United States.

It is regretted that the filing system of the Department does not readily make available the detailed information requested by your Committee, although this system has been found very practicable in carrying out the responsibilities placed upon the Department by the immigration laws.

For the reasons stated the Department is unable to furnish you with the exact number or a reasonable estimate of cases during the last 5 years where a visa has been issued to a person as an affiliate of an international organization or as an affiliate of a foreign government in which the Department of State had received certain allegations, confirmed or unconfirmed, indicating that such persons may have engaged in subversive activities prior to issuance of the visa. Any estimate, therefore, would be speculative and the Department considers it contrary to the public interest in the conduct of foreign relations to furnish an estimated figure without a real basis for such an estimate.

With respect to question No. 2, the Department has no recollection of any case, in the course of the last 5 years, where a visa has been withheld from a person applying as an affiliate of an international organization or an affiliate of a foreign government, upon the basis of subversive activities of the nature referred to in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN E. PEURIFOY,
Deputy Under Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. We have arrived at the hour of 12 o'clock Saturday noon, and we probably have a day's work to do in our offices, so it will be impossible to conclude this matter today with you, Mr. Secretary.

We will have to find a day which will be convenient to you and convenient to the committee on which to meet again.

We have some questions to propound with reference to whether or not the State Department has knowledge of certain activities. We will probably relate the activities of these subversive individuals who have come into this country and other matters pertaining thereto.

Now, I am not able to say to you right now when we can meet. The regular meeting of the committee is on Monday, and we have a very heavy agenda for that day. On Tuesday we are going to have a special meeting on a special bill which Judge Patterson is interested in.

Our meeting with you will probably have to be later on in the week. The committee will stand adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the chairman.

Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 12 noon, the hearing was recessed, to reconvene upon the call of the chairman.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

WEDNESDAY, JULY 27, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 2 p. m., in the Senate District Committee room, the Capitol, Senator O'Connor, presiding.

Present: Senators O'Connor and Langer.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee; Frank W. Schroeder and Otto J. Dekom, professional staff members.

Senator O'CONNOR. The meeting will come to order.

I might state for the record that it is at the request of the chairman of the Judiciary Committee that I am presiding this afternoon, and will be very pleased to accord the opportunity to the witness to proceed with his statement.

Might I first ask that you be sworn, please. Raise your right hand.

In the presence of Almighty God, do you swear that the testimony that you shall give in this hearing shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. VALUCHEK. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ANDREW J. VALUCHEK, PRESIDENT, SLOVAK NATIONAL ALLIANCE

Senator O'CONNOR. What is your full name?

Mr. VALUCHEK. Andrew J. Valuchek.¹

Senator O'CONNOR. Your residence?

Mr. VALUCHEK. 2 Elinore Place, Yonkers, N. Y.

Senator O'CONNOR. And your business or occupation?

Mr. VALUCHEK. I am a newspaper man.

Senator O'CONNOR. Just so that we may have sufficient identification, will you state what organization or organizations you represent, if any, today in this hearing?

Mr. VALUCHEK. I am the president of the Slovak National Alliance of America; supreme president, Slovak Gymnastic Union Sokol; vice president, Czechoslovak National Council; managing editor of the Czechoslovak daily.²

Senator O'CONNOR. For what period of time have you been occupying the position that you now hold?

¹ The witness appeared under subpoena.

² New Yorksky Dennik.

Mr. VALUCHEK. I have been with the newspaper for about 20 years and I have held office in these organizations for quite a number of years.

Senator O'CONNOR. You may proceed, and might I ask you at the outset if you have a statement that you desire to make?

Mr. VALUCHEK. I have, Mr. Chairman.

Senator O'CONNOR. If so, will you just proceed in your own way?

Mr. VALUCHEK. I have been active in American-Czechoslovak affairs for the past 20 years. I have held many offices in American-Czechoslovak organizations and served on many committees. Thus, I can say without fear or contradiction that I know intimately and well the life of persons of Czechoslovak descent in almost every phase and sector.

That is the reason why I can say that 95 percent of Americans of Czechoslovak descent are loyal American citizens, firmly believing in our way of life and are uncompromising in their faith in democracy as we know it and practice it in America. There are many reasons why they are good American citizens. Those who migrated from the old Austrian-Hungarian Empire found a haven in this country. They have found here freedom, opportunity to a livelihood, and have realized that they have become equals in every sense of the word. They worked very hard, they prospered, they built churches, organized their organizations and societies, sent their children to school, and have become real Americans.

They have not forgotten their motherland and have striven to give their own brothers and sisters the same opportunities and freedoms they have here. They were successful. Under the leadership of men like T. G. Masaryk,¹ E. Beneš,² M. R. Stefanik,³ and with the help of our great President and humanitarian, Woodrow Wilson, Czechoslovakia became and proved to be a good child of the United States. This made Americans of Czechoslovak descent very proud and happy and more thankful to our country. When Munich came, they fully realized that enslavement of Czechoslovakia became a temporary set-back for their people and that Czechoslovakia would be free again. They have contributed much to the liberation of that unhappy land and have given much to our war effort in the lives of their sons, their material goods, and their energies on the home front.

After World War II, when the Nazis were defeated and Czechoslovakia was free again, they thought that finally there was to be peace, not only for a short period but for all time. Soon they became apprehensive about the international situation. They became worried, perplexed, and disheartened. And here the Communists and their supporters felt that they would find fertile soil and opportunity for their propaganda. They used three very powerful weapons which were at their disposal: Newspapers, organizations, and agents and collaborators.

First, as to newspapers, the Communists have two weeklies, one published in the Czech and the other in the Slovak language. They are the Ludove Noviny, whose address is 1916 East Street, Pittsburgh, Pa., and edited by Calvin Brook, a naturalized American citizen.

¹ Thomas G. Masaryk, first president of Czechoslovakia.

² Eduard Beneš, last President of democratic Czechoslovakia.

³ Milan R. Stefanik, French general of Czech extraction who was one of the liberators of Czechoslovakia during World War I.

Calvin Brook, whose name originally was Kalman Brueck, is the ideological leader of the Slovak Communists and the interpreter of the official party line. He contributes frequently to the *Daily Worker* and serves as the press agent for the American Labor Party, the American Slav Congress conventions, and is the instigator of countless demonstrations in his community. Typical is the article which he published in the *Ludove Noviny* as recently as June 9, 1949, under the title of "Workers of the Pressed Steel and the Cold War."

The factory of the Pressed Steel Co. of McKees Rocks, Pa., which employs about 3,000 workers, mostly Slovaks and other Slavs, will be closed in a few weeks, because it does not have orders. At Pressed Steel they manufacture freight cars * * *

If Pressed Steel will be closed, McKees Rocks will change into a ghost town—a dead city * * *

The workers of Pressed Steel ask the Government to place orders for 500,000 cars. They claim that if the Government of the United States can give billions of dollars to Chiang Kai-shek, the German King of Greece, the German capitalists of the Ruhr, it could also take care of the workers of McKees Rocks. But there is one catch to this. The present rulers of Washington—Nazi Germans, Fascist Greeks, dictatorial Chiangs, and Turks—are much closer than are our workers in McKees Rocks. One of the reasons for growing unemployment in the United States is, after all, the Marshall plan and the Atlantic Pact * * *

Of course, the main reason for our growing unemployment is the capitalistic system * * *

There is another thing. The Soviet Union announced that she is willing to buy in any country 1,000,000 cars. She is willing to pay for them in gold. But the State Department, influenced by pro-German, Vatican, and Wall Street elements, does not want to give permission for this order.

In the same issue, Calvin Brook is announcing preparations for a conference of the Executive Committee of the Progressive Party, which is to take further steps in mobilizing the Slavs of McKees Rocks.

Brook's purpose is not only to cause discontent and trouble among the American-Slovak workers of the industrial area of Pennsylvania, but falls neatly into the pattern of the work of other Communist agitators and Soviet agents in America.

I have that issue if you would like to have it.

Senator O'CONNOR. That is of June 9?

Mr. VALUCHEK. The June 9 issue, that is correct.

Mr. DEKOM. We will mark that "Exhibit 1."

Senator O'CONNOR. We would like to have it so marked.

(The document referred to was marked as "Valuchek Exhibit 1" and is included in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. VALUCHEK. The second Communist Party paper that deserves mention is the *Nova Doba*, a Czech weekly, published at 1510 West Eighteenth Street, Chicago, Ill., and edited by a vicious Communist agent and provocateur, Gustav Pikal.

It is not by coincidence that Pikal, in the issue of July 15, 1949, under the title, "Depression and the Iron Curtain," blames the Marshall plan for our economic difficulties and, in glowing terms, talks about the prosperity that he claims can be found today in the countries of the so-called peoples' democracies, thanks to the Soviet Union.

There are two newspapers that play second fiddle to the Communist press and parrot the statement of Communist propagandists that "nothing happened in Czechoslovakia," but that, to the contrary, everything is rosy and prospering there. They are the monthlies, *Free Czechoslovakia*, organ of the remains of the Czech National

Alliance, and the Vek Rozumu, official organ of the Czech Rationalists of America.

Mr. DEKOM. I would like to ask a question. You said that the newspaper Ludove Noviny is published at 1916 East Street, Pittsburgh. Is that not the address at which a number of Communist Party foreign-language papers are published?

Mr. VALUCHEK. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. It is the headquarters of Communist publications in the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. VALUCHEK. Of the foreign-language group, sir.

The most active are the Czech and Slovak sections of the International Workers Order. The national president of the Slovak Workers Order is Karol Korenic and the head of the Czech Workers Order is Charles Musil, both naturalized American citizens.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the organization that is listed as a Communist organization by the Attorney General?

Mr. VALUCHEK. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. And Charles Musil, is he the financial secretary of the American Slav Congress; is it the same man?

Mr. VALUCHEK. Yes, sir.

Their work is supplemented by the American Slav Congress, in which both officers hold high office.

The Communists also control and influence the United Czechoslovak Societies of New York. To counteract the relief work of the Slovak National Alliance which collected funds for Czechoslovak relief under the sponsorship of the official relief agency, American Relief for Czechoslovakia, the Communists and others who cooperated with them, set up the National Committee to Aid Slovakia, with branches in Chicago and Pittsburgh. The Chicago branch was headed by Karol Korenic, the Pittsburgh branch by V. S. Platek. The guiding genius was Calvin Brook, who acted as secretary. The organization is still in existence.

Another sad case is that of the Czech National Alliance, whose president, Adolph Kacer, wrecked that organization due to his stand on the present situation in Czechoslovakia.

As far as the American Slav Congress is concerned, many of our good Americans of Czech and Slovak descent were members during the war, when the organization worked in the lines of our war effort and supported the United States Government, but when the first trends of loyalty to Soviet Russia and to communism began appearing, one after another began resigning their membership and severed all connections with this organization, so that today only real Communists and fellow travelers remain. I have read the report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on the American Slav Congress and I suggest that it check its sources and correct the material the report contains in order that countless innocent people should not be harmed.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the American Slav Congress yourself at one time?

Mr. VALUCHEK. No, sir.

Senator O'CONNOR. Did you ever have access to their meetings, and attend them and observe and hear what transpired?

Mr. VALUCHEK. Yes. In my capacity as a newspaperman and, of course, being head of two Slovak organizations, naturally there was

considerable pressure put on me for these organizations to join the American Slav Congress. The Slovak Sokols voted not to join. So did the Slovak National Alliance. As a matter of fact, it was rather amusing when I listened to the testimony of Mr. Gunther,¹ who was the former president of the American Slav Congress. He is the one that put the pressure on us to join the American Slav Congress. Of course, at that time, as I said in my statement, the organization to all purposes appeared to be a loyal one.

The third group is agents and collaborators. Just as dangerous, and perhaps more so, to our way of life, are the agents, collaborators and fellow travelers. There are two types, those connected, officially or unofficially, with the Czechoslovak diplomatic service, and the American citizens, who are in their service.

As to the Czechoslovak diplomatic corps: On October 4 and 5 of 1948, the Czechoslovak National Council of America, a spokesman of the democratic Czech and Slovak organizations, held its congress in Chicago. The resolutions committee, of which I happened to be elected chairman, passed a number of resolutions, affirming our loyalty to America, our democracy, and our way of life. Among these resolutions was one addressed to the people of Czechoslovakia. I quote from the resolution:

Americans of Czechoslovak descent, who, with the effective aid of our new homeland and their Presidents, Wilson and Roosevelt, contributed so much to the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic and to its liberation from the Nazi oppression, view with considerable dismay the suppression of civil liberties and the destruction of democracy in their old country. We are heartbroken by the destruction of freedom of speech, press, and assembly, and particularly by the crucifixion of all those who remain loyal to the democratic principles of Masaryk and Beneš. We keenly sympathize and feel with the unfortunate, suffering people of Czechoslovakia, our brothers and sisters, and we firmly protest against the introduction of dictatorship, so foreign to the spirit of Czechoslovak history and the freedom-loving traditions of the Czechoslovak people.

This resolution incensed no less a person than the present Czechoslovak Ambassador, Dr. Vladimír Outrata, who wrote each president of a national organization belonging to the Slovak National Congress the following letter:

DECEMBER 15, 1948.

I have received your letter of December 8, which contained the decision of the convention of the presidents of some Czech and Slovak organizations in America, held on the 4th and 5th days of this month. In accordance with your wishes I will transmit the contents of your deliberation to the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic. Although I do not expect the Czechoslovakian Government will deem it necessary to take any attitude toward this decision, I think it could do no harm if I, not as a representative of that Government to the United States, but more as a honest member of the Czech Nation and a proud citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic will make a few remarks.

When I read the resolutions of the convention, a question comes to my mind: Who is speaking these known sentences? According to your letter, they are the Czech and Slovak organizations; in other words, somebody else than the humble American citizens of Czech and Slovak extraction, who themselves, or their fathers came to this land in order to find a better livelihood and still retain at least some recollection of the fact that they belong to the Czech or Slovak Nation. According to your letter, they are the people who have a sincere and friendly interest in the fate of the Czech and Slovak Nation in this moment of their great historic crisis, who (as you state) actively participated in both movements for the creation of Czechoslovak Republic, her liberation from the yoke of nazism and who

¹ Blair F. Gunther.

point out to the tradition of two great Presidents of their new country, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. According to your resolution, they are American citizens, who highly value liberty, reject dictatorship, and, in the spirit of these principles, quite properly (according to your resolution) believe that the people of Czechoslovakia should have the same rights to arrange their political, commercial, social, and cultural life in accordance with their own desires and necessity. They are the people, who know and who respect (I again quote) "the spirit of our history and liberty-loving traditions of the Czechoslovak people."

And yet * * * words, in this resolution, concerning our Republic, are worn-out phrases, which throw dirt upon our peoples' order, which a preponderant majority of the Czech and Slovak people with such enthusiasm and with such sacrifices support, those words are well known. * * * I hear them and read them often, in different versions, but basically they are the same, maybe according to the principle of the late Dr. Goebbels, that a lie becomes stronger than truth if it is repeated often enough. This is the way Hitler spoke about Czechoslovakia to his friends, when he planned to occupy our country and exterminate our nation; this is the way Sudeten German speak about Czechoslovakia, when they are making plans to return to Czechoslovakia with foreign aid and say how they will take revenge upon us, because we moved them out; this is the way international munition makers and bankers speak, who try to bring about a war and destroy the world with atoms; this is the way the fanatical enemies of the Slavs speak, who want to give Germans weapons again and raise them to become the hangmen of our nations; this is the way the foreign capitalists and mine-owners speak, who would like to take from our farmers their land, our workers their factories, and exploit further our people, as they did for centuries; this is the way the emigrant, bankrupt politicians speak, who have nothing to lose and who are willing to let our beautiful country be destroyed and who are willing to exterminate her people to the last Czech and Slovak, as long as a foreign army will with bayonets place them again in their old jobs; this is the way Prince Otto von Hapsburg speaks in the circle of his noble friends, when they dream of the resurrection of the old Austria. Such voices were also heard in the past. Whenever in history our common people achieved some success, reactionaries and traitors flooded us with slander and lies; this is the way they spoke about the young American Republic. * * * This is the way all Fascists, Nazis, monarchists, revisionists, anti-Semites, Ku Klux Klans, Cagoularés, etc., speak, no matter what international reaction is called.

But, humble American citizens, and above all, those of Czech and Slovak descent, how do they find themselves in such bad company? There could not be very many among them who would sympathize with nazism, who would want the Germans to return to Czechoslovakia, who would ask for Germans to be rearmed against the Slavs, who are desiring war, and who would be willing to sacrifice Prague and Bratislava, to be destroyed by war, so that somebody would get back his former estates, factories, and ministerial posts?

It seems that something is out of order. It seems that some people fell prey to refined and antidemocratic propaganda and that because of lack of true information or, because of personal prejudices, let themselves be led into a situation where they are throwing dung into their own nest and serve the enemies of mankind in general, as well as the enemies of their nation and their parents. And only to these people—I mean honest ones—I address this letter. I would like to pose them a warning question, Do you know in what company you find yourselves? Do you know what interests you are serving with your slanders of the Republic and with the insults of the Czechoslovak people and their Government? Why do you permit yourselves to be instigated by the so-called emigrants, that is, irresponsible people with selfish interests, who will first misuse you and then will run away? Do you not think that it would be wiser and decent to wait with your decision and watch, not to curse, because right now everybody curses?

The road to Czechoslovakia is wide open to every decent person, either Czech or Slovak, American or anybody else, whose eyes are not blinded by prejudices and interests of personal gain. One can personally discover how the Czechoslovak people live and work, what type of a government they have, what they like, and what they are trying to do. The Czechoslovak people are working feverishly to build a new and more just social order, and value every expression of sympathy, and will remember all those who, in this difficult historical period, will display their friendship, but will not forget insults, either.

I wish, Mr. President, that you and the members of your organization would as soon as possible, completely unsnare yourselves from the trap of propaganda, so diabolically inimical to the Czech and Slovak people.

I remain,

(Signed) DR. VLADIMIR OUTRATA.

MR. DEKOM. Do you have a copy of that letter?

MR. VALUCHEK. Yes.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. I was going to ask one or two questions about it. You have completed the reading of the letter; have you?

MR. VALUCHEK. Yes.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. You have stated that it was transmitted to the presidents of different organizations.

MR. VALUCHEK. National organizations.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. Can you tell us in what number, or approximately the number, or indicate the extent of circulation?

MR. VALUCHEK. About five. There are five national organizations, and each president received that.

SENATOR O'CONNOR. Of what combined membership would you think the five would be?

MR. VALUCHEK. Probably in the vicinity of about 100,000.

MR. DEKOM. May we receive this letter as exhibit 2?

SENATOR O'CONNOR. Yes, and it will be so marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Valuchek Exhibit 2" and is included in the files of the subcommittee.)

MR. VALUCHEK. I do not quote this letter as a sample of the diplomats of the so-called people's democracies, but I do charge that the Czechoslovak Ambassador overstepped the bounds of his rights and responsibilities, not only as a diplomat but as a guest of the United States, by his abuse of American citizens, loyal to American democracy, and by a direct threat to Americans who enjoy all democratic freedoms, even that of expression.

Among the other agents, I would like to mention the following: Dr. Ervin Munk. When Munk was sent to the United States,¹ there was quite a number of protests from American Czechoslovaks toward his appointment.

Zdenek Palma, now consul in Pittsburgh; Helen Vrabel, Pauline Svobodova, in Washington, and Emil Zerman-Zuckerman. Zdenek Palma and Frantisek Vrba particularly deserve special mention. On March 7, 1949, the eastern division of the Czechoslovak National Council, as was customary, held a Masaryk celebration in the Bohemian National Hall in New York City. The speakers were to be Hon. J. J. Bennett, deputy mayor of New York City, Hon. John Gibson, Under Secretary of Labor, and, from the Czechoslovak side, Dr. P. Zenkl, the president of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, and Dr. Jan Papanek, the secretary of that organization. We also had on our program Mr. Petrak,² a well-known Slovak singer, who left Czechoslovakia not long ago, and is under contract to the management of City Center in New York City.

The Czechoslovak Communists of New York tried to break up the celebration with all means at their command, but without success. So they planned their own on March 4 in the same hall. Mr. Vrba

¹ As counselor to the Czechoslovak Embassy.

² Rudolf Petrak.

used pressure and threats in order to force Mr. Petrak off our program and to sing instead at the Communist affair. I have a copy of the letter which I would like to introduce in evidence, which was sent to Mr. Petrak.

Mr. PETRAK: After I returned from my recent trip to Czechoslovakia, I learned about the attitude you took in connection with your appearance at the January Exposition of Czechoslovak Industries in New York.

Later, I heard that you refused to appear at the celebration of the birth of T. G. Masaryk, sponsored by the United Czechoslovak Societies of New York and held in the presence of the Ambassador, Dr. Outrata, and our consulate.

And, to make it worse, I read in the New Yorske Listy of February 27 that you will sing at the affair of the Zenkls, Papaneks, and other emigrants.

I do not write to you to debate with you; if one little speck of conscience remains with you, you will bitterly regret the fact that you placed your career before your own nation.

But I would like to remind you of our conversations of last spring and summer.

You know well what our consulate did, in order that we might accommodate you in the case of your wife. You agreed with me about those people who left and who use the good offices of our country in order that they might work against our government and our country.

I bring this to your attention at this time, when you took your first step on the side of Zenkls and Papaneks, on the road of shame and treason to the people of your land.

If you do not have shame enough to stop on this road, I am ashamed of you. I compare our talks with those of last year with your present action, and I see that you are no different from other emigrants, on whose side is lie.

It is sad that you have done this for the first time due to circumstances in connection with a man, whose motto was "Truth will prevail."

FRANTISEK VRBA.

Mr. DEKOM. In other words, this official of the Czechoslovak Government, Mr. Vrba, brought pressure on a person in this country to dissociate himself from an anti-Communist organization or a non-Communist organization.

Mr. VALUCHEK. That is right. Of course, the threats did not work, and Mr. Petrak, after considerable harassment and pressure, did sing, as he wished, at the celebration sponsored by the democratic element, held in a democratic tradition.

The main speakers at the Communist celebration, sponsored by the United Czechoslovak Societies of New York, were Dr. Outrata and Professor Marsalka,¹ whose record is familiar to this committee.

Frantisek Vrba, another member of the consulate, travels very often between the United States and Czechoslovakia. He also attended special training last year, which lasted 6 months, in Communist technique and work in Czechoslovakia.

Helen Vrabel is one of the chiefs of the Czechoslovak consulate general, with tremendous influence, even though she is an American citizen by birth and was the former national president of the Slovak Workers Order. She was defeated at the last convention by Karol Korenic, and now holds a post as national vice president in that organization.

Janette Feder, another member and employee of the Czechoslovak consulate, is the wife of the writer for the Daily Worker, Mr. Sillen.²

Mr. Emil Zerman, a naturalized American citizen, acts as an agent for the Czechoslovak consulate, bringing them reports about current

¹ Prof. J. M. Marsalka, "dropped from the teaching staff" of Yale University as of June 30, 1949, New York Times, April 12, 1949, p. 4, cl. 5.

² Samuel Sillen.

happenings in the so-called Czech district of New York and particularly among those unfortunate refugees who had to flee from the Communist terror in Czechoslovakia.

Senator O'CONNOR. Is there any doubt about that? You said you believed.

Mr. VALUCHEK. He is a naturalized citizen. I believe that he is a naturalized citizen.

Senator O'CONNOR. All right.

Mr. VALUCHEK. I am almost sure that he is.

Senator O'CONNOR. I wanted to make it plain that you are not doubting.

Mr. VALUCHEK. This statement is true. The only thing I believe that he is a naturalized American citizen.

Senator O'CONNOR. I so understood, but I wanted to see exactly what you were qualifying. That is all right. Proceed.

Mr. VALUCHEK. Perhaps this incident might be amusing, but its implications are serious. Last year, Mr. John Kijovsky, a member of the Czechoslovak consulate in New York City, called the editors of the *New Yorske Listy*, a Czech daily in New York, and attacked them for spreading lies about the people's democracy¹ of Czechoslovakia. He claimed that they libeled the Government by printing a story that several nuns were executed in Slovakia, which he claimed could not happen. The editors checked the story and discovered that Mr. Kijovsky made an error. He read wrong. Instead of Slovakia, the story mentioned Slovenia (part of Yugoslavia)—something Mr. Kijovsky in his zeal to protect the people's democracy of Czechoslovakia misread.

The American Sokol Organization and the Slovak Gymnastic Union Sokol are patriotic and democratic American organizations. They have contributed much to the material and physical development of the United States, both being cited for the work in the field of physical education. These organizations planned to send a strong delegation to attend the Sokol Slet, which was to be held in Prague in July 1948. However, after the tragic death of one of the most beloved sons of that unfortunate land² and after the destruction of Czechoslovakia's democracy, both Sokol organizations canceled all their plans and called off the tour.

This was a great blow to the present regime, and thus counter-measures had to be taken. They could not prevail upon the Sokols to go; so, they enlisted two individuals, Karol Korenic and Adolph Kacer, to lead delegations to the Sokol Slet, which, same as the Sokol organization in Czechoslovakia, was taken over and controlled by the Communists.

Karol Korenic led a delegation of the Slovak Workers Order, toured Czechoslovakia, made speeches praising the regime and damned the leaders of the American Sokol. He also attended the international congress of the so-called Czechoslovak Foreign Institute, held in July 1948 in the auditorium of the faculty of philosophy of the Charles University. He claimed that he represented the American Czechs and Slovaks and stated that "the ordinary Americans of

¹ "People's democracy" is a euphemistic term applied by Communists to their form of dictatorship.

² President Edvard Beneš.

Czechs and Slovaks had nothing in common with their leaders" and that "they are thankful to Czechoslovak people for their heroic struggle in February, when they rid themselves of the mistakes of the past."

Mr. DEKOM. What is the significance of that date in February?

Mr. VALUCHEK. In February the Communists took over the Czechoslovak Government.

Mr. DEKOM. That was February 8th, was it not?

Mr. VALUCHEK. That is correct, February 8th.

Adolph Kacer led the delegation of the Czech National Alliance, a remnant of a once great organization, which he destroyed. The Czechoslovak press in Czechoslovakia, under the title "We do not train our bodies for Truman," stated:

BRNO (VO).—On Monday Adolph Kacer, the president of the Czech National Alliance, who left New York several days ago, arrived in Brno. Because the American Sokol Organization refused to participate in the Slet, Kacer informed the newspapermen that the Czech National Alliance took over this duty and will try to bring a strong delegation of American Czechs to the old country. Kacer refuted the propaganda of the ill-famed Dr. Papanek against Czechoslovakia. * * * Kacer does not believe in war. A great number of American youth, particularly soldiers of the front age, are against war. During the exhibition of a large Sokol assembly, Kacer stated: "We do not train our bodies for Truman."

But even this did not change the spirit nor the attitude of the Czechoslovak Sokols. They knew that the American Sokols are not coming, and they knew why. As a result, when they marched on that great field of the Strahov Stadium, in Prague, in defiance of the Government leaders who were present in full force, forbidden American flags appeared all over the field, provoking wild demonstrations for the United States and for our American way of life.

Another former editor of the Ludovy Dennik, now Ludove Noviny, needs mention, and that is Rudo Martanovic, who, although a naturalized American citizen, is now in Czechoslovakia as a member of the Czechoslovak Parliament, president of a district board, and who writes articles appearing in that newspaper attacking United States Americans of Slovak descent who support our way of life.

The Communist agents in New York City try to intimidate the merchants in the so-called Czech district by organizing boycotts against them for their antipeople's attitude and by threats of reprisals against their loved ones in Czechoslovakia. Since about one-sixth of the total population of Czechoslovakia is in the United States, there is hardly a single family that does not have relatives overseas. One can imagine how strong this threat can be, if not checked.

Besides, the Czechoslovak Government owns and controls a number of corporations in the United States. For example, the Centroglass, of which the manager is Mr. Rudolfo, a man applying for American citizenship. These corporations are in the complete service of the Czechoslovak Government, and the American citizens heading those corporations are nothing but dummies, carrying out orders of their Communist bosses.

The statements made by the Czechoslovak diplomatic representatives, by the leaders, or the editors in their newspapers, serve two purposes: One, to confuse the American reader and to win him over; second, to serve as a sounding board for Czechoslovakia. These Com-

munist newspapers are circulated in Czechoslovakia to create the false impression that these statements are made in the United States and thus are the opinions of many Americans. Thus, they help strengthen the Communist cause.

The Americans of Czechoslovak descent are and have been sorely tested and pressured, not only by the Communists; but the Fascists have tried to win them over.

Some were lost. Hitler, in carving Slovakia out of Czechoslovakia, tried a diabolical scheme to win over the Slovaks. He put Joseph Tiso at the head of the so-called Slovak state. He and his henchmen, like Karol Sidor, Koneta Čulen, F. Durčiansky, Dr. Hrusovsky, Dr. Krajčovic,¹ and others, tried hard during World War II to influence American Slovaks to fight for the so-called Slovak state, even though this artificial state on Hitler's orders declared war against the United States. But they have failed. The Slovak League of America was fostering Tiso and his program. Its leaders, like the late Joseph Husek, Dr. Peter Hletko, Philip Hrobak, Bosak, and others, still rant about Tiso and his Nazi-created state, but a few pay attention to them. Americans of Czech and Slovak descent felt proud of the United States Army for its mighty victory over Hitler's Germany, and were glad to all Quislings, all Tisos, met their just reward, as war criminals before the justice of the Allied tribunals.

Americans of Czechoslovak descent today also are proud of our American democracy, our way of life, knowing full well that, if we were successful against the Nazi threat to our democratic institutions, we as Americans, united and strong, will successfully meet all challenges and that we will point the way to a better life, free of hatreds, of animosities, of good will, of democracy, justice, and freedom to all mankind.

I would like to make one additional statement; that is, about the Czechoslovak political refugees. We have quite a number in America. Some of them served in the Czechoslovak diplomatic force, and some of them fled to the United States. They are helping us a great deal. We are proud of the contribution that they are making in our fight against communism, and we hope that many of them will come, particularly those who are political leaders of the former democratic Czechoslovakia. We would really be happy if some way could be found that these people could come and tell us their story. They would be sent to the mining communities and some of the other communities in which the Communists are trying to get a stronghold.

Senator O'CONNOR. You mean would come under what auspices?

Mr. VALUCHEK. Under the Displaced Persons Act, if some provision would be made for these people to come and give us a hand in this fight.

Senator O'CONNOR. Right in that connection, do you consider that the machinery that is set up is sufficiently protective to give assurance to the American people that, by the advent of such individuals as you now mention, they could be admitted without great risk that many more of the undesirable kind to which you also have made reference would find it possible to enter the country?

¹ Ambassador Karol Sidor; Constantin Čulen, Member of Parliament and government spokesman; F. Durčiansky, Minister of Foreign Affairs; František Hrusovsky, Member of Parliament and official historian; Vojtech Krajčović, official of the National Bank.

Mr. VALUCHEK. I believe so.

Senator O'CONNOR. Will you just amplify on that slightly and say why you think so?

Mr. VALUCHEK. Of course, it is very easy to check, because Czechoslovakia is a small country. We know who were the political leaders who fought against communism. I think there would not be too much difficulty in admitting those people. They are faced with one difficulty, and that is this: They don't qualify as farmers. They don't qualify as workers, because most of them are highly educated, have degrees, lawyers, or other professions of that type. They are having considerable difficulty meeting the requirements of the Displaced Persons Act.

Mr. ARENS. Under the present law, there is a provision for a group of these Czechoslovakians to the extent of about 2,000; is there not?

Mr. VALUCHEK. Yes. The only thing that hurts them is the fact that they must qualify as to date; and, you see, the Czechoslovak democracy fell in 1948 and these people began fleeing after February 1948. It meant that they could not—most of them could not qualify. That is, under that act.

Senator O'CONNOR. You think the date set virtually nullifies the principal intent?

Mr. VALUCHEK. That is right.

Senator O'CONNOR. And really excludes those who would be most desirable to have as being the antidote to such Communist undertakings.

Mr. VALUCHEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Valuchek, you made reference in your statement concerning the persecution of certain church people, which one of the Communist officials defended. Is it not a fact that we now know that the Czechoslovak Communist government is persecuting the churches and is destroying and murdering the clergy?

Mr. VALUCHEK. Yes; they are. Of course, the classic example is that of Archbishop Joseph Beran.

Mr. DEKOM. And he actually fought against the Nazis.

Mr. VALUCHEK. Yes. He has quite a career. He was very courageous during the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia. He refused to bow before the Nazis; and, as a result of that, they made him clean the streets of Prague, which he did. He was in the concentration camp and was saved by the American Army. He is a very simple and courageous man, a man of very humble origin. Today he is in the forefront fighting the Communists. The Communists are smarter than they were in Hungary. Probably, they will not use the same methods to try to destroy him, as you know they did not arrest him yet. But he is so limited in his actions that it is just as effective as if they had placed him in jail.

Mr. ARENS. Have you had occasion in the course of the last several years to be in Czechoslovakia?

Mr. VALUCHEK. No, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. We asked you a little while ago if you had ever been a member of the American Slav Congress, and you replied "No." Did you have any objection to our asking that question?

Mr. VALUCHEK. No, sir. I don't see any reason. I have nothing to hide. I am a loyal American citizen.

MR. DEKOM. Would you have any objection to saying whether or not you have been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. VALUCHEK. No, sir. I never was and never will be.

MR. DEKOM. Do you have any objection to answering that question?

MR. VALUCHEK. No, sir; I do not. Of course, I suppose some of the Communists have. I don't know why, why they should be ashamed of their beliefs, just as we are not ashamed of our beliefs. But, if they are, there must be certain reasons why they are ashamed of their beliefs. I have seen some of the testimony or read some of the testimony, and it seems that that is a question that they always like to evade. To me, as an American citizen, I can't see why they should refuse to answer that question. If they believe in those principles, they should admit it.

Senator O'CONNOR. And, yet, it is a part of their creed to deny it, and they are authorized to deny it at any time the question is asked.

MR. VALUCHEK. To me, that is the great mystery.

Senator O'CONNOR. Well, Mr. Valuchek, we are very much obliged to you for your testimony, and it will be, of course, carefully recorded and placed before the entire committee. We are grateful to you.

MR. VALUCHEK. Thank you very much.

Senator O'CONNOR. With that, we will recess.

(Thereupon at 3:20 p. m., a recess was taken.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

THURSDAY, JULY 28, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION
AND NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:40 a. m., in room 424 of the Senate Office Building, Senator Pat McCarran (chairman) presiding.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee; Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will be in order.

TESTIMONY OF J. ANTHONY MARCUS, PRESIDENT, THE INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN TRADE

Mr. ARENS. The witness today, Senator, is Mr. J. Anthony Marcus. Mr. Marcus, will you kindly stand and raise your right hand and be sworn?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before the Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MARCUS. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Marcus, will you kindly identify yourself by residence, occupation, and background?

Mr. MARCUS. My name is Joseph Anthony Marcus, president of the Institute of Foreign Trade, 535 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The institute is a private organization to advise American firms in their foreign-trade work: exports and imports.

Mr. ARENS. Would you tell us a word about your background?

Mr. MARCUS. I came to this country in 1910 from Russia as a young immigrant boy, with the munificent sum of \$14.28 and three English words in my vocabulary. Starting in an iron and steel plant, by the end of the third year I was in the United States Immigration Service as interpreter at Galveston, Tex.

Upon securing American citizenship, I passed the Civil Service Commission examination and was engaged by the FBI in Chicago. Having contemplated a foreign-trade career, I went to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you with the FBI?

MR. MARCUS. I was there a short time, because I really had passed the examination for the commercial attaché's service; and, when an opportunity presented itself in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, I came here in January of 1917.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

MR. MARCUS. During the war, in 1918, I was borrowed by the Secretary of Labor as special agent. I conducted investigations on the prospective emigration from the United States to the various eastern European countries. Then I was sent to Puerto Rico. My report on labor conditions in Puerto Rico was published in 1920, and it attracted Nation-wide attention.

In 1920, I resigned from the Department of Commerce and went as the first American relief director to Russia. From there, I was sent to Hungary—from the "Red terror" to the "White terror." For 4 years, I was relief and rehabilitation director in Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania, building houses, organizing banks, and rehabilitating the economy of those countries.

Immediately thereafter, I entered the service of the American Hair & Felt Co., in Chicago as their buyer in Russia and the whole of Europe. Subsequent to that, I represented the Studebaker Corp. in Russia and eastern European countries. Following that, I was connected with the American Radiator & Standard Sanitary Corp. as their director of the U. S. S. R. department.

Throughout the years, I have visited the Soviet Union on many occasions. I speak not only Russian but a great many of the other languages in that country.

The CHAIRMAN. Where, in Russia, were you born?

MR. MARCUS. I was born in Brest-Litovsk—I call it the "famous city where the infamous peace was signed"—and was educated and brought up in Saratov on the Volga.

MR. ARENS. Mr. Marcus, in the course of your business career and your career as an employee or official of this Government, have you had occasion to come in contact with the organization known as Amtorg?

MR. MARCUS. To a certain extent with the Amtorg. In 1933, I was appointed as foreign-trade adviser here in Washington. I was attached to the AAA and the RFC. During that time, I had some contact with the Amtorg, but my contact with Amtorg predated that period. I had already been in the Soviet Union a great deal and had, naturally, always been referred to the Amtorg, because that is the Soviet Government foreign-trade monopoly outpost in the United States.

MR. ARENS. What is Amtorg? Would you describe it?

MR. MARCUS. Amtorg was incorporated in the State of New York in 1924. There was only one American citizen, of Russian birth, acting as a member of the board of directors. It is a company wholly owned by the Soviet Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Is "Amtorg" a combination of initials?

MR. MARCUS. American Trading Corp.

MR. ARENS. What is Amtorg; what is its purpose, and what does it do in this country?

MR. MARCUS. It is the "eye" of the needle through which the American corporations, both on the buying and selling end, must go if

they want to carry on any transactions with the Soviet Union. They have always had a staff to attend to the technical work, but the actual buying and selling is done by so-called buying commissions, which come and go. Those so-called buying commissions represent the various industries of Russia.

For instance, a commission will arrive representing the heavy industries. They are looking for some equipment in America, rolling mills or the like. When they arrived here, they set up offices in the Amtorg headquarters and they are given cards as representing such-and-such an industry in Russia, under the Amtorg. Then contacts are made for them with the respective industries. They travel far and wide, visit plants, laboratories. A great many of them carry photographic apparatus, as I have had many occasions to see.

For instance, I was traveling, when I was with the American Radiator & Standard Sanitary, with an engineer called Remizov. We came to the Trenton plant of the Standard Sanitary Corp., and he was interested in seeing how we make vitreous china. He immediately flashed out his photographic apparatus. I said, "No, hold on; no photographing here."

They come under the pretext of buying. But when they do actually buy, they buy only samples, in order, in violation of the patent rights, to copy them in the Soviet Union.

I have here, for instance, a photostat of a report. When the commission returns to Russia, they write a report, and many times it is published in the newspapers. In that report, Malkov, the chairman of the commission, and Myasnikov, the chief engineer of the glass project (remember, this commission had come to America with the idea of buying equipment for the glass industry; in reality they represented the manufacturing plants producing machinery for the glass industry), stated:

We secured more than 7,000 shop drawings—
he does not say how, by hook or by crook—

of the latest machinery and mechanisms for the equipping of our factories.

Then follows the specific machinery which will be used.

All these machines will be manufactured—

the report said—

by our industries and installed in our new glass plants. We also purchased new machines. One of the two machines we purchased is to be installed in [such-and-such] a factory.

In other words, they bought samples and secured the shop drawings.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Marcus, how many people are brought into this country as affiliates of this trading corporation of the Russians?

Mr. MARCUS. There were times when there were hundreds of them roaming around this country. They were visiting various plants and factories. For instance, I will give you a little example: In 1937, I was in the National Hotel in Moscow, when Bogdanov, the former chairman of the Amtorg (whom I had known for many years), telephoned that he wanted to see me. An engineer by the name of Shevelev was to go to the United States. I said, "What for?" And he replied: "To buy equipment for the industries manufacturing bathtubs, air-conditioning, heating, and ventilating."

He proceeded to the United States before I left, and when I arrived here I found that he had already visited a great many plants. He was particularly interested in the making of seamless tubes, and pipes. They wanted to copy our methods. Mr. Shevelev never bought a dollar's worth of equipment in the United States. He got his information and went back to his country a happy man, probably to be promoted.

The CHAIRMAN. How much travel did he do in the United States?

Mr. MARCUS. He spent 2 months here, and he went from coast to coast.

Mr. ARENS. What kind of visas do these people have who come here under the auspices of Amtorg?

Mr. MARCUS. I understand that they secure visas very readily, without much difficulty. There is no way, for instance, of finding out who they are or what they are. They are all Communists. If they were not, they would not be sent to this country, obviously, except in rare instances where the Soviet Government might send a very great scientist or engineer who, in his heart, is probably anti-Communist. But then, they have his wife and children over there as hostages; so he naturally has to behave.

Mr. ARENS. What is the subject of your dissertation here this morning?

Mr. MARCUS. The subject is something that has been close to my heart for a great many years. I have been witnessing this filching of American technological know-how over a period of 25 years, and I became very hot under the collar early last year when I visited an editor of a leading magazine and told him that I had been wanting to do an article on the subject of Soviet industrial espionage in America, not to bolster myself but to put our people on guard. And, to show you how imperative it is to put our people on guard, may I tell you this experience: This editor said, "Go ahead and write it."

After writing it, they said, "Well, we have been told by some Government agency that it would not be advisable to needle the Russians."

Mr. DEKOM. What agency was that?

Mr. MARCUS. He told me that an official of the State Department had told him not to needle the Russians, and so my article was rejected. Finally, Mr. Don Levine,¹ editor of Plain Talk magazine, published it. Shortly after its publication, I ran into Mr. Lammot du Pont in the Waldorf-Astoria during the National Association of Manufacturers convention last December. He said, "Marcus why get 'het' up about it? Let the Russians steal our technological know-how. They won't know what to do with it anyway."

When I asked him where he got that misinformation, he said a friend of his had sent his executive vice president to Russia in 1933 or 1934 and he gave him that information, that they can go ahead and take all of our technological information but they won't know what to do with it.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have seen the Russians' industrial development rise from the ashes of the First World War, the civil war, and the famine of 1921 to 1923. I have been to places in 1922 and 1925 when there wasn't a pump to be had. I walked into a tannery in Kharkov

¹ Isaac Don Levine.

and saw the way they were drying cattle hair. I was at that time buyer of cattle hair for the American Hair & Felt Co.

I said, "Why, I won't buy that hair for any price." They were drying it in the sand. I said, "Build an inclined table of common boards and you will be able to dry it in the sun." They said, "Where are we going to get the boards?" Mind you, with all of the forests in the world in Russia, the richest country in the world in forestry, not to have boards. Just to give you an illustration, they had no machinery whatever for the processing of hair.

But look at them today. Whereas in 1933-34 there wasn't a single airplane, a single submarine, army tank, turbogenerator, or one of the thousand and more items of equipment of their own manufacture which the country has today; they have learned from stealing our technological know-how.

When men of such vital corporations like the du Pont Co. can harbor such erroneous notions—and I don't blame the man, he has never been there and he has never had personal contact with them—how many thousands of other executives in the United States harbor such ridiculous notions? Is it any wonder that the Russians can come over here and get away with murder?

Now, this has been broadcast in the United States, that "Why, of course, let them take it; they won't know what to do with it anyway." For instance, I was in a factory in Hamilton, Ohio, late in 1939, and I saw a huge machine, about 252 feet long, for the boring of howitzers from both sides.

Mr. ARENS. Those are guns?

Mr. MARCUS. Yes; they are huge guns, up to 22 inches in diameter. Three engineers were there from Russia witnessing the manufacturing of that machine.

Mr. ARENS. Were these men brought in as affiliates of Amtorg?

Mr. MARCUS. That is right; brought in under the Amtorg because the contract was signed with Amtorg. And these men were sent in, not local residents, but they represented the arms manufacturing branch of the Soviet Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was this machine that you saw?

Mr. MARCUS. In the plant of the General Machinery Corp., Hamilton, Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MARCUS. Now, I was there by accident, on some other business, and I talked to those engineers. From the day the first casting was made, they had several sets of those engineers come and go.

The CHAIRMAN. Russian engineers?

Mr. MARCUS. Yes; in order to learn the process of manufacturing similar machines over in Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. How did those engineers get in here?

Mr. MARCUS. They secured visas telling the American Embassy in Moscow that they were coming in connection with the contracts which they placed with the American corporation.

The CHAIRMAN. How much time did they put in in this country, if you know?

Mr. MARCUS. From the beginning of the construction of the machine until it was packed and shipped.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the machine was packed and shipped?

Mr. MARCUS. Shipped, and they took along with them also all of the technological know-how, the blueprints and the shop drawings.

Now, this is an important thing. When an American manufacturer wants to buy textile machinery, for example, all he is interested in is, "Will the machine work?" and he is not interested in the technology incident to the construction of the machine. But when a Russian firm—a Russian branch of the monopoly economy—places an order in the United States, they insist upon the shop drawings and the blueprints.

I want to give you another illustration. Here is a photostat which I shall be very glad to leave with you for the record. While in Moscow in 1937, representing the American Radiator & Standard Sanitary Corp., they tried to get information from me. They invited me to deliver a lecture to the leading engineers of that industry. They expected to get some information; and, instead of that, I delivered a pep talk on the superiority of American equipment. So, failing that, they gave me a banquet before my departure, thinking that under the influence of liquor I would talk. And, since I am a teetotaler, they were under the table and I got information out of them, but I didn't give them anything.

Failing in the second attempt, the director of the industry sent this letter to me. In this letter he asks for photographs, blueprints of all the equipment which our companies made and, going a step further, he wrote: "Also, blueprints and photographs of the machinery used in the manufacture of the equipment."

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Marcus, have you undertaken to do anything about this from the standpoint of stopping this industrial espionage?

Mr. MARCUS. Reading in the papers recently that a number of American firms were being prosecuted by the Department of Justice for monopolistic activities—and I am against monopoly in all forms because I believe that our liberties can and will be destroyed, either by private monopoly or by governmental monopoly—I wrote to the Department of Justice, to the Attorney General, and I suggested the thought that it seemed to me unfair that native American corporations should be prosecuted for monopolistic activities and a foreign government should be allowed to come here and practice monopoly on an unprecedented scale.

Mr. DEKOM. Through an American corporation?

Mr. MARCUS. Like the Amtorg Trading Corp.

I received a letter some 3 weeks ago, saying that "inasmuch as it is a foreign government operation, we cannot do anything about it." I am not a legal person, and I presume that they do not have the necessary legislation. Maybe it would be a good idea for the Congress of the United States to give them legislation to handle matters of this kind. I think it is particularly imperative now, because until 1945, the conclusion of the war, we had only one foreign trade monopoly of the Soviet order with an Amtorg here. Now we have foreign trade monopolies in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and all of the rest of the Soviet satellite countries.

Mr. ARENS. You mean to imply that each of the iron curtain countries will send its trade representatives here?

Mr. MARCUS. Definitely.

Mr. ARENS. For industrial espionage?

Mr. MARCUS. Definitely.

Mr. ARENS. May I invite your attention now, Mr. Marcus, to your prepared statement, with particular reference here to the Amtorg Corp. Then you will be at liberty to present the other parts of your prepared statement.

Mr. MARCUS. I wanted to bring out one more fact with reference to the Amtorg.

In 1938 one of our subsidiaries of the American Radiator & Standard Sanitary Corp. was manufacturing oil-refining equipment for Russia. The engineers would always come to inspect the process of manufacturing in groups. While one would inspect the manufacturing, others would roam around the shop and try to pick up whatever they could. Shortly before the shipment was made, one of the engineers invited me to lunch, and he was unusually solicitous. When we came back to the office, he said to me, "I would like very much to get some information from you about the heat exchangers used in the oil-refining equipment." I said, "Well, I would not be able to remember what you want, so write it down." Here is the original in his own handwriting, and the name of the engineer is P. S. Koulagin. Here is what he wanted: He wanted to know what material we used for the canal entrances in pipe bundles and also "changes in specifications of material depending upon the working temperature and pressure; limits of application of grade cast iron, alloyed cast iron, copper, steel, and so on; changes in specifications according to liquids or vapors that pass through it; the influence of passing liquids upon the metal of the pipes, water, acids, ammonia, sulfuric products, and so on; methods of protecting the body of the heat exchangers from corrosion;" and much more.

Now, why was this so important to him? While in the Soviet Union, a couple of the engineers of the oil-refining industry confided to me that, out of the 38 oil-refining plants, 34 were obsolete. They were sorely in need of that equipment.

The CHAIRMAN. When was this incident?

Mr. MARCUS. This particular incident was in 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, since that time they have had access to the German oil-refining plants, have they not?

Mr. MARCUS. Ours is the best, ours is the most advanced. They used to lose millions of tons of gasoline through evaporation because they didn't have proper storage facilities. Their oil-refining equipment was produced with the antiquated Winkler-Koch system.

Mr. ARENS. How many of these persons are in the United States or come into the United States over any given period, just from Amtorg, if you know?

Mr. MARCUS. It rises and falls. In 1936, for example, there was in this country the Minister, at that time, of the Food Industries, and until recently Minister of Foreign Trade, Anastassy I. Mikoyan. He has been kicked upstairs in recent months. He came here with a whole entourage of engineers, and they visited a great many of the industries manufacturing food machinery. I can tell you that I personally sold them a machine for the manufacture of paper cartons for milk.

They bought only one machine, and with that machine we had to give them all of the technological know-how. Of course, I made them pay through the nose. But the experiences of a great many firms like,

for instance, the very big corporations, have been different. A representative of one of these firms came to my chief, the chairman of the board of American Radiator Corp., Mr. Clarence M. Woolley. He called me in and said:

Here is the head of a very large corporation. He has had difficulty with the Amtorg; he has sent his engineers to Russia; he has received engineers from Russia in his plants; he has given them all the information they asked for; and no orders have followed.

So I was asked to look into the matter. I interviewed the engineers who had been to Russia for that company. I asked them how they went about answering their inquiries, and they showed me volumes of blueprints and processes that they had revealed to them. I said: "You will never get a penny's worth of orders from them. You have given them all the technological information they wanted, and why should they place orders with you?"

This is not an isolated case. This has happened to thousands of American corporations, and this is going to happen to many more now that the satellite countries have set up similar foreign-trade monopolies, unless we take action or unless we erase such erroneous notions as that held by my good friend, Mr. Lamot du Pont.

MR. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the pilfering of patent rights by the Russians?

MR. MARCUS. That is an easy matter. I have seen many engineers in the Amtorg offices. They used to get the Patent Office's monthly publication regularly, and they had local people, who knew English well, to scan them very carefully. From those they would naturally take out whatever they thought was of importance to them, and then buy a copy, buy a sample of that equipment and copy it over there, without any regard to patent rights.

I found libraries in Moscow and in Leningrad especially devoted to collecting catalogs of American industrial firms. Every industrial firm, practically, in America has been getting postal cards and letters asking them to send their catalogs. They have thousands and untold thousands of them in those libraries. Because our catalog writers are not accustomed yet to dealing with a vicious monopoly like the Soviet Union, they prepare catalogs giving very detailed information regarding their machines, equipment, and processes. When an American company official reads it, he is not going to violate the patent rights. But over in Russia the abundance of information given in our industrial catalogs is of great value to the totalitarian filchers who have no morals or ethics.

MR. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to your prepared statement, in which I understand you elaborate and specify in greater detail the material which you have been discussing here in your oral statement.

MR. MARCUS. I hope that you will grant me the opportunity to read a few statements that I have made preparatory to entering this thing, because it is a very important item to me.

MR. ARENS. You mean the introductory background part of your statement?

MR. MARCUS. Yes.

Allow me to thank you for the privilege of coming here to testify in connection with Senate bill 1832, introduced by Senator Pat McCarran.

What makes this bill imperative at this moment? For more than three decades a Red plague has been raging on this globe. Modern means of transportation and communication have made its invasion and infection of the unthinking or mentally deranged men and women of this country a comparatively easy matter. It has already caused considerable annoyance and economic losses to our people. It promises a great deal more damage in the future unless checked in time. It is therefore to be hoped that the bill under discussion here will help check the infection emanating from the diseased mentalities of the Kremlin occupants.

Before discussing the bill and offering a few suggestions for its improvements, it might be well to answer the question: Why am I here?

I am here, Mr. Chairman, because I owe an eternal debt to this country, as do many millions more immigrants. I came here from Czarist Russia as a lonely immigrant boy in 1910, seeking the freedom, economic and educational opportunities which were denied to me in the country of my birth. Over there, young as I was, I was willing and ready to lay my life down to gain such opportunities. Here in America they were mine for the mere asking and on equal terms with the native-born citizens. Within 4 years after landing here with the munificent fortune of \$14.28, with an English vocabulary of three words—"street" and "hurry up"—I not only made my way from modest beginnings in industrial plants to a post in the United States Immigration Service but had managed to save up money to bring over from Russia my widowed mother and six brothers and sisters.

This was made possible, not by my exceptional talents or industry, but by the free institutions which the founders of this Republic had established for all the people, including the immigrants. Had I remained in Russia, I would have been doomed to a life of mediocrity, poverty, and, since the rise of the Soviet tyranny, I would have most likely landed in one of the execution chambers of the secret police or in one of the innumerable slave labor camps.

The life of a person is entirely too short to enable him to repay so great a debt to the generous, warm-hearted, and fair-minded people of America. Untold millions who have flocked to these shores have received similar hospitality and have been afforded similar opportunities. In a modest way, I have tried through the years to make some repayment. Time will not allow me to go into detail on this subject at present. Suffice it to say that ever since landing on American soil I have felt that since my ancestors had contributed nothing to make this country free, prosperous, generous, progressive, and cultured; since my ancestors did not struggle and die in the process of clearing the wilderness, fighting the Indian wars, freezing in the covered wagons as they blazed a trail from coast to coast for future settlers, suffering hunger and thirst while building this great continent, the least I could and should do is to help preserve its liberties for all time to come. The same duty devolves upon every immigrant here.

Prior to the First World War, countless thousands of immigrants came here without any intention of becoming full-fledged members of this democracy. They were bent on exploiting our political and economic opportunities and returning to their homelands as soon as America had served their purpose. They were aided in this plan by

our failure to make school attendance for adults compulsory. Our foreign-language newspapers helped to keep alive their interest in their homelands for selfish reasons. In many instances, the home governments were interested in the flow of dollars from these shores, sent by the immigrants to their families overseas; in others, as in the case of Germany, the building of alien islands on our soil was a strategic consideration. A book was written some years before the war entitled "Unser Amerika"¹—"Our America"—by a German whose name escapes my memory right now, pointing out that this country was built by the Germans for strategic purposes, of course.

Since the conclusion of the First World War, a new type has made his way here. Some have discovered that one did not have to labor in factories, mines, mills, or fields to earn a living. One could earn a much better living, and satisfy their exaggerated ego besides, by stirring up political and labor trouble among their compatriots, promising paradise on earth à la Stalin to the uninformed, unthinking, and ungrateful.

Mr. Chairman, I think that this is very important, because there are hundreds and hundreds of organizations in the United States that have very large memberships, and, as I will point out later in this presentation, they are being pressed by their relatives abroad, who are being pressed by their respective totalitarian governments, to do their bidding on our soil. This is a very opportune time to discuss that.

Reluctantly, I must confess that too many of my fellow immigrants, both naturalized and those still aliens, are largely responsible for the subversive movements plaguing this country today. The Socialist movement, the product of that frustrated Prussian madman, Karl Marx, was brought over here by immigrants who had devoted years of their lives abroad to the tearing down of their tyrannical governments and establishing of the monopolistic, totalitarian states which now oppress hundreds of millions. Despite that they had found here the freedoms which they had striven to attain at home. Force of habit, apparently, made them continue to spread their nefarious doctrines wherever they settled. Crowding into our congested cities, they formed islands within this country—a "little Germany" here, a "little Italy" there, a "little Poland, Russia, Hungary, Rumania," and so forth, all over the continent. We made it compulsory for their children to attend our schools and learn to become real Americans, to be sure, but left the adults to shift for themselves. They remained aliens to our language and at heart. Men who had come here without shirts on their backs grasped our great economic opportunities and dedicated themselves to the amassing of fortunes. They soon forgot that had they remained in the countries of their birth they would never have amounted to anything. They would not admit that their success was not due to their wisdom or their superior talents, but to the far-sighted statesmen of America who had created institutions of freedom which opened, even to the humblest immigrant, avenues of successful expression in all fields of human endeavor.

These truths, alas, are only too often forgotten by my former fellow immigrants. It is even more true of the recent arrivals, strange as it may sound. The earlier comers, at least, toiled in our industries and

¹ Unser Amerika, by Colin Ross.

contributed much to the country's economy. Some of the more recent comers seem to feel that America owes them something. They insist upon a place at the top rung of the ladder, and they often attain it at the expense of our long-established citizens. Anyone who has been in contact with such people since 1933 is as convinced as I am of the arrogance of some of them, and their utter disregard for the welfare of their benefactors is a discredit to them.

The following two glaring examples are worth telling because they illustrate the seriousness of the problem. Of course, I could tell you thousands of examples, but I will confine myself to two typical ones.

Three weeks ago, on July 7, the New York Times published an interview with a venerable editor of a foreign language newspaper on the occasion of his eighty-ninth birthday. He had come to our shores in his late twenties, nearly 66 years ago, without a nickel, as he said. In Russia, he had good reason to revolt against the czarist regime, and he did. Fleeing for his life, he settled here. Although this country afforded him the very liberties for which he was willing to die on the Russian barricades, instead of adjusting his thinking to the ideals of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, he has been devoting his journalistic talents to the propagandizing of the unscientific balderdash of that arrogant Prussian Karl Marx—the Socialist class struggle—throughout his 66 years in this country. At heart he is still as alien as when he first landed here.

And speaking of socialism, I might quote what the great Winston Churchill said recently:

The Socialists are the handmaids and heralds of communism, and prepare the way at every stage and every step for the future advance of communism.

This is important to remember, because a great many of our people sometimes fall into the error of thinking that, "Well, he is only a Socialist." But who are the Communists of America, if not the former Socialists?

To be sure, this editor has been fighting the Communists since my meeting with him in Moscow in 1925. He seems to entertain the illusion that his brand of socialism would be better, more democratic. No matter who is at the helm of that monopoly state, all liberties must vanish because it provides only one employer and a concentration of power which is bound to lead to tyranny and enslavement of the many.

Case 2 refers to an immigrant who had come here penniless in his teens. By the time he was 40, he had amassed a fortune great enough to permit his retirement from business. He employed his wealth and position to spread the Socialist doctrine of class warfare in America. Immediately after the Soviet revolution in 1917, he helped found the Communist Party in America and the International Publishing Co., which engages in publishing Communist and subversive publications under the leadership of that well-known Communist, Alexander Trachtenberg, another immigrant American. The oncoming of the First World War brought him back to business; he added more to his fortune. In the early thirties, he retired from business for good to devote his entire life to undermining our institutions. He secured, in the late twenties, a 15-year concession in Russia to introduce the acetylene industry there. Despite his Communist fanaticism, despite his contribution to the cause of red fascism in America

and in Russia, the government functionaries in Moscow began making his life bitter almost the day after the mixed company, Ragaz, was formed. Ragaz is Russian-American Gas Co.

They insulted him, they ignored his guidance based on long experience in the industry, they showed no respect for his sincere friendship, they squandered his money. Within 4 years he was compelled to withdraw from the concession, leaving behind an invaluable industry for Russia's industrial development. Without the acetylene gas industry, of course, they couldn't develop their iron and steel production. Yet, despite the fact that his native Russia had denied him all economic and spiritual opportunities under the Czar and Stalin, he nevertheless returned to America to continue active work in the Communist movement.

Mr. ARENS. What is the name of the man you are talking about?

Mr. MARCUS. Mr. A. Heller.

Mr. Chairman, these are not isolated instances, much to my regret. The presence here of large bodies of ethnic groups, alien at heart and spirit to our way of life, is the outgrowth of lax immigration laws. It is therefore heartening to see the Congress awakened to the situation, as exemplified by the Senate bill 1832. It is even more encouraging to find such passages in Senator McCarran's introductory remarks on the floor of the Senate when he said:

The cold fact is that agents of international communism move freely across our borders to engage in espionage, sabotage, anti-American propaganda, and subversive activities; to plot almost with impunity the destruction of our free institutions.

The problem of digesting the millions of immigrants already here is great enough without adding more newcomers of an undesirable caliber. On the basis of my nearly 30 years of close contact with the operations of the Soviet Government here and abroad, I most earnestly urge you to heed this warning. I am likewise in wholehearted agreement with your worthy chairman when, in the same address, he stated:

Occasionally aliens who come to this country as immigrants do not leave behind them their loyalties to foreign governments and foreign ideologies. Some of them engage in subversive activity, organize or join Communist organizations, or engage in propaganda activities among their neighbors * * *

Agents of communism have used the customary courtesy extended by the United States to representatives of foreign governments, including diplomats, consuls, and other representatives, as a screen behind which to engage in espionage and other activities designed to overthrow our Nation by force and violence * * *

I might add to this that not only organizations of former immigrants, but welfare organizations, philanthropic organizations, are involved. I will give you one illustration.

In 1935, there came to my attention an organization called the American Biro-Bidjan Committee. The Soviet Government, some years ago, set up in the Far East a territory to be settled exclusively by Jews. Since many of the Jews in eastern Europe at that time were in very serious plight, the Soviet Government made a gesture offering to bring 1,000 Jewish families from Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania, and 500 single persons, provided the American organization would pay their transportation to the Russian border.

A very fine New York citizen, former Congressman W. W. Cohen, was the head of it, and that is how I came to know all of its functions.

The executive director of that organization turned out to be a former employee of the Amtorg, who held everything in his hands.

Mr. DEKOM. Was that J. M. Budish?

Mr. MARCUS. Yes. He was a great confidant of the top officials of the Amtorg.

In 1936, while on a business mission to Moscow for the Reed Container Co., I made up my mind to investigate as to the real intentions of the Soviet Government, because up to that time not a single Jewish family or single person had been moved from eastern Europe. They were collecting money in the United States and they had already transferred funds to the Soviet agency handling such problems in Moscow. I talked to the top government functionary in Moscow, by the name of Tshutskayev. He hemmed and hawed and hemmed and hawed, and I got the impression that they would never allow them to come in.

So when I returned, I said forthwith, "Disband the organization. You are collecting money under false pretenses." However, the organization was continued. When the war came, it became a very active welfare organization, and has been sending hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of food supplies, medical equipment, and medicines to Russia. Not a single man or woman has been shipped to Biro-Bidjan from Europe.

This organization has had some of the leading Americans appear before it to help induce other Americans to contribute. It sounded very plausible. Why not help those who had suffered so much? But in reality, it was but a front to help give a good impression to the nefarious work of the Soviet Government, and at the same time, to help steal American industrial know-how. For instance, I was here in Washington helping a committee during the war when I received a telephone call from a big manufacturer and industrialist, telling me: "They have been trying to get me to ship a couple of machines to Biro-Bidjan." My advice was: "Don't you dare. They will be copied and you will never get an order." He never shipped any machines.

The lightness with which our people have been taking this serious threat to our security is alarming indeed. By buying samples of our equipment, by deceiving our firms with promises of larger orders in the future—a future which never came and never will come, as long as the Soviet Government exists—they have managed to carry away from here technological know-how worth to them billions of dollars, without which their economic progress since 1928 would have been impossible, without which their country would have been easy prey to the Hitler war machine. All that should have been as clear as day to anyone, and more so to an American industrialist who once headed so vast a company as the du Pont concern. But he is not alone in entertaining such foolish and erroneous notions.

The number of direct economic and political spies from the Soviet Union operating here may not be very large at this time, but the ground work has already been laid during the past 20 or more years. Their ideological agents, if not always paid, and fellow-travelers, have been strategically distributed throughout our industrial areas.

For instance, I saw a woman in Detroit some years ago who used to work in the Amtorg office, a very ardent Communist. I asked her what she was doing there. "I have been sent here," she replied.

She had been sent to get a job in an industrial plant in order to be able to organize a cell through which to steal industrial information. It is comparatively easy to carry away a blueprint or a shop drawing from a plant, have it microfilmed or photostated, and return it the next morning without detection.

Mr. DEKOM. Did she tell you that?

Mr. MARCUS. Oh, yes; she knew me very well.

Mr. DEKOM. What did she say, specifically?

Mr. MARCUS. She didn't tell me that she was there to steal; she said, "I have been sent here," and that is all.

Of course, I know what she was sent there for, because after all, she had a young child in New York.

Every member of the Soviet diplomatic mission, from the Ambassador to the janitor, every commercial representative here under the pretext of buying our machinery, every man and woman serving their interests in the United Nations—all of them without exception—are not considered as having done their duty unless they have engaged in some form of espionage while on our soil. They would surely find their way into some slave-labor camp if they failed to bring something from the hated capitalist countries.

While in Russia, I used to read the Tass¹ dispatches from the Soviet Government news agency in America. Located in the offices of the Associated Press in New York, it specializes in unearthing only the dark side of events here. When it reaches the offices of the agency in Moscow, it is further edited to suit the nefarious goal of the Soviet propagandists to inflame the Russian people against us, to play up strikes and crime without regard for truth. At the same time, our newspaper men in Russia are kept prisoners in their homes or restricted areas. Every word they write is carefully scrutinized and blue-penciled. They cannot interview people, enter plants or villages to see life for themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. You put that pretty broadly, and you make it universal. Would you have the committee understand that that, in your judgment, is the universal practice; that these people are sent over here solely for the purpose of some communistic activity?

Mr. MARCUS. We must once and for all make it clear in our minds that we are dealing with a people who are fanatical, who are zealous crusaders for their nefarious cause, just as the early Christians were crusaders for their religion. These men who are sent here cannot return, they will be considered derelict in their duties, unless they have brought something with them of value to their government.

In Russia, for example, the American representatives are restricted to areas and they must not move or travel at will, and certainly never in the history of Soviet Russia has a mass meeting or any kind of a meeting been organized at which an American representative ever appeared as speaker. But in this country, subversive organizations have frequently invited the Soviet Ambassadors Gromyko and Troyoinovsky,² and they have appeared at many public gatherings as speakers.

We have failed to appreciate the Soviet concept of reciprocity. One Russian Communist once said to me, "Reciprocity, to our mind, is 'You give us everything and we give you nothing'."

¹ Tass is the official Soviet news agency.

² Andrei Gromyko and A. A. Troyoinovsky.

If I had anything to do with the policy of our Government, I would say this: Supposing we have 20 American representatives in the American Embassy in Moscow; I would insist that not one more than 20 should be allowed to be here in the Soviet Embassy in Washington. Supposing they restrict our representatives in their movements, in their activities, I would restrict the Soviet Embassy personnel's movements and their activities in the United States to a similar degree.

It may incur a little hardship upon our apparatus, governmental apparatus, but we must do that. Not until we do that will the Soviets realize that we mean business. We haven't started it. And if they yell, as they surely will—and the fellow travelers of the Henry Wallace camp will surely yell “murder”—I would remind them of the old Russian adage, “You cooked the porridge; you lap it up.”

Until we do that, Mr. Chairman, the Russian Government will just walk all over us. Why not, as long as we let them?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you have an industrial phase in there, also. In other words, if we crack down, so to speak, as you would have us, what do you think would be the action of our industrialists throughout this country? The industrialists say, “Why, you are stopping these people from coming here to make purchases.”

Mr. MARCUS. I am glad you have brought up this question. Prior to recognition in 1933, the Soviet Government dangled before our industrialists billions of dollars of orders that were going to flow to our companies.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. MARCUS. And what happened? A drop in the purchases in the United States. I have the figures right here, which I going to read to you.

During the 20 years prior to the outbreak of the war, the total purchases of the Soviet Government in the United States amounted to about \$1,200,000,000. Now, Mr. Chairman, remember that \$1,200,000,000 covered cotton, livestock to replenish the famine disaster, leather, and only about \$700,000,000 worth or \$600,000,000 worth of American equipment. They had no plants to manufacture tractors or automobiles, as yet. So they bought here about \$50,000,000 worth of tractors. But today, until the break between Yugoslavia and Russia, they were selling to Yugoslavia tractors at a cost of \$20,000 apiece, typewriters \$200 apiece. And that is how they are exploiting their own Communist friends.

Mr. DEKOM. Many of those markets used to be American markets, did they not, so that by selling them equipment we have actually cut off our own markets?

Mr. MARCUS. That is correct. I would like to conclude the reply to your question, which I consider very, very vital. By selling the equipment to Russia during the 20 years prior to 1939, we have ruined our markets in other countries. The Soviet Government has no intention now, momentarily, to wage war against us, but an economic war has already been raging over a long period of time. The Soviet Government may manufacture a tractor at a terrific cost and undersell it abroad in order to hurt American markets.

From now on, gentlemen, as long as the Soviet Government lasts, there will be economic war, and the stronger the Soviet industrial plant gets, the greater the economic war will be against us. Every

time we sell a piece of equipment to them—since we are not selling to a normal market where the equipment will be installed in a factory to manufacture shoes or clothing or what have you, but is bought for the specific purpose of copying it and manufacturing it—it is going to plague us in foreign markets. As I stated before, I had investigated the oil-refining industries in Russia and found that out of 38 plants, 34 were obsolete. Yet in 1947, they were offering or selling oil-refining equipment to Yugoslavia.

The CHAIRMAN. Modern oil equipment?

Mr. MARCUS. Oil-refining equipment of their manufacture. Why? Because they want to impress and capture the imagination of the workers of the world with their boasted accomplishments. You cannot find out, or the average Communist won't believe if you told him, what is going on in the Soviet Union: that there are 10 to 14 million men and women in slave-labor camps. He sees Soviet tractors running on his farm, he sees Soviet automobiles and Soviet oil-refining equipment, and he thinks that that is marvelous.

I would not be surprised that a great deal of the oil-refining equipment sold to Yugoslavia was American, from which they had torn off the labels and put their own labels on. They do that all the time. They did that during the war to our tanks and our airplanes and everything else that we sent them.

In unguarded moments, members of the so-called buying commissions from the Soviet Union whom I met here, in Germany, Poland, England, and other countries, have admitted to me that they must report something of a confidential nature or their heads won't be worth much. To many of them it was distasteful, but they were helpless. When under the influence of liquor—I am a total abstainer—my host or guest would often talk of the things he would like to find out in America or some other country, or had already laid his hands on it.

The center of the Soviet economic spy system in America has been and still is the Amtorg Trading Corp. of New York. While an American corporation, it is wholly Soviet-owned. All buying commissions make their headquarters there; the contacts are made from there; it is the "eye" of the needle through which American buying or selling firms must go in order to transact business with Soviet Russia; it is Stalin's trading outpost on our soil. While no American firm may set up a trading outpost in Russia, we allow a foreign monopoly to come here and make us do business with a supermonopoly in total disregard of our antimonopoly laws.

Early in 1932, a new vice chairman of the Amtorg Trading Corp. arrived in New York. His name was Nikolai Gavrilov. He knew nothing of business and still less about doing business in the United States. A leading American Communist spilled the beans once when, in my presence, he said that Gavrilov was not there for business; he was a leading NKVD man, a secret police functionary. It so happens that he had a little fight with him in Moscow and that is why he made that remark. I suppose he regretted it later. Giving little attention to business, Gavrilov traveled in this country, talked to leading businessmen, and showed a keen interest in our political and industrial doings. Such men have been coming and going at will, while our diplomatic staff was always severely restricted, their movements guarded and held down to a minimum.

May I tell you another thing. Some years later after this Gavrillov had gone back to Moscow, I was sitting in my room in the National Hotel in Moscow when I received a telephone call from him. He wanted very much to have me take dinner with him. How did he find out that I was there? I suppose, through his relationship with the secret police. I saw him quite a number of times. He was always mysterious. His questioning—I was always on guard—always related to political questions, political information. So I was sure that what the American Communist had remarked about him in New York was correct.

Bad as it was prior to the last war, since its conclusion matters have taken a turn for the worse. The satellite nations—Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Lithuania, Latvia, Bulgaria, and so forth—have millions of their former nationals in this country, some naturalized and many not. They, in turn, have millions of relatives and friends in their former homelands. Having served as relief and rehabilitation director in some of those countries after the First World War, I know to what extent the American relatives have been contributing generously to the welfare of their kinfolks at home. This is especially true after the inhuman suffering they had experienced as a result of the Second World War. By bringing pressure to bear on those relatives overseas, by reprisals or threats thereof, they can and do exert pressure on their American relations to do the biddings of their Communist governments which are under domination by the heartless masters in the Kremlin.

I might mention that the late Henry Ford told me in 1932, for example, that the Polish workingmen in his plants proved to be among the most resourceful and imaginative, with more ideas for improving production coming from them than from any other nationality in his plant. Now, the Poles in this country are not Communists, but they love their relatives in their native land: we have millions of Poles here and they have millions of relatives in Europe. It is comparatively easy to bring pressure to bear upon them here to do something for their relatives at the command of their Communist government. It is such an innocent little thing to filch a blueprint or a shop drawing or a chemical process and send it over to one's native country.

Mr. Chairman, why is there no peace in Europe 4 years after the conclusion of the most titanic struggle against the aggressors? Why must our people continue to bear staggering taxation in order to help the European countries and on our own rearmament? The reason is that there is in the Soviet Union an irreconcilable aggressor government—and I want to emphasize the term "irreconcilable." Nothing, gentlemen, that we can say or do can ever alter their course, never—a barbaric force which has banished all morality, all ethics, all sense of justice and fair play in dealing with its own people and the rest of the world; it had declared war upon us and the other civilized countries almost the very first day it came into being.

I might tell you an incident that comes to my mind at this moment. I arrived on September 5, 1920, in Revel, Estonia, to receive shiploads of relief supplies—food, clothing, medicine, and so on—and I was then to proceed with trainloads to Russia and the Ukraine. I visited the local Soviet legation and the first thing they did was to send to my hotel room immediately, the very same day I was there, a terrific

load of the most wonderfully gotten up propaganda, books and journals in French and in English. That is in their nature. They have gotten a religion, the religion of Karl Marx, and they are going to ram it down the throats of people as long as they are permitted to do so.

As long as there is even one country in the world where men are still free, the Kremlin will not rest. It knows that even the feeblest flicker of the light of liberty anywhere on earth will keep the flame of hope and the yearning to be free in the breasts of its own people. That is why it is afraid of this citadel of liberty—the United States of America. Our influence upon the freedom-loving Russian people is too devastating for the Soviet masters. You have never seen a former Russian woman walk up to the registry window in America and get money from Russia; but I have seen that time and again in the Moscow post office, whenever I would go for registered mail.

Once I saw a woman in tatters come up to the registry window; the clerk first ripped open an envelope from America and took out the contents—a letter and a \$20 bill. The clerk made a note of the number of the bill and returned the contents to the woman.

For generations America has been sending hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars in immigrant remittances to friends and relatives in Russia and in the eastern European countries. This is still continuing.

Every entry of the Soviet Government into international organizations is for the avowed and sole purpose of fomenting strife, of boring from within, of nullifying all sincere efforts of civilized mankind to establish lasting peace.

The Soviet marshals of destruction are the fanatical disciples of the Prussian madman Marx whom they emulate even in their speech, in their dealings with colleagues in all international activities. A great many of us have been shocked by the rudeness of the Soviet representatives, the way they deal with United Nations colleagues by their arrogant speeches. But there is a reason for that action. The behavior of a Vishinsky or Molotov or a Gromyko is not accidental. They are the apings of Karl Marx, whom the great American patriot, Carl Schurz, had described in the following terms—and Carl Schurz knew Karl Marx very well personally:

I have never seen a man whose bearing was so provoking and intolerable. To no opinion, which differed from his, he accorded the honor of even a condescending consideration—

It sounds like Vishinsky—

Everyone who contradicted him he treated with abject contempt; every argument that he did not like he answered either with biting scorn at the unfathomable ignorance that had prompted it, or with opprobrious aspersions upon the motives of him who had advanced it. I remember most distinctly the cutting disdain with which he pronounced the word "bourgeois"; and as a "bourgeois," that is, as a detestable example of the lowest mental and moral degeneracy, he denounced everyone who dared to oppose his opinion.¹

Those of us who know the Russian language and have lived in the Soviet Union could not help but be impressed when a Russian pronounces the word "bourgeois." It is hurled with such venom and force that the earth trembles. There is no connotation in the English

¹Carl Schurz, the *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, New York, McClure Co., 1907, pp. 139-140, vol. I.

language to describe the meaning of that terrible, contemptible expression.

Just as Marx could not fit himself into the life of his Germany or England, where he found refuge, and, therefore, conceived a plan to destroy the life he knew and build in its stead a system of society where he and men of his mentality would be the masters, so it is true of the grand marshals of destruction ruling Russia today. This is why they will stop at nothing to destroy the forms of government existing in other countries, far and near.

One might ask the question: Why do they behave like that? I want to make a little explanation here. We have in America wrecking companies that are masters of the art of taking a building down; not a pane will be broken, not a brick will be smashed. But you put the same crew to build a structure and they don't know the first principle of how to begin.

Stalin and Molotov and all of these men surrounding them, are men who, from their childhood, have dedicated themselves to the task of destroying, tearing down, and they did a magnificent job of tearing down. After that was accomplished, they were confronted with a task of building up, and they don't know the first principle about how to begin. That is why we have this situation in the world today.

Another thing that I want to bring to your attention is this: Lenin's written or uttered word still remains the fundamental law of his disciples—the unalterable law—to Stalin and his satraps. Here is what Lenin wrote:

The prolonged existence of the Soviet Republic next to a number of imperialist states is unthinkable.¹ In the end either the one or the other will have the better of it. Until the end comes, a series of most terrible conflicts between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable.

Get that please—inevitable." And Stalin believes that implicitly.

To be sure, at this moment, the Soviet Government does not want a shooting war, even though its leaders, from Lenin and Stalin down, have reiterated to their faithful followers that such a war is inevitable. And they don't need war right now. Haven't they conquered the satellite nations without shooting? They had hopes of doing the same in France and Italy but our timely intervention has frustrated their designs. From now until the next international opportunity presents itself, they will be dangling lucrative business deals before our people. This will not be anything new. They resorted to similar tactics before we recognized them in 1933. Nothing came of that earlier promise. On the contrary, their buying here fell off once they had attained their goal—recognition—and their agents could henceforward move across our borders with ease and safety. The yearly average purchases by Russia in this market during the pre-revolutionary years 1911-15 amounted to \$14,853,000 or 1.8 percent of our total exports; during the years right after the war, when they needed everything, clothing, tractors, livestock, oil and cotton, the average yearly purchases were \$32,049,000, or 2 percent of our exports; the 1926-30 averages were \$77,665,000, or 1.6 percent. That was when they were getting ready for the first 5-year plan. In 1931-35, after recognition, they averaged \$33,122,000, or 1.6 percent of our exports. It is estimated that during the 20 years prior to the last war, the total

¹ Josef Stalin, quoting Lenin in Letter to Comrade Ivanov.

purchases did not exceed \$1,200,000,000. In our economy the Soviet market plays one of the least roles. But to Russia's development it has been priceless, because they have been allowed to steal from us technological know-how worth billions of dollars.

I am convinced that, if properly administered, the bill under discussion could contribute much toward stemming this tide. I cannot emphasize this point strongly enough, Mr. Chairman, because we must never lose sight of the fact that we are dealing with a political-economic system which was conceived in intellectual immorality, born in delinquency, and since 1917, has matured into the world's most dangerous criminal. It will continue its tyrannical grip at home and spread its plague abroad until its own suffering millions, encouraged by enlightened mankind, rise and liquidate their oppressors.

With tongue in cheek, and for our consumption, Stalin has been telling American correspondents the "big lie" that the Soviet and our systems can live side by side. But in his dull speeches and uninspired writings for Communist guidance at home and abroad, however, he states that the Communist Party must be—

irreconcilable towards * * * capitalists and their governments * * * that under capitalism the basic questions of the workers' movements are decided by force, by * * * general strikes, their uprisings * * *.

These are not mere words. These instructions are being faithfully carried out in all their dealings and contacts by their diplomats, their United Nations representatives, their commercial agents.

There has been a great deal of writing by our journalists about who will succeed Stalin. My contention is that the question should be, not "After Stalin, who?", but "After Stalin, what?" I sincerely believe that after Stalin the situation will be even worse nationally and internationally, and for this reason: Stalin is already a demigod. He can be magnanimous occasionally. He has built himself up. But whoever follows him, a mere mortal, will have to build himself up to that position of demigod.

Take, for example, Molotov. On the thirtieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution in 1947, in his principal speech in Moscow, he mentioned Stalin's name in his address 21 times and he quoted from Stalin 7 times. Why? Because he cannot afford to take any credit for any accomplishments. He must give all of the credit to Stalin.

Let me give you another example. At 2 o'clock in the morning, I was in the office of Mikoyan, whose name I mentioned before, the Minister at that time of the Food Industry. I remarked to him that since my previous visit to Moscow, which was 6 months earlier, I had noticed a considerable improvement in the food situation in Moscow. It was true; I was not handing him out any compliments. Whenever I asked a hostess, they usually said, "Well, we have a very good Commissar of Food Industries, Mikoyan."

A bit embarrassed, he said, "Oh, no, no, no; not I and not we"—he had quite an entourage around the table—"are responsible for these great improvements." Pointing to the wall behind him where hung a painting of Stalin, he said, "But he, the great teacher and beloved leader, Joseph Stalin; he is the one who works for all of us; he is the one who suffers for us."

The man who will step into Stalin's shoes will have to build himself up. First, he will do what Stalin did with all Lenin's colleagues. He

will liquidate them. He will be able to do that because he will have with him the head of the secret police.

From these principles neither Stalin nor his successors will ever deviate permanently one iota. Henceforth, therefore, our people—all of us and not alone our Government—must become as zealous about making freedom invincible as the fanatical Red Fascists are in their efforts to foist barbarism on us. The professors Harlow Shapley,¹ Thomas Emerson,² Phillip Morrison,³ the Jo Davidsons,⁴ Olin Downses,⁵ Lillian B. Hellmans,⁶ and the other fellow travelers would do well by themselves and their country if they would betake themselves to Stalin's paradise for a few months and try to tell the Russians what they are telling us about the need for permanent peace and understanding. If they return home at all, they will be better citizens.

Our great Thomas Jefferson has spoken for the centuries. Our statesmen today must likewise think and plan for the centuries or at least for the generations to come. Senator McCarran's bill has much to do with this goal. It would be comparatively easy to fill up this country to overflowing until there was only standing room left. Despite the naive advocates of selling America to the peoples abroad in order to emphasize our noble intentions, America has been sold to our friends abroad over a century ago. Else why did tens of millions of people flock to our shores? Why am I here? Untold millions in Europe have been living on the dollars that flowed in an endless torrent for generations from the new settlers. Twice within 30 years Europe has been saved by us from would-be world conquerors. Since the last war, the flow of our food, clothing, medicines, machinery, and equipment, as well as raw materials, has gone forth uninterrupted. France and Italy might have been under the heel of the Soviet secret police long ago had it not been for our timely aid in stemming the tide of Communist intrigue and connivance. If the European peoples do not know all these things and do not appreciate what America has done for them during the generations past, then we have been wasting our generosity and not one of them should ever be permitted to set foot on our soil.

We are so well sold to the peoples abroad, if not to the misrulers, that if the steel, iron, and asbestos curtains were to be raised, if transportation were made available, if we were to lift immigration restrictions, we would witness an exodus from the old world that would deplete their nations to a vanishing point. That, however, would not solve their problems. It would merely drain the most courageous, the freedom-yearning and capable people. The morons or half morons and the weaklings would remain to be enslaved by the Communist overlords, there to strengthen the grip of the totalitarian masters. If our aid is to be effective, Europe needs every able-bodied and every talented person right there to rebuild their countries, to fight the inroads of the subversives, to make freedom invincible there, and thereby secure our freedom here. The less freedom-loving men and women of Europe immigrate here, the more they devote their

¹ Director, Harvard Observatory.

² Yale Law School.

³ Cornell University.

⁴ Sculptor.

⁵ Music critic, New York Times.

⁶ Playwright.

energies to the fight against their own traitors and the octopus from the East, the less will be the infiltration here.

Now, may I make a few recommendations on this bill.

1. Future Presidents might not always be fortunate in their selection of an Attorney General. To safeguard the interests of all concerned and to avoid possible mistakes in declaring a society or association as subversive, it might be well to provide that a "citizens' advisory committee" be appointed to assist the Attorney General in his work.

2. That adult immigrants be required to attend school for a period of 1 to 2 years, depending upon the educational background of the newcomer. It might even be well to have such immigrants pay for tuition, as I did. They will appreciate it more and make more of it.

3. In order to bring about a more rapid and thorough Americanization of future immigrants, to keep them away from the little alien islands now in existence here, it might be well to provide that during the first 5 years immigrants should live in areas designated by the Attorney General in cooperation with such Departments as Commerce, Interior, and Agriculture, as well as the citizens' advisory committee. If they are eager to live here and be worthy citizens, they should be eager to help this country as well as help themselves.

I had seen such a plan in operation prior to the First World War. While serving as immigration interpreter in Galveston, I witnessed the operations of the Jewish Immigrants Information Bureau, little known in the East and certainly long forgotten even in the West. The late Jacob H. Schiff of New York City, himself a former immigrant, who became head of the Kuhn, Loeb & Co., a leading investment banking firm, conceived the idea of diverting Jewish immigration from the East to the West and other areas west of the Mississippi. Begun in 1907, it reached considerable proportions by the time the outbreak of the war in 1914 put an end to it. I visited some of the new settlers in their homes in various parts of the country and found them to be a happier, healthier, and more Americanized lot than their counterpart in the East. Dropped into sparsely settled communities, they proved to be an asset to the older residents and themselves. They were soon absorbed in the life of the community and learned to make the most of their new life, while their relations on the other side of the Mississippi River were exposed to the old country ideologies, prejudices, superstitions, and subversive activities.

4. It might also be well to consider extending citizenship on a probationary period of, say, 5 years. When I came into the United States civil service, I had to serve a probationary period. Why not do that for newcomers here? In view of our past experience, and as long as the Red-plague emergency must be faced, it would seem to me that this could be helpful in deterring would-be subversives from hiding behind a naturalization certificate. Citizenship must not be permitted to become a convenient refuge for international scoundrels.

If it is true that some of our naturalized citizens have sinned against America, it is equally true that many sons and daughters of our oldest families have not covered themselves with glory either. The recent trials, congressional investigations, and newspaper exposés have uncovered an alarming situation.

The Elizabeth Bentley,¹ the Chambers,² the Judith Coplons,³ the

¹The testimony of Elizabeth Bentley appears on p. 106.

²Whittaker Chambers, self-confessed Soviet espionage agent, whose testimony was published by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

³Judith Coplon, former employee of the U. S. Department of Justice, was convicted by a Federal court in Washington, D. C., on the charges of obtaining information to be used for the purpose of injuring the United States and concealing and removing certain records and papers in her custody (violation of secs. 793 and 2071, title 18, U. S. C.).

Wadleighs,¹ the Daniel Boone² descendants, and the many other are the mentally disturbed products of our liberal arts courses in our colleges. They are the result of impractical, frustrated professors. Disgruntled with their station in our economy, lacking the requisite stamina, courage, vision, and imagination to better themselves, they blame their unfitness upon society as a whole, just as was the case with Karl Marx. Never having lived and worked in Stalin's madhouse, lacking in moral fiber to make sure of their ground, indulging mostly in wishful thinking, they pass on to the young men and women entrusted to them distorted and falsified information glorifying the nightmare which has been Russia's since 1917. Everything said or done by the modern Genghis Kahn in the Kremlin is lauded to the skies and held before your young ones as examples of justice, fairness, wisdom, and progress. Everything our Government says or does is condemned as wicked.

Since it has become the fashion in Washington to appoint college graduates to Government positions, I question if such people can be entrusted with the enforcement of section 3 of this bill, if enacted. I would rather allow a Russian inmate of a slave-labor camp, or a DP camp in Europe today, to come to our shores than a Henry Wallace, a Corliss Lamont, a Professor Shapley, a Rexford Tugwell,³ a Lillian Hellman, or their like. The former has shown his love for freedom by resisting the tyranny in Russia, whereas our parlor fellow travelers have been the dupes of the great fraud—the Soviet Government.

Only too often our representatives abroad have shown their naïveté by surrounding themselves with local advisers unworthy of their trust. They seem to have a genius for selecting the wrong people to guide them in their work. Too many enemies of democracy have been given visas and too many people who could contribute much to the fight against totalitarianism if admitted to this country are allowed to linger in DP camps. I have in my office in New York the names of two recent arrivals to this country—one of them a Nazi-Fascist of Russian origin, who was incarcerated in Germany under our military government, and yet he had no difficulty in getting a visa, and he is today going around lecturing in our universities, if you please.

Mr. ARENS. What is his name?

Mr. MARCUS. I am terribly sorry, I forgot to bring that. I shall send it to you with pleasure.

Mr. ARENS. How did he arrive there? In what category?

Mr. MARCUS. He arrived here—I do not know. I can find that out.

Mr. ARENS. Will you send that information to us, too?

Mr. MARCUS. I shall send that to you.

Mr. DEKOM. What about the second person?

Mr. MARCUS. The second person, I don't know the background, but it is pretty bad.

This works right into the hands of the Kontr Razvedka of the Red Army. The slick counter-intelligence agents of the Soviet machine

¹ H. Julian Wadleigh, former employee of the U. S. Department of State, who published the story of his activities as a link in a Soviet espionage ring in a series of articles in the *Washington Post*.

² The reference is to Daniel Boone Schermer, chairman of the Communist Party of Boston, Mass.

³ Rexford Guy Tugwell, former Governor of Puerto Rico.

know how to get under the skin of our trusting and inexperienced men in order to secure admittance to this country. I think it would do our people a great deal of good, and especially the officials in Washington agencies, to reread the book by Krivitsky.¹ He was a top counter-intelligence official of the Soviet Government, and what he tells in his book is not only the truth but it is the basic system under which they operate. Of course, they have improved upon it since the war, because they have expanded.

We have yet to learn how to deal with the archconspirators and international intriguers. We deal here, and especially abroad, men and women who understand the language of the adversary better than anyone. Unfortunately, they are not being utilized. This is worth considering in connection with the enactment of this bill.

I know that those who will see themselves mirrored as the ungrateful referred to here will resent my remarks. Should that be the case, I shall consider my coming here a success. As a former immigrant, I deem it my duty to speak frankly to fellow immigrants who in these troubled times, by omission or commission, fail to show their appreciation of what this country has done for them. We who have experienced the lash of economic privation in the old countries, we who were denied human rights, economic and educational opportunities, because of race or religion, must be in the vanguard of fighters for the preservation of America's free institutions.

And I might tell you, gentlemen, that I am really, at times, frightened as I come in contact, especially in the East, with former fellow immigrants, naturalized and very prosperous, and they don't believe a word you tell them about the Soviet Union. They have never been there; they have never read a book, but they swallow, hook, line, and sinker, the propaganda here.

We are the greatest advertising geniuses in the world when it comes to selling shoes, radios, televisions; but we have shown ourselves to be an absolute flop as the advertisers of the American way of life, as the advertisers of the principles of American freedom. If we have failed so lamentably right in our midst, if we haven't been able to inculcate that into the people who came here without a shirt on their backs and amassed fortunes and have educated their children to be lawyers and doctors and engineers, how on earth can we expect to deal with such a conniving and principleless organization like the Soviet Union? And, if our native-born can't do it, there are some of us foreign-born who do understand it, men like Don Levine,² a man by the name of Arkady Sack,³ a man like Mark Weinbaum, the editor of the Russian paper *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, and a man like Vladimir Zenzinov, the man who helped in connection with the Kasenkina⁴ case; but such people are not being utilized, unfortunately.

To make liberty invincible, we must become the shock troops in the fight against the inroads of totalitarianism, here and elsewhere. While one day Stalin smiles through his thick mustache and tell us that he would like to do business with us, as did his stooge, Shvernik⁵ when

¹ In *Stalin's Secret Service*, by Gen. Walter Krivitsky.

² Isaac Don Levine, editor of *Plain Talk* magazine.

³ Head of the information bureau of Alexander Kerensky's government.

⁴ The reference is to Oksana Kasenkina's jump to freedom from a window of the Soviet consulate in New York.

⁵ Nikolai M. Shvernik, President, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Admiral Alan T. Kirk presented his documents as the new Ambassador, a colleague of his on the all-powerful Politburo organizes a Cominform the next day to carry on aggression all over the world. The experience of Yugoslavia in its fight with the Cominform should be a warning to all the complacent wishful thinkers and fellow travelers in America. Besides, the compact and fanatical legions of the Red International are already here; their Politburo is, as you all know, now on trial in New York, and their arrogance, anti-Americanism should be clear to all. If Senate bill 1832 had been enacted years ago, some of the Communist leaders now on trial would never have been here or would have been deported long ago.

Let us remember for all time that our demonstration of human decency and justice in dealing with the communist governments or their disciples here in accordance with our established customs will not make the slightest impression upon them. It is like casting pearls before swine. The distorters of truth and falsifiers of facts in the Soviet orbit will never be influenced by our morality and decency, mercy and charity. They have gone too far in their mental derangements to benefit from our example. They are the most hardened criminals abroad. As, in the case of a hunchback, according to an old Russian adage, only the grave can straighten him out.

Now, the number of gravediggers of American liberty is growing by leaps and bounds. While in Moscow in 1936, I uncovered in the Lenin Museum a document which showed that an American philanthropist advanced the money for the first Communist (Bolshevik) convention abroad in London in 1907.

Mr. ARENS. What is his name?

Mr. MARCUS. That man is long dead. The name is Joseph Fels, of Philadelphia. I read the entire correspondence between Lenin and Maxim Gorky—and Gorky was not only a friend of Lenin and a Communist, but he was also an artist at getting money from the very people who were later to be destroyed. Russia had a great many millionaires who hated the Czarist government. They could not expand their capitalistic enterprises under the feudal system of the Czar. So, not realizing that they were dealing with a rattlesnake in the form of the Bolsheviks, they helped with millions of rubles. There was the famous furniture manufacturer Schmidt, the famous director of the Siberian Bank Groobbe, and Morozov, Konovalov, and others who advanced millions of rubles to the Bolshevik Party in Russia to help destroy the Czar. And who were the first victims when the Bolsheviks came into power? The Schmidts and all of the rest of the millionaire "angels."

And so Mr. Joseph Fels advanced about \$7,500 to pay the expenses of this convention. Stalin, Lenin, Trotsky, and a great many others were there. They were as poor as church mice at the time. Stalin was not very successful with the holding up of treasury gold or currency shipments. Fels lent the money for 1 year. I saw the note signed by Stalin, Trotsky, Lenin, and all of the other early leaders of bolshevism, pledging to repay the money within a year.

When the year passed, Mr. Fels, like a good capitalist, asked for the money by writing to Gorky. Gorky wrote to Lenin who was at that time in Switzerland. Lenin replied that they didn't have it, but when they got into power they would repay the money.

And so, in 1919, the money was repaid in gold. When Mr. Krassin repaid the money to the widow, Mrs. Mary Fels, he said, "The Czar's debts we don't repay; our debts we repay." And, naturally, since it amounted only to \$7,500, and the Czar's debts amounted to hundreds of millions of dollars, he could be generous.

I just want to bring out that there is a woman in Chicago, Mrs. Blaine McCormack, an octogenarian, who, according to the newspaper reports, set aside \$1,000,000 to help Henry Wallace continue the work which he started in recent years, as an apologist for the Soviet Government. Personally, I believe, Stalin has never given Wallace a penny. But if he had paid him \$1,000,000,000 a year, he couldn't have gotten a better servant than Wallace has been through his misleading the uninformed and uninitiated here and abroad.

In the meantime, the enactment of Senate bill 1832 should contribute very much toward rendering their activities less harmful to our way of life. America is no longer in need of boosting its population via immigration. Our population has risen from 114,000,000 in 1924 to 148,000,000 in 1948, a 30-percent increase in less than 25 years. We certainly have our share of subversives, native- or foreign-born. This is not a time to take chances in letting in people determined to serve their alien masters to the detriment of our country.

I therefore hope that the Congress will enact the bill under discussion without further delay.

I thank you.

MR. ARENS. Thank you very much, Mr. Marcus.

MR. DEKOM. Mr. Marcus, does Amtorg recruit any personnel in this country from among Americans or persons who are domiciled here?

MR. MARCUS. That is correct. Most of the personnel in Amtorg up to the end of the last war were United States residents. They were mostly former Russians, naturalized or still alien; but most of them were local people. Since the end of the war in 1945, most of the personnel in the Amtorg has been shipped in from Russia.

MR. DEKOM. Do you have any knowledge of persons, who were American or naturalized American employees of Amtorg, who were persuaded or who for other reasons went back to Russia?

MR. MARCUS. Yes; I used to know here, when I was operating on a big scale for American firms, a fellow named Lampert, a brilliant fellow. He had compiled for the Soviet Government a directory of the leading corporations of America and their industrial connections. I had a copy of it in my office for a little while; I borrowed it. He was a brilliant economist.

There was also an assistant general counsel, whose name escapes me, and there were a great many others, who were induced to go back to Russia. I saw them years later in Moscow. I ran into some of them at a musical performance in the conservatory hall, and most of them avoided me; they turned their heads away, being afraid to talk to me because they must have already given up their American passports.

Lampert, however, with a very sad expression on his face, said, "Sorry," and walked away. Of course, once they surrender their passports, they are subject to the Soviet laws.

I might tell you of another experience. I went to the Moscow police to get an exit visa some years ago, shortly before the war. I ran into the daughter of a very dear friend of mine. As a matter of

fact, I was best man at his wedding in Galveston, Tex. He had originally come from Russia. His children were born in Galveston. When the depression came, his former colleagues in the Ukraine induced him to come back to Russia, offering a wonderful job. He went with his entire family. I saw them living, five of them in one tiny room, in most primitive conditions in a Moscow suburb. They were very, very sad and distressed. Naturally, he couldn't feel otherwise. He had been a revolutionary under the Czar, and when he returned to Russia he found conditions a thousand times worse than under the autocracy. He had taken it literally that anyone could express his opinion on the wall newspaper. They have, in every apartment house and every little colony or in every factory, a "Sten-naya Gazeta"—a wall newspaper. If you want to criticize official action, you write a piece, and it is pasted on the wall.

So, he wrote a story about the police coming to him at 2 o'clock in the morning to search his house and examining his documents. He asked the eternal question: "Why?" Why didn't they call during the day? Why disturb the family and scare the children? For that, he was exiled to Siberia.

When I saw his daughter, a native American, in the police station, she talked to me and asked me what to do. They were demanding that she either surrender her American passport or be cut off from a university education.

To surrender the passport meant being cut off from the rest of the world. Not to give up the passport meant being deprived of an education. Well, I couldn't advise her, naturally. There were too many ears around me listening. But this just gives you a little picture of what happens to those who return to Stalin's concentration camp—Soviet Russia.

MR. DEKOM. You mentioned the name of Bagdonov as the head of Amtorg here.

MR. MARCUS. That is Peter A. Bagdonov. He has been liquidated, too.

MR. DEKOM. As one who has frequently and for long periods visited Soviet Russia, I wonder if you would care to comment on the recent Soviet propaganda which tells the people of the world how terrible conditions are in this country and how wonderful they are in Russia. What are conditions, really, in the Soviet Union, as compared to conditions here?

MR. MARCUS. It is impossible to describe to you. I have covered Russia from one end to the other; my father was a railroad builder before the Revolution. I had traveled since I was a child, because, as contractors, we didn't have to pay any fares. So, Russia of old was very well known to me.

I rebelled against the Czar because I didn't like the oppression and the poverty of the country; and it was hoped that, when the Czar was overthrown, paradise would come. And so, since 1920 until the outbreak of the last war, I kept going, and I have been there on 14 occasions, and I used to go to inspect raw materials before shipment or to negotiate business deals. I negotiated for the Studebaker Corp., a \$30,000,000 deal, which the smart president, Erskine, rejected.

I have seen the life of the people, the peasants, the workers, the intellectuals. The late L. K. Martens, who was the unofficial ambassador

in the United States right after the revolution, who was deported from here on that famous ship, I liked him very much. He was a great scientist. He was thoroughly disillusioned, and he was one of the old colleagues of Lenin.

One night I was having dinner in his home and telling him that I was at the end of my rope; I was about to give up ever having any business dealings with the Soviet agencies. Here is what he said to me: "Why are you so surprised? We are not a cultured people." He did not mean to say that all of the Russians were not cultured, but the Government was not cultured. The life of the average person, with the exception of the small hierarchy at the top, is not worth a penny. He is under the heel from birth to death.

The only enthusiasm, or the only people who are enthusiastic about the Soviet Government, are the children. As long as they are children, and as long as they go to school, everything is provided by the Government; although, in recent years they have withdrawn free education above public school. But the moment they come out and begin to work, they get contact with reality and they become the bitterest enemies.

It is my sincere contention that Stalin, with his brutality, has already antagonized 95 percent of the population of Russia.

Remember this, that the forced collectivization cost Russia around 4 to 5 million lives. The enforced industrialization has cost Russia untold millions, because the slave-labor camps have never been empty. Tens of millions have already gone through for one period or another, and there are today between 10 and 14 million men in the slave-labor camps. They, in turn, have friends and relatives, mothers and fathers and wives and children. They are all bitter.

It is my sincere conviction that if it became known in Russia today that we have abrogated our commercial treaty, the people would be jubilant. Every time they hear that we are standing up like men to the Soviet imperialists, it inspires their hopes that some day they will be able to free themselves.

Mr. DEKOM. How does the life of the few men at the top compare to the life of the average worker in this so-called worker's paradise?

Mr. MARCUS. It compares to, let us say, the life of a multimillionaire with the life of an unemployed pauper.

Mr. DEKOM. How do they rise to the top?

Mr. MARCUS. Over the bodies of their fellow citizens; over the bodies, at times, of their own relatives. In other words, you have to destroy somebody. You have to report—whether it is true or not doesn't matter—the moment the secret police gets a report about somebody, that person is hauled out, and he may linger in a slave-labor camp or in a jail for years, and then be freed with the statement, "Sorry, it was a mistake."

Mr. DEKOM. We have a number of publications, pamphlets, and magazines, including Plain Talk and Nation's Business with articles by J. Anthony Marcus. Are you the author of these?

Mr. MARCUS. Yes; I am.

Mr. ARENS. That is all, and thank you very much, Mr. Marcus.

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate very much your coming down, and I am glad to hear your statement.

(Thereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the hearing was recessed.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 10, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION
AND NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a. m., in room 411, Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland, presiding.

Present: Senator Eastland. Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee, Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

Senator EASTLAND. We will come to order.

I will swear the witness, and then you may proceed with your questions, Mr. Arens.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of the United States is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I do.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE SZCZEBINSKI, CREW DEPARTMENT, GDYNIA-AMERICA LINE, INC.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly state your full name?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. My full name is George Szczerbinski.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing here in answer to a subpoena which was served upon you, are you not?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What is your vocation or occupation?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I am an employée in a shipping line.

Mr. ARENS. What shipping line is it?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. The Gdynia-America Line, Inc.

Mr. ARENS. What is your particular job with the Gdynia-America Line?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I am in charge of the crew department and partly of the claims department.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been so employed?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I started working with the Gdynia-America Line in 1938, with small intervals when I was working with the British Ministry of Transport in New York.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you lived in the United States?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I came to the United States on June 25, 1941.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a naturalized citizen?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I am.

Mr. ARENS. When were you naturalized?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I was naturalized on August 22, 1946.

Senator EASTLAND. In what country were you born?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I was born in Poland, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Who is the president of the Gdynia Line?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Mr. Roman Kutylowski.

Mr. ARENS. Who owns the Gdynia Line?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. The Gdynia-America Line is owned by the Polish Government.

Mr. ARENS. What percentage of the ownership of the Gdynia Line is in Polish hands?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. One hundred percent.

Mr. ARENS. Then the operating control of the Gdynia Line is in Polish hands; is that right?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. It is, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What percentage of the stock is owned by the Polish Government itself, as distinguished from Polish individuals?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. There are no individual shares. All the Polish shares belong to the Polish Government.

Senator EASTLAND. Did the Government take the shares from the citizens of Poland?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. No. Before the war the position was the same, because the shares were accumulated with the Polish Government. There was no private stock. So the present Polish Government took it over from the old Polish Government. Formerly a few percent was owned in Denmark.

Mr. ARENS. In the course of your duties as the person in charge of the crew department of the Gdynia Line, do you have occasion to check up on the number of desertions from the boats which are operated by the Gdynia Line?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I do.

Mr. ARENS. What passenger vessels are operated by the Gdynia Line which come to the United States?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. The motorship *Batory* and the motorship *Sobieski*.

Mr. ARENS. Have you prepared, at the request of the staff members of this subcommittee, a list of the crew members who have deserted from the *Batory* and from the *Sobieski* in the course of the last few years?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes; it is here.

Mr. ARENS. If the Senator please, I should like to submit for incorporation in the record as exhibit 1, a list of the deserters from the *M. S. Batory* for each of certain years.

Senator EASTLAND. It will be so ordered.

(The document was marked "Szczerbinski Exhibit 1" and is as follows:)

I

LIST OF DESERTERS, M. S. "BATORY"

- Voyage No. 40, April 18, 1947:
Teodor Szwee.
Antoni Hoszowski.
Gaston Wesierski.
Jerzy Kedzierski.
Jerzy Wollenschlager.
Joseph Fenech (British).
Charles Bruce (British).
William Parker (British).
Eugene McKeon (British).
Jan Zapletal (Czechoslovak).
William McNally (British).
William Pennington (British).
- Voyage No. 41, May 16, 1947:
Eugeniusz Ryciak.
- Voyage No. 42, June 16, 1947:
Stefan Kaszuba.
- Voyage No. 43, July 18, 1947:
Joanna Wilusz.
Józef Marszewski.
- Voyage No. 44, August 21, 1947:
Jan Grudzinski.
Ryszard Kowalski.
Miroslaw Pason.
- Voyage No. 45, September 12, 1947:
Jan Paklepa.
Leonard Polowczyk.
- Voyage No. 46, October 7, 1947:
Stefan Juszek.
- Voyage No. 47, November 6, 1947:
Wladyslaw Barczykowski.
Konstancja Gasiorowska.
- Voyage No. 48, December 10, 1947:
Tadeusz Klak.
Franciszka Lewanska.
Stanisława Ottowicz.
- Voyage No. 49, January 17, 1948:
Agnieszka Buch.
Jan Bienia.
- Voyage No. 50, February 20, 1948:
Waclaw Kowalkowski.
- Voyage No. 51, March 20, 1948:
None.
- Voyage No. 52, April 19, 1948:
Tadeusz Kowalski.
- Voyage No. 53, May 19, 1949:
Mieczyslaw Popiolek.
Maksymiljan Tomasiewicz.
Wincenty Winiarski.
- Voyage No. 54, June 18, 1948:
Czeslaw Borzymowski.
- Voyage No. 55, July 16, 1948:
None.
- Voyage No. 56, August 14, 1948:
Kazimierz Szlosowski.
- Voyage No. 57, September 13, 1948:
Lidia Rachuba.
Marek Balcerzak.
Szczepan Grunwald.
- Voyage No. 58, October 11, 1948:
Bronislaw Kowalek.
Roman Masalski.
Zbigniew Piotrowski.
Karol Szymankiewicz.
- Voyage No. 59, November 9, 1948:
Franciszek Kanski.
Anna Mucha.
Adam Zaklekarz.
- Voyage No. 60, December 10, 1948:
Antoni Pietrzyk (later repatriated to Gdynia).
Zbigniew Galecki.
Zygmunt Wiik.
Ryszard Zawadzki.
Leokadia Paszkiewicz.
- Voyage No. 61, February 3, 1949:
Franciszek Splawinski.
Romuald Swiderski.
Janusz Ambroziewicz.
Zenon Hrobni.
Jozef Szwejk.
Stefan Kwiecinski.
Jan Prusisz.
Helena Sztab.
Ryszard Cielenkiewicz.
Roman Kotlarz.
Antoni Kowalczyk.
Marian Lorent.
Janusz Plucinski.
Tomasz Stuzynski.
Czeslaw Rak.
Alfons Wojtas.
Michal Bochenski.
Jerzy Cyrkler.
Kazimierz Piaszynski.
- Voyage No. 62, March 4, 1949:
None.
- Voyage No. 63, April 8, 1949:
Ernst Baldur Jensen (Danish national).
- Voyage No. 63A, May 6, 1949:
Jan Piaszkiewicz.
Leon Nowakowski.
Mieczyslaw Wolny.
- Voyage No. 64, June 6, 1949:
None.
- Voyage No. 65, July 6, 1949:
Anatoliusz Kleban.
Czeslaw Lukawski.
Zbigniew Szychowski.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Szczerbinski, can you tell us approximately how many persons are listed on this list of deserters from the *Batory* over certain designated periods of time?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. The number is 78 on the *Batory*.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time is that?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. Since April 1947.

Mr. ARENS. I now invite your attention to the names of certain of these individuals whose names appear on this list. You prepared this list, did you not?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. Yes; I did.

Mr. ARENS. You prepared it as the person of the Gdynia Line in charge of the crew department; is that right?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Joanna Wilusz?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. Yes; I do. I know she was working with the Gdynia-America Line office in Gdynia, because she started her work there. She spoke fair English and she was given a job as a saleslady on board the ship. You know, there is a shop which sells nylon stockings, lipsticks, and things like that.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not she is a Communist?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. I don't know. I know she jumped the ship at one time and I think she got married and she is now in Chicago.

Mr. ARENS. Are you familiar with the immigration laws insofar as the same are applicable to the admission into the United States for temporary purposes of seamen, crewmen?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. Yes. A seaman is entitled to leave the ship of his own will and to stay for 29 days here in order to secure another seagoing job. After that time he is illegally here and he may be apprehended.

Mr. ARENS. Under the general immigration law, aside from crew members, a Communist is excludible, is he not?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. He is excluded; yes.

Mr. ARENS. But is it your understanding, as one who is in charge of the crew department and familiar with the affairs of seamen, that they are not excludible if they are Communists?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. No; they are not checked on their political beliefs.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, to make the record clear, is it your understanding, on the basis of experience with the immigration laws and the operation of this crew department of the Gdynia Line, that a person, even though he be a Communist, is not excludible from the United States if he gains admission as a crew member?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. Yes; for 29 days.

Mr. ARENS. I now invite your attention to the second list which you have presented here today. If the chairman please, we should like to have this marked as "Exhibit 2" and have it inserted into the record.

Senator EASTLAND. It is so ordered.

(The document was marked "Szczerbinski Exhibit 2" and is as follows:)

LIST OF DESERTERS, MOTORSHIP "SOBIESKI"

Voyage No. 1, May 29, 1947:

Domenico Radini (Italian national).

Antoni Matczak.

Witold Kloczkowski.

Voyage No. 2, July 1, 1947:

Lech Korgol (later signed on MS *Batory*).

Franciszek Terenowicz.

Antonio di Domenico Bussanich (Italian).

- Voyage No. 3, August 2, 1947:
Aurelio Fergoffia (Italian).
Gherardo Glavaz (Italian).
- Voyage No. 4, September 5, 1947:
Jerzy Brzozowski.
- Voyage No. 5, October 4, 1947:
Waclaw Przybylkowski.
Francesco Dandolo (Italian).
- Voyage No. 6, November 5, 1947:
Benjaminio Vlacci (Italian).
Giorgio Burburan (Italian).
Natale D. Scrivanich (Italian).
Natale Strogolo (Italian).
- Voyage No. 7, December 8, 1947:
Jadwiga Adamska.
Galina Pierino (Italian).
Apolonio Luciano (Italian).
Antonio Chiraz (Italian).
Silvio Stenberga (Italian), later repatriated to Italy.
- Voyage No. 8, January 23, 1948:
Zbigniew Lukowski.
Marianna Koprowska.
- Voyage No. 9, February 25, 1948:
Edmund Gniateczyk.
Antonio Antoni (Italian).
Antonio Marussich (Italian).
Rogerio Stocovaz (Italian).
Alfonso Vitiello (Italian).
- Voyage No. 10, March 31, 1948:
Boleslaw Skorobogaty.
Ryszard Lon.
Bruno Maurivich (Italian).
Aldo Runco (Italian).
Antonio Taraboccia (Italian).
Mario Boscolo (Italian).
- Voyage No. 11, May 7, 1948:
Stefan Matuszak.
Hieronim Kolodziejczyk.
Lech Skiba.
Carlo Erbetto (Italian).
Giovanni Trento (Italian).
- Voyage No. 12, June 11, 1948:
Ilario Destri (Italian).
- Voyage No. 13, July 1948:
Wilhelm Kobielski.
Helena Jurkiewicz.
Sulgi Olzai (Italian).
Adelia Galanti (Italian).
- Voyage No. 14, August 20, 1948:
Henryk Trybun.
Nicola Matessich (Italian).
Stefano Pomasan (Italian).
Antonio Benco (Italian).
- Voyage No. 15, September 24, 1948:
Adam Bacal.
Antonio Senetta (Italian).
Francesco Glavich (Italian).
Vincenzo Roccini (Italian).
- Voyage No. 16, October 29, 1948:
Julian Baginski.
Waclaw Geba.
Edmund Matuszak.
Jósef Tempksi.
Jerzy Zywiawowski.
- Voyage No. 17, December 6, 1948:
Edmund Pazdej.
Henryk Boksa.
Pietro Assenti (Italian).
- Voyage No. 18, January 21, 1949:
Jerzy Jurkiewicz.
Francesco di Marco (Italian).
Antonini Scarfi (Italian).
- Voyage No. 19, February 25, 1949:
Bronislaw Abramowski.
Leon Lukaszewicz.
Alojzy Pytel.
Stanislaw Skrzyzeczak.
Jerzy Luzny.
Henryk Ptak.
Jan Puszka.
Stanislaw Witkowski.
Leopold Woloszyn.
Andrzej Nogal.
Tadeusz Kudzicki.
Zdzislaw Zdrzalik.
Henryk Brenk.
Boleslaw Ogrodnik.
Józef Woszczak.
Jan Walczak.
Tadeusz Sluzewski.
Boleslaw Pustulka.
Kazimierz Wojcik.
Aleksander Poreda.
Józef Rojowski.
Josef Maz.
Bogdan Maciag.
Zbigniew Wachulka.
Lech Korgol.
Roman Pawlowski.
Maksymilian Guc.
Kazimierz Malina.
Witold Sokolowski.
Stefan Reichel.
Emilian Kasprzyk.
Stanislaw Pytlik.
Wislaw Bartnicki.
Ignacy Urbanek.
Stanislaw Gregorczyk.
Zbigniew Malski.
Henryk Zalewski.
Jan Rogalewski.
Wladyslaw Sowinski.
Pawel Bonk.
Anna Bielska.
Helena Zukowska.
Leon Goncz.
Waclaw Majzner.
Jan Kaczmarek.
Leszek Danelczyk.
Ryszard Mazuchowski.
Franciszek Staniszewski.
Czeslaw Lojewski.
Zbigniew Sawicki.
Kazimierz Andrzejewski.
Roman Skoczylas.
Ryszard Grzegorzewicz.
Jerzy Prusek.
Stanislaw Morawski.
Edmund Wojtkowski.

Voyage No. 19, February 25, 1949—Con.	Voyage No. 21, May 7, 1949:
Wladyslaw Wysocki.	Romelo Hanovich (Italian).
Stanislaw Kolodziej.	Stefano di Perte (Italian).
Zofia Kasprzykowska.	Antonio di M. Piccinich (Italian).
Henryk Piscwacki.	Tomasso Sessa (Italian).
Maria Risso (Italian).	Mateo Taraboccia (Italian).
Valeriano Sessarego (Italian).	Octavio Caruso (Italian).
Beniamino Maglio (Italian).	Antonino Drago (Italian).
Voyage No. 20, April 1, 1949:	Voyage No. 22, June 22, 1949:
Tadeusz Pietrzak.	Pawel Jasiewicz.
Czeslaw Wyczolkowski.	Giuseppe Traverso (Italian).
Silvio Ghiricin (Italian).	Voyage No. 23, July 15, 1949:
Martino Tarabocci (Italian).	Mario Budinis (Italian).
Placido Arena (Italian).	Michele Balbi (Italian).
Antonio Matessich (Italian).	Giacomo Piccini (Italian).
	Carmine Vittone (Italian).

Mr. ARENS. This list, exhibit 2, is a list of the deserters from the motorship *Sobieski*; is that right?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. Yes. They are mostly Italians. Most of the crew are now Italian.

Senator EASTLAND. Why are they mostly Italians?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. Because the ship carries mostly Italian clientele.

They are either Americans of Italian descent or Italians immigrating to the United States.

Senator EASTLAND. Why is that?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. Because she runs between Genoa and New York. So most of the waiters, cooks, and some of the others are Italians.

Mr. ARENS. Did you prepare this list which is now identified as exhibit 2?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You prepared it from the records of your company as the person in charge of the department; is that right?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. Mr. Arens, you have here a copy of the master's report. This is exactly what we file always after the ship's departure. This is signed by the captain en blanc. I fill it in, and I send it by registered mail to the immigration authorities. So this list is an excerpt from here.

Mr. ARENS. You prepared the top list, did you not, which has now been marked "Exhibit 2," of the number of persons who have jumped ship from the motorship *Sobieski* in the years designated, beginning in 1947?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. Yes. It is voyage by voyage, and there are the dates.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly look through that list and give us as near as you can the approximate number of persons on that list in the time designated?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. There are 146 on the *Sobieski*.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. Starting with May 1947. So the total amount is over 200.

Mr. DEKOM. The total is approximately 224?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. Yes.

Senator EASTLAND. Are most of them Italians, or Poles?

Mr. SZCZERBINSKI. On the *Sobieski* most of them are Italians. Their nationality is in brackets. Without brackets it is Polish. When he is a foreign national, then we write "Italian" or "Danish."

Senator EASTLAND. In your judgment, what percentage of the deserters were Communists?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. A small percentage, Senator.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you think that, of that small percentage, that Communist agents were planted there to come into this country?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. They could be shipped that way, but I don't know. I don't know who is a Communist because how can I know? I am not a party member and I never was.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting officials of the line who were Communists, assigned as crew members, and who after arriving in the United States went to various parts of the United States for Communist purposes?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Michal Kochanczyk?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes. Originally I met Kochanczyk on board the *Sobieski* when she was an auxiliary transport with the British Fleet in 1941. I was chief purser then. Mr. Kochanczyk was a waiter.

Senator EASTLAND. Is he an official of the line?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes. I don't know whether he is any more an official of the line, but at one time he went to Poland and became chief of the personnel department.

Mr. DEKOM. Did he ever come to the United States?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Why?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. After some trouble started on the *Sobieski*, Mr. Kochanczyk made a trip. I can't tell for sure how many times he was in New York. I think it was twice.

At one time he went by one boat and he left on another boat. He spent about a month in New York. He came to our office. He was given a desk place. What he was exactly doing I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. What did he do in the office?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. He was interested in all the departments. He was looking around and asking people questions. But he never started any political conversation with any of us.

Senator EASTLAND. Was he an old Communist, or is he a recent convert?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I don't know.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Did not he hold an official position in the Communist Party in Poland?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. That I don't know, because I have no connection with the Communist Party. All I know is that he was chief of the personnel department in Gdynia, or some kind of supervisor of the personnel.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Did he come over as a crew member?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. He was listed as an assistant purser. He came on the freighter *Pulaski* once that he stayed. The *Pulaski* was then for about 2 weeks in New York. Later he came on the *Batory*.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Then he enjoyed the privilege of the 29 days, did he not?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Exactly that.

Mr. ARENS. Is the *Pulaski* a boat operated by the Gdynia Line?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes; it is a freighter.

Mr. ARENS. He subsequently came on the *Batory*; is that right?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes. I can furnish you that information only after I am in my office and look in my files.

Mr. ARENS. Please do that.

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information about Mr. Stolarek? What is his full name?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I don't know what his first name is. He was on the *Batory*, during the present call. The boat sailed yesterday.

Mr. ARENS. Is he now on the ship?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. He is now on the ship.

Mr. ARENS. Who is he?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. His capacity as a crew member is second press officer.

Mr. ARENS. Is he a Communist?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I don't know, perhaps he is.

Mr. ARENS. Did he also arrive in the United States as a crew member?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. He did but he wasn't let ashore because, as you know, all the crew was detained on board.

Mr. ARENS. That was just recently, was it not?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Has there been intimidation of the crew members of the two boats by the Communists?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Well, in all frankness, I think that these rumors are a little bit exaggerated.

Mr. ARENS. Who is the vice president of the line?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Mr. Grzelak.¹

Mr. ARENS. Is he in litigation at the present time?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. He is under bail.

Mr. ARENS. What is his trouble?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I think he is facing deportation for suspicion of his belonging to the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. What is the crew complement of the *Batory*?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. It is about 350. It varies, two or three more or less.

Mr. ARENS. What is the crew complement of the sister ship?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. The *Sobieski* is about 280.

Mr. ARENS. Those are two passenger vessels. As I understand it, the Gdynia Line also operates some transport vessels.

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Freighters, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are any of those freighters destined to the United States?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. They don't come now. We had one freighter recently, but not in New York. She was somewhere in the South, picking up some cargo.

Senator EASTLAND. Why do they not come now?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Because there is no trade between the United States and Poland. I think that is the reason. Or perhaps it is a shortage of dollars of the Polish Government, which can't pay for the purchases in America, because they have some barter arrangement with Great Britain and with the South American countries.

¹ Czeslaw Grzelak.

Mr. ARENS. Who is the captain of the *Batory*?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Captain Cwiklinski.¹

Mr. ARENS. What is the occasion for which he received this recent decoration? Do you know about that?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. The crew of the *Batory* was decorated for patience in—as they said—patience and good behavior while they were suffering hardships from United States immigration officers after the Eisler incident, after the *Batory* came, you know, in June.

Mr. ARENS. What other lines which are controlled from behind the iron curtain have boats coming to the United States, other than the Gdynia Line?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I know only there are one or two Yugoslav vessels coming here.

Mr. ARENS. What Yugoslav vessels do come here? Could you name them?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Not offhand.

Mr. ARENS. How about Russian vessels?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. There was a Russian passenger vessel last year, the *Rossia*, that came here once or twice, and I think they had trouble with the crew and with food. There were lots of complaints, so I think they discontinued her line.

Mr. ARENS. Does either one of your boats ever touch Halifax?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes; both did at several instances, when there were passengers bound for Halifax from Europe.

Mr. ARENS. Have either of your boats taken displaced persons en route from Europe to the Western Hemisphere?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes; the *Sobieski* did.

Mr. ARENS. Where did they pick up the displaced persons?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. They picked up those people in Genoa and they discharged them at Halifax.

Mr. ARENS. How many did they handle that way?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I understand there were over 150 at one time. I don't know for sure, because I am not working with the passenger department.

Mr. ARENS. Have they brought any displaced persons to the United States?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. No; they were mostly discharged in Canada. Probably they were people who were not eligible for entry to the United States, did not have proper visas, but they could secure Canadian visas.

Mr. DEKOM. Some time early in 1949, you signed up three Greek seamen. Give us the details of that.

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. It was in February 1949, I think. There was one radio operator and two motormen.

Mr. DEKOM. How did they go and who hired them?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. They went to Gdynia without wages, working their way over. They were hired by Mr. Grzelak. The reason for them being hired is that it was just after the big desertion of the *Batory*.

As far as Mr. Grzelak told me, he has told me, he was afraid that we would be short of crew. So he tried to pick up people just for any emergency.

¹ Jan Cwiklinski.

Mr. DEKOM. Did they speak any Polish?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. No.

Mr. DEKOM. How about English?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Well, one of them spoke a little English.

Mr. DEKOM. But the other two did not?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Did not.

Mr. DEKOM. There was aboard the *Batory*, in the ship's store, a woman by the name of Wanda Skarzynska. Do you know her?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I do. In fact, I knew her husband at one time, an actor in Poland. She is an old lady.

Mr. DEKOM. What did she do in this country?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. She came off the ship and made speeches to various Polish societies in this country. Have you any knowledge of that, Mr. Szczebinski?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I do not.

Senator EASTLAND. Is she a Communist?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I don't know, Senator; it is very hard to say who is a Communist, and who is not, you know. Some people are Communists, some people make believe they are for their own protection.

Senator EASTLAND. That is right. In fact, that is principally true, is it not?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. When I am testifying under oath, I must be very careful in what I say, you know, because I may perjure myself. I must say only what I know.

Mr. DEKOM. During 1948, a group of people from the *Batory*, usually under the leadership of the crew delegate, got off the boat to give shows over here. What about that?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I heard about it.

Mr. ARENS. Who were those persons?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I know that one of them was the paymaster, Rosinski, who is in Gdynia and is not sailing anymore.

Mr. ARENS. What did they do?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I think they went somewhere in New Jersey, and they had some lectures.

Mr. ARENS. To whom did they lecture?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I can't tell you exactly, because I wasn't interested then, you know.

Mr. DEKOM. What is the function of the crew delegate?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. There is a joint agreement between the ship-owners and the seamen, and the crew delegate is the one who is supposed to watch that this agreement is run in the interest of seamen.

Mr. DEKOM. In other words, he is a sort of a shop steward for the seamen: he watches over the seamen's rights under the agreement?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes.

Mr. SCHROEDER. He is a union boss?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes: he is a union representative. For instance, if a seaman is punished unjustly by the captain, it is the crew delegate's job to go to the captain and say that it is not right, because, according to the agreement, it should not be so. Or if the food of the crew is not adequate or no good, then there is a crew delegate who goes to the chief steward and who complains.

Mr. DEKOM. Who is the purser on the *Sobieski* now?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Mr. Joseph Szczyszek.

Mr. DEKOM. Were you present when the fight took place in Halifax between the crew of the *Batory* and the crew of the *Sobieski*?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I was on board the *Sobieski* as chief steward.

Mr. DEKOM. What happened there?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Well, the crew of the *Batory* thought that the repairs of the ship—because she struck an underwater object at one time and she came to New York for repairs—they thought that they would have a very nice time in New York. When the company sent the ship instead to Halifax, which is a very dull place, a dry place, they were just furious. When the *Sobieski* came for a couple of hours to discharge the DP's at Halifax, we were boarded by the crew members of the *Batory* who went, first of all, to the bars to buy some liquor because Halifax was dry. They ordered various drinks and finally champagne. When the bartender, Mr. Burak, asked for payment, they beat him nearly to death. They knocked him out a few teeth and then they started beating some others.

Mr. DEKOM. Including Jezyk?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes. Quartermaster Jezyk.

Senator EASTLAND. Did they discharge him?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes, sir. He was a source of constant trouble with the crew.

Mr. DEKOM. Toward the end of 1947 the line signed up a young Polish-American of about 24 or 25 years of age, who went across one trip, stayed 2 months, then came back, and apparently never signed up again. Who was that?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Joseph Bieniowski.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you sign people on in the United States?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Now we don't do it very often, you know. First of all, we are not allowed by the immigration officers.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Szczebinski, does the vice president of the line know you are down here testifying today?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. He knows I am here.

Mr. ARENS. Does the president of the line know you are down here?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Have you had conversations with him respecting your testimony?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. No; I just showed them the subpoena and I said, "Give me a day off because I have to be in Washington." They asked me do I know what it is all about. I said, "No; I don't know."

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know the name Catherine Gluszak?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. No.

Mr. SCIROEDER. These three Greeks who were signed aboard as seamen lived a luxurious life sailing on this ship. Is that customary for crew members? Customary for crew members to eat with passengers?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. It is not customary. They have their own messes. So in the first-class dining room only the captain eats, the chief engineer, the chief purser, the surgeon, and the press officer.

Mr. ARENS. These Greeks were just working their way across, were they not?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Why did they not do any work aboard?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know of any instances in which Soviet officers went aboard as civilian passengers, or apparently as civilian passengers?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Well, I don't know. They may.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you mean army officers?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes.

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. It is very probable that some members of the Russian consulates which were liquidated here sailed on the *Batory* to Russia via Poland. It is quite possible. It is very natural. I remember on one instance I saw a man in a uniform which struck me because officers, army officers, never travel on a boat in uniform. I never go to Ambrose Lightship with the ship. I always leave. I am the last one to leave the ship, you know, prior to departure, 5 minutes before the gangplank is off.

I remember I saw one man in Russian uniform.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any knowledge, from conversations or from your own personal observation, of the transportation of agents, Communist agents, into this country or into the Western Hemisphere?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. I have not.

Mr. DEKOM. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party or of the Polish Workers' Party?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. No; I have not.

Mr. DEKOM. Where is the vice president now?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. He is now in New York.

Mr. DEKOM. Is he in the office?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes. He returned yesterday.

Mr. DEKOM. Did he return from his vacation; is that it?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. From his vacation.

Mr. SCHROEDER. He is still performing his duties as vice president of the Gydnia Line, is he?

Mr. SZCZEBINSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. That is all we have, Senator, of Mr. Szczerbinski. May I remind the witness that this is an executive session. That is all, Mr. Szczerbinski.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

THURSDAY, AUGUST 11, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2 p. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Forrest C. Donnell presiding.

Present: Senator Donnell.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee; Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

Senator DONNELL. The meeting will come to order.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER TYSH, INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER ¹

Mr. ARENS. This hearing is a continuation of the hearings on S. 1832, to provide for the exclusion of subversives. The first witness, Senator, is Walter Tysh.

Mr. Tysh, would you kindly stand and raise your right hand and be sworn?

Senator DONNELL. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give in the matter at hand before this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TYSH. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly state your full name and address?

Mr. TYSH. My name is Walter Tysh. On my birth certificate, I spell it T-y-s-h, but in Polish it looks, when it is spelled, more like T-y-s-z. There was a time a few years ago I checked on my birth records and I found that there was some error. For some time I was working in the war industry I had to use that name which was on that record. It was Peter Tysh.

Senator DONNELL. What is your name, please?

Mr. CRAMMER. Harold Crammer, 9 East Fortieth Street, New York, N. Y.

Senator DONNELL. You are a member of the bar?

Mr. CRAMMER. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. You are representing this gentlemen who is now testifying?

Mr. CRAMMER. Yes, sir.

¹ Accompanied by Harold Crammer, attorney. The witness appeared under subpoena.

Senator DONNELL. I think I should say in frankness, and for both the witness and his counsel, that we do not at this moment have a quorum of this committee. I want you to know that with all the legal implications that come from that fact. In the oath which I administered to the witness, I inadvertently used the term "before this subcommittee." As a matter of fact, there is only one member of the subcommittee here and that is myself. We do not have that quorum. I wanted you to know that fact.

Mr. CRAMMER. We understand you are at some inconvenience yourself and we are grateful because we wanted to testify and go home.

Senator DONNELL. All right, sir.

Mr. DEKOM. Mr. Tysh, you have given us your name. Will you give us your present address and occupation?

Mr. TYSH. I live at 140 Maple Avenue, Wallington, N. J. I am employed by the International Workers Order as a clerk.

Senator DONNELL. You are not a lawyer, Mr. Tysh?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Senator DONNELL. And you are?

Mr. CRAMMER. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. I wanted you particularly to know the fact that there is no quorum present, in view of the decision of the United States Supreme Court with which Mr. Crammer is familiar, relating to certain disabilities attendant upon the committee or anyone acting with respect to proceedings that transpire in the absence of a quorum. I think you know what the case is to which I refer.

Mr. CRAMMER. I think I do but we understand you want testimony from him and we want you to have his testimony.

Senator DONNELL. I just want you to know that there is not a quorum here and I want you to bear in mind the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States and any and all legal implications that may follow from the fact that there is not a quorum.

Mr. DEKOM. You said you worked for the International Workers Order?

Mr. TYSH. I work now.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that organization, to your knowledge, listed as Communist and subversive by the Attorney General?

Mr. TYSH. I think it is.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know for a fact that it is or do you just think it is?

Mr. TYSH. I think it is.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know for a fact it is?

Mr. TYSH. It was in the papers.

Mr. DEKOM. It also was in the publications of the International Workers Order which you read, the Fraternal Outlook, for example.

Mr. TYSH. That is what they write, that the Attorney General listed the IWO.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you any connection with the Polonia Society?

Mr. TYSH. That Polonia Society is the Polish branch of the international.

Mr. DEKOM. What is your connection with that?

Mr. TYSH. I handle the Polish correspondence.

Senator DONNELL. Could you speak a little louder, Mr. Tysh?

Mr. TYSH. I handle the Polish correspondence from members and since I am of Polish descent and I know the Polish language, I answer the correspondence in Polish on different questions on their insurance policies, benefits, and claims.

Mr. DEKOM. You were born in Poland?

Mr. TYSH. I was born in this country, in Philadelphia, Pa. I am a native American citizen.

Mr. DEKOM. How did you learn Polish?

Mr. TYSH. At the age of 5 my parents moved to Poland and we lived there until 1937. In 1937, I came back here.

Mr. DEKOM. You came back here?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. What office do you hold in the Polonia Society?

Mr. TYSH. I am assistant secretary.

Mr. DEKOM. You are assistant secretary? Is that in the national organization?

Mr. TYSH. Well, it is national, but my duties are mainly as a clerk.

Mr. DEKOM. What occupations have you held prior to your present occupation with the Polonia Society?

Mr. TYSH. In 1946 I was honorably discharged from the United States Navy. After being unemployed for about 5 months, I applied at the Polish delegation to the United Nations and I was hired as a messenger-clerk. My duties were purely routine.

Mr. DEKOM. What exactly was the date of your employment by the Polish delegation to the United Nations?

Mr. TYSH. I think it was in August 1946.

Mr. DEKOM. How long were you there?

Mr. TYSH. I was there for over a year.

Mr. DEKOM. Why did you leave that?

Mr. TYSH. Because they were reducing the staff, they were laying people off.

Mr. DEKOM. You then went and applied to the International Workers Order?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Had you been a member of it before?

Mr. TYSH. I was.

Mr. DEKOM. When did you become a member?

Mr. TYSH. I took out a policy in 1938.

Mr. DEKOM. When were you elected to your first office or appointed to your first office in the International Workers Order?

Mr. TYSH. Well, I don't remember, because at the beginning I didn't take much interest in this organization. I joined, so probably at some time they elected me to some position or some committee.

Mr. DEKOM. Approximately when, before the war or after the war?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know what you mean, national or local?

Mr. DEKOM. Either one, if you can specify what it is, whether it is national or local.

Mr. TYSH. I think it was the year after I joined.

Mr. DEKOM. That would be about 1938?

Mr. TYSH. 1939. That was local.

Mr. DEKOM. In New York?

Mr. TYSH. That was in Passaic, N. J.

Mr. DEKOM. When did you enter the armed services?

Mr. TYSH. Just to be exact, in March, March 28, 1945, and I was discharged on April 5, 1946.

Mr. DEKOM. How old are you?

Mr. TYSH. Thirty-three.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you see any active service?

Mr. TYSH. No; I did not. You mean on the front?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes.

Mr. TYSH. No.

Mr. DEKOM. When you came out of the armed services, what was your position in the International Workers Order?

Mr. TYSH. I had no position then.

Mr. DEKOM. When did you become elected or appointed?

Mr. TYSH. When I started to work now.

Mr. DEKOM. That is in 1946?

Mr. TYSH. 1947.

Mr. DEKOM. You were elected or appointed as assistant secretary?

Mr. TYSH. Well, I was elected.

Mr. DEKOM. You were elected at a meeting or by a board of directors; how?

Mr. TYSH. At a national committee meeting.

Mr. DEKOM. Who is the head of the Polonia Society now?

Mr. TYSH. You mean president?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes.

Mr. TYSH. Bronislaw Wojkowski.

Mr. DEKOM. What functions have you performed other than clerical duties? Have you made speeches or shown films or talked about Poland or anything of that sort?

Mr. TYSH. Well, our organization has lodges and I spoke at different meetings—lodge meetings.

Mr. DEKOM. About what did you speak?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember. I spoke on Poland—on relief for Poland.

Mr. DEKOM. What did you speak about—about conditions in Poland or Polish geography or Polish clothing; what specifically did you speak about?

Mr. TYSH. I spoke on the necessity of sending relief to needy Polish people.

Mr. DEKOM. You never spoke about conditions in Poland?

Mr. TYSH. I didn't speak because many of our members receive different literature from which they learn about different conditions.

Mr. DEKOM. What sort of literature?

Mr. TYSH. They receive a weekly paper.

Mr. DEKOM. That tells them about conditions in Poland?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Does the paper have a representative in Poland from whom they get the information?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Yet you are the assistant secretary of the organization that issues the paper?

Mr. TYSH. Of the Polonia Society.

Mr. DEKOM. You do not know where they get their information?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you ever go around to show movies or films?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. What kind of films do you show?

Mr. TYSH. You see, since I spent so many years in Poland and I am personally interested in what is going on there, and as my hobby I sometimes borrowed some films from representatives, Film-Polski, and I show them shorts like rebuilding of Warsaw.

Mr. DEKOM. What sort of organization is Film-Polski? Is it a private organization?

Mr. TYSH. That is a Polish Government.

Mr. DEKOM. Organization of the Polish Government?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you tell the committee the nature of the Polish Government? Is it a republican government or democratic government or Socialist government or perhaps a Communist government?

Mr. TYSH. There are different opinions.

Mr. DEKOM. Is your testimony that you do not know?

Mr. TYSH. There are different opinions.

Mr. DEKOM. We are not asking for anybody's opinion. We are asking for yours. We do not care what other people think. We want to know what you know. We ask you if you know for a fact whether it is any of those things.

Mr. TYSH. Some say it is Socialist.

Mr. DEKOM. We do not ask you what some say. We ask what you say.

Mr. TYSH. May I consult my lawyer?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Tysh, have you secured from Film-Polski films which you have been displaying?

Mr. TYSH. Yes, showing.

Mr. DEKOM. You have been showing them to groups of people in this country?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. From whom in Film-Polski did you secure the films? What is the name of the individual?

Mr. TYSH. His name is Andrei Liwnicz.

Mr. ARENS. Where is he located?

Mr. TYSH. 299 Madison Avenue, New York.

Mr. DEKOM. When did you secure the films from him for the purpose of displaying them?

Mr. TYSH. I got a few films.

Mr. DEKOM. When was the last time you secured films from him for displaying purposes?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. DEKOM. How many times would you say you have secured films from him?

Mr. TYSH. I would say about 8 or 10 times.

Mr. DEKOM. Eight or ten times in the course of what period of time?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. DEKOM. How many times have you secured films from him for the purpose of displaying them at meetings in the course of the last year?

Mr. TYSH. Last year?

Mr. DEKOM. In the course of, say, the last year.

Mr. TYSH. I think it was last year.

Mr. DEKOM. Eight or ten times last year?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. In order that the record may be clear, in the course of the last year you have secured films for purposes of displaying those films from the gentleman to whom you have just referred 8 or 10 times, in the course of the last year?

Mr. TYSH. I think so. I am not sure about this because—

Mr. ARENS. Is that approximately right?

Mr. TYSH. About.

Mr. ARENS. The number is approximately right?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What is the office or position of the gentleman from whom you have secured these films?

Mr. TYSH. He is a representative.

Mr. ARENS. Representative of what?

Mr. TYSH. Of Film-Polski.

Mr. DEKOM. Is he an employee of the Polish Government?

Mr. TYSH. I think so.

Mr. DEKOM. And are the films the property of the Polish Government, official Polish Government films?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Is the company that manufactures them, Film-Polski, part of the Government? Is it owned by the Polish Government, the film industry, for example?

Mr. TYSH. I think so.

Mr. DEKOM. So that the films would be the property and the manufacture of the Polish Government.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know where the man gets the films from whom you secured them?

Mr. TYSH. He gets them from Poland.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Where did you show these pictures?

Mr. TYSH. I showed them in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut.

Mr. ARENS. Before what organizations or associations or groups did you display these films?

Mr. TYSH. Polish people.

Mr. ARENS. Could you name some of the organizations of the Polish people to whom you have been displaying these films?

Mr. TYSH. International Workers Order was one.

Mr. ARENS. Now, how many groups or associations of persons in the International Workers Order have you displayed these films to in the course of the last year?

Mr. TYSH. That would be only guessing, because—

Mr. DEKOM. Approximately.

Mr. TYSH. About 10.

Mr. ARENS. Ten organizations?

Mr. TYSH. Showings.

Mr. ARENS. Or subdivisions of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. TYSH. Ten showings.

Mr. ARENS. Ten showings altogether in the last year?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. In these 10 showings, in the course of the last year, did you show all 10 films, 8 or 10 films, that you secured in the course of the last year from representatives of Film-Polski?

Mr. TYSH. Gentlemen, I don't remember many of these things. I would have to check.

Mr. DEKOM. You could give it to us approximately. You think you showed all the films you borrowed? Are there some films you did not show, did not get around to showing?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Tysh, to whatever groups have you displayed your films, other than subunits of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. TYSH. None of them.

Mr. ARENS. Then is it your testimony that you have displayed the films only to persons in meetings under the auspices of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. TYSH. There were different people. I did not ask them whether they belonged to this organization or that or the International Workers' Order.

Mr. ARENS. But all the meetings in which you displayed the films were under the auspices of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. TYSH. You say all?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TYSH. I don't know, because sometimes a group of people would ask me to come and show them.

Mr. ARENS. For what groups did you display the films other than the groups which were under the sponsorship or auspices of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. TYSH. Other?

Mr. ARENS. Yes: what other groups besides the International Workers' Order?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have recollection that there were other groups for whom you have displayed the films other than those groups which were sponsored by the International Workers' Order?

Mr. TYSH. What do you mean by "groups"?

Mr. ARENS. Associations of persons.

Mr. DEKOM. Clubs or other organizations.

Mr. TYSH. Organized or unorganized?

Mr. DEKOM. Either one, or the names of clubs you might have shown them to.

Mr. TYSH. What was the question originally?

Mr. ARENS. You have testified here, as I understand it, Mr. Tysh, in the course of the last year you have displayed films which you have secured from a representative of Film-Polski before certain groups and it was your testimony, as I further understood it, that a number of these groups were under the auspices or sponsorship of the International Workers Order. Is that right?

Mr. TYSH. I would like the privilege of consulting with my attorney.

Senator DONNELL. You may.

Mr. CRAMMER. Do you mean informal or formal groups?

Mr. ARENS. What we are trying to elicit from this witness, Mr. Crammer, is the nature of the groups before whom he displayed the

films. As I understand it, he has testified some of the groups were groups which were set up or sponsored by units of the International Workers Order. Now what other groups did you display the films before as distinguished from those groups sponsored by the International Workers Order?

Mr. TYSH. Some informal.

Mr. ARENS. I did not understand what you said.

Mr. TYSH. Informal. Somebody would write to me that "when you will be here I would like to see the films."

Mr. ARENS. What would be the type of group that would be illustrated by this person you just spoke of?

Mr. TYSH. Unorganized, just on a personal basis.

Mr. DEKOM. You mean an individual would write you and say, "I have some friends who would want to see your picture"?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Not a club?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. In how many instances did you display films before groups in which an individual would write and say in effect, "Please come and display your films"?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember exactly.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be as many as a dozen in the last year?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Mr. ARENS. As many as six?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Mr. ARENS. As many as three in the last year?

Mr. TYSH. About.

Mr. ARENS. Is it your recollection or testimony that it would be approximately three in the course of the last year?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Can you recall the circumstances surrounding the display of the films in any of these three instances to which you have referred?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. You do know that you have displayed films to groups other than groups under the auspices of the International Workers Order?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Now where did you display the films?

Mr. CRAMMER. Do you mean the house or hall?

Mr. ARENS. No, what State or town or village.

Mr. TYSH. I said before I showed them in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania.

Mr. DEKOM. How about Michigan?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Mr. ARENS. Are there any other States in which you have displayed the films in the course of last year other than New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, or New Jersey?

Mr. TYSH. Massachusetts.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever displayed them in Ohio?

Mr. TYSH. No. Ohio?

Mr. SCHROEDER. Detroit? Cleveland?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know that territory and I don't remember whether I was in Ohio or not.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Youngstown?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Mr. ARENS. You say you do not remember whether you have been in Ohio in the course of last year?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You do remember or you do not remember?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember. I don't know the territory and I don't remember whether I was in some county or not.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have, in conjunction with your duties as affiliate or officer in the International Workers Order, a certain territory or area which is under your jurisdiction?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know. It is not fixed.

Mr. DEKOM. You are an officer of the national organization?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. So that your territory of activity, as far as the International Workers Order is concerned, would cover any Polish group in any part of the country?

Mr. TYSH. I don't go to the West, Middle West.

Mr. ARENS. Why not?

Mr. TYSH. Nobody asked me to.

Mr. ARENS. Are there any States in the Union in which you have displayed these films in the course of the last year other than those five States which you have a few minutes ago mentioned?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember. I would have to check on that.

Mr. ARENS. But you do have a recollection that you have displayed the films in each of those five States to which you have just referred, namely, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts?

Mr. TYSH. You said in the last year?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TYSH. I am not sure whether it was last year or maybe before. I know that I showed films in these States.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time?

Mr. TYSH. You see, I don't remember exactly.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be within a period commencing 2 years ago?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Was it before or after you left your employment with the Polish United Nations delegation?

Mr. TYSH. It was after.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you display any of these films while you were affiliated with the United Nations delegation?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Who paid your transportation expenses to each of these several States when you displayed these films?

Mr. TYSH. Well, sometimes we would have collections and that would cover my expense traveling.

Mr. DEKOM. You mean collections where you showed the pictures?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. How about other times? You said sometimes collections were taken. How about on other occasions?

Mr. TYSH. Others, they would have tickets.

Mr. DEKOM. Admission charge?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Were there any other means by which you raised money to pay for this?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Just by collections or tickets?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Who paid for the transportation of the films?

Mr. TYSH. Transportation of the films?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes, to get them there. Did you carry them with you?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did your superior officer in the International Workers Order know of your activity in displaying these films in each of the six States?

Mr. TYSH. I think they know, because it wasn't a secret.

Mr. ARENS. Did they release you from your duties as a member or officer or employee of the International Workers Order?

Mr. TYSH. I didn't go especially to show the films. I would try to sell some insurance while I would be on the trip, speak to members about our organization and try to sign them up, for instance.

Mr. ARENS. Approximately how many persons would be at an average meeting in which you displayed these films in the course of the last 2 years?

Mr. TYSH. That is hard to say.

Mr. ARENS. Would the maximum number at any one meeting range as high as 500?

Mr. TYSH. There was one meeting in Philadelphia that I think had about that many but other meetings had a very small attendance. They were small groups.

Mr. ARENS. Did you do anything at the meeting other than display the films?

Mr. TYSH. I would tell them about the picture.

Mr. ARENS. Was it a sound picture or did you have to give a running commentary?

Mr. TYSH. It was a sound picture but still I felt that to prepare the audience I would summarize what they will see.

Mr. DEKOM. How did you obtain that summary? Who gave that information to you?

Mr. TYSH. I saw that film so many times and I know already.

Mr. DEKOM. How about the first time you showed them?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember whether I did that or not.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you actually operate the projection machine, or was that done by someone else?

Mr. TYSH. No; I showed them.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you have a projection machine with you?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. SCHROEDER. That is a 16-millimeter projector?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Sixteen-millimeter sound-on-film?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. How many times a month are you in contact with the Polish consul general or Polish consulate in New York?

Mr. TYSH. How many times a month?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes; how many times a month, on the average.

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. In the course of the last month, have you seen many or had conversations with many or had official contacts with many?

Mr. TYSH. The last month? Yes; we had a meeting in New York.

Mr. ARENS. Who had the meeting?

Mr. TYSH. The Polonia Society of the International Workers Order.

Mr. DEKOM. How many people were at the meeting?

Mr. TYSH. The press reported there was about 500 people.

Mr. ARENS. Was the consul general there as speaker?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What did he speak about?

Mr. TYSH. That was Poland's fifth anniversary.

Mr. ARENS. You mean Poland is 5 years old?

Mr. TYSH. Yes; since the war.

Mr. ARENS. What is his name?

Mr. TYSH. Whose?

Mr. ARENS. The consul general in New York, the Polish consul general in New York.

Mr. TYSH. Jan Galewicz.

Mr. DEKOM. Who arranged for him to speak there?

Mr. TYSH. The Polonia Society of the International Workers Order.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you go and say to him, "Mr. Galewicz, I want you to speak"; how did it happen?

Mr. TYSH. Yes; we asked him.

Mr. DEKOM. Who are "we"?

Mr. TYSH. From the committee.

Mr. DEKOM. Who are the members of the committee who asked him?

Mr. TYSH. Members in New York.

Mr. DEKOM. Will you name them?

Mr. TYSH. I will have to consult my attorney.

Mr. CRAMMER. There was a group of which he was a member, a committee, which called on the consul and invited him to speak. He attended on that occasion with the committee to extend the invitation.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Tysh, will you kindly tell us the names of the individuals who composed that committee that called on the Polish consul general?

Mr. TYSH. I went there myself.

Mr. ARENS. Who accompanied you?

Mr. TYSH. I went myself.

Mr. DEKOM. You were the only one to go?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. You were instructed by the committee to go?

Mr. ARENS. Who composed the committee that instructed you to go and invite the consul general to appear at this meeting?

Mr. TYSH. It wasn't exactly an elected committee. People came to the meetings, and they participate this way. It wasn't a fixed committee.

Mr. ARENS. How frequently have you had official contact or any conversation with the Polish consul general in the course of, let us say, the last year or two? How frequently do you see him?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Would you see him as much as once a month on the average?

Mr. TYSH. I don't think so.

Mr. ARENS. Would you see him as much as once in a couple of months on the average?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know. I don't keep track of that.

Mr. ARENS. Would you see him as much as once every 6 months on the average?

Mr. TYSH. Maybe.

Mr. ARENS. Would you have contact with him, whether by personal appearance or by telephone conversation or correspondence, in the course of a month, as much as once or twice in the course of the last 2 years?

Mr. TYSH. No. I would make an appointment where I could see him.

Mr. ARENS. How many times in the course of the last month have you either had personal conversation in the presence of the Polish consul general or telephone conversation with him or correspondence with him?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Have you in the course of the last month had contact with him in either of those three ways, in any of those three ways, in the course of the last month?

Mr. TYSH. Well, I said before he spoke at the meeting.

Mr. DEKOM. That is the only contact you had with him?

Mr. TYSH. No; I went to invite him to come to this meeting.

Mr. ARENS. Aside from the occasion on which you invited him to appear at this meeting, what other contacts or associations have you had with him in the course of the last month?

Mr. TYSH. Other?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Is it a fact that you have had direct contact with the consul general in the course of the last year? By contact, I would describe that term to mean association with him either by personal conversation, by telephone conversation, or by correspondence.

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember, because I never thought of having that thing in mind, to register that.

Mr. ARENS. How frequently does the Polish consul general have contact with the International Workers Order's Polonia Society?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know that he does have contact with the Polonia Society?

Mr. TYSH. What do you mean by contact?

Mr. ARENS. Does he counsel and confer with the officers, attend the meetings?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. You know he attended at least one meeting?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. That is the meeting to which you have alluded, at which he spoke?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. How often are you in contact with the other members of the consulate in New York, other than the consul general himself?

Mr. TYSH. How often?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes; on the average per month. Is it 5 times, 10 times?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Mr. DEKOM. If you remember it is not 5 or 10, how many do you remember?

Mr. TYSH. I don't think of these things, and I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have frequent contact with the consul general's office, in New York, of the Polish Government?

Mr. TYSH. Frequently?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TYSH. I don't think so.

Mr. ARENS. In the last year have you had contact with the Polish consul general officers in New York in excess of a dozen times?

Mr. TYSH. This year?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Have you had contact less than a dozen times in the course of the last year?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you had more frequent contact with the consulate than with the Polish United Nations delegation in the last year, or do you see them more often or talk to them or write to them more often?

Mr. CRAMMER. I do not know whether he said he saw them at all.

Mr. DEKOM. He did.

Mr. CRAMMER. The United Nations people, in the last year?

Mr. DEKOM. I think you ought to let the witness testify.

Mr. TYSH. No; I don't talk much to them.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Have you ever received any compensation or expenses from the consul general's office in New York?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. SCHROEDER. You do not remember that you did not receive any expense money from the consul general's office? You certainly remember whether you received compensation?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Think hard.

Mr. ARENS. Do you testify you did not to your knowledge receive any money or other compensation from the office of the consul general in New York City, either in the form of payment for services rendered or for expenses or for any other item?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know them.

Mr. ARENS. Is it your testimony that you have not received any money?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know; I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Is it your testimony that you do not remember if on any occasion you have received money directed to you through the Polish consul general in New York?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember that.

Mr. ARENS. I do not understand whether you say you do not remember any or you do not remember.

Mr. CRAMMER. He says he doesn't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Have you or have you not in the course of the last year received any money directed to you through the Polish consul general in New York?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Senator DONNELL. Do you know whether you got any money or not from the consul general in the last year?

Mr. TYSH. I will have to consult my lawyer.

Senator DONNELL. Consult him.

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember any occasion when I received any.

Senator DONNELL. Do you say here you did not receive any money from him during the last year?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Senator DONNELL. You do not say that, or do you mean you did not? What I want to know is: Do you say now that you did not receive any money from him?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Senator DONNELL. You are saying positively you did not receive any money last year; is that right?

Mr. TYSH. No; I didn't receive any.

Senator DONNELL. Are you sure of that?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. How about since leaving your employment with the United Nations delegation, any time since leaving your employment with the Polish United Nations delegation? Did you receive any money from or through the consulate or through the consul general?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Your testimony is that you did not receive any?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What contact, if any, have you had with the office of the consul general of the Polish Government in New York City with reference to immigration matters, particularly problems with reference to the issuance of visas?

Mr. TYSH. Issuing of visas? Well, sometimes people would ask me, those that were interested to go to Poland, whether I could help them to get a visa.

Mr. DEKOM. Who are these people?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember; very few sometimes.

Mr. DEKOM. Can you name any of them or don't you remember any of them?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. DEKOM. Not one person who asked you?

Mr. TYSH. Offhand.

Mr. DEKOM. Yet you went to the consulate in their behalf?

Mr. TYSH. Pardon me?

Mr. DEKOM. You went to the consulate on their behalf to inquire about visas. Did you go to the consulate for these people and ask about their visas?

Mr. TYSH. No; I didn't go.

Mr. DEKOM. What did you do?

Mr. TYSH. I would call him on the phone.

Mr. DEKOM. With whom did you talk?

Mr. TYSH. Somebody from the passport—

Mr. ARENS. What would be the nature of the case you would inquire about; a typical case?

Mr. TYSH. They would ask me to find out how is their case, that is all.

Mr. ARENS. It would be a case where someone wanted to go to Poland from the United States?

Mr. TYSH. For a visit.

Mr. ARENS. Now who would be the persons who would inquire of you respecting a visa case?

Mr. TYSH. I didn't get that question.

Mr. ARENS. Who were the persons who would inquire of you respecting or ask you to intervene or participate in the processing of the case?

Mr. TYSH. Some of our members.

Mr. ARENS. Members of the International Workers Order or members of the Polonia Society?

Mr. TYSH. International Workers Order.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Who would pay their visa fee?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know about that.

Mr. ARENS. Why did they come to you? What connection did you have with the Polish consulate?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know why they came to me. I never asked them about it.

Mr. ARENS. How many times have you participated in this procedure in the course of the last year?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. As many as a dozen times?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. As many as six times?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. As many as three times?

Mr. TYSH. Maybe.

Mr. ARENS. Well, have you done it at all? You have testified you have done it at least once or twice.

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How many more times have you done it?

Mr. TYSH. I did that only occasionally.

Mr. ARENS. Now what do you mean by occasionally? We are trying to elicit from you the number of times you have had contact with the consulate.

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Have you had contact as many as half a dozen times in the course of the last year?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Would you say you have not had it as many as a half dozen times?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Do you remember some instances in which you have had some contact with the Polish consul?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How long ago was the last one?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Was it as long ago as 6 months?

Mr. TYSH. Yes; this year, that is right.

Mr. ARENS. Have you in the course of the last 6 months had contact with the Polish Government consulate in New York City respecting a visa case?

Mr. TYSH. This year?

Mr. ARENS. Yes; in the last 6 months.

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How many times in the last 6 months?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Have you had more than one occasion?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Have you had as many as three occasions?

Mr. TYSH. I think so.

Mr. ARENS. As many as three in the last 6 months?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Now, in the last year have you had as many as a half dozen occasions to be in contact with the Polish consulate?

Mr. TYSH. Last year?

Mr. ARENS. You have testified up to three in the last 6 months. In the last year how many times have you contacted the Polish consulate?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Sir?

Mr. TYSH. I have some cases.

Mr. ARENS. Now, in a period beginning a year ago and ending 6 months ago, approximately how many times have you had contact with the Polish consulate respecting the visa cases?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. As I understand your testimony, you feel that you have had contact three times in the course of the last 6 months on visa cases; is that right?

Mr. TYSH. I think so.

Mr. ARENS. Now it is your testimony, too, is it not, that you have had some prior to 6 months ago; is that right?

Mr. TYSH. May I have the privilege of consulting my lawyer?

Senator DONNELL. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Would you care to answer the question?

Mr. TYSH. I think I had a few cases last year.

Mr. DEKOM. How often have you received money from the Film-Polski?

Mr. TYSH. I didn't receive any.

Mr. DEKOM. Never received money from Film-Polski?

Mr. TYSH. No, sir.

Senator DONNELL. Who put up the money for your expense in going around with these films?

Mr. TYSH. I answered it before.

Senator DONNELL. Answer it again. Who put it up?

Mr. TYSH. It was covered from the proceeds.

Senator DONNELL. Ticket sales?

Mr. TYSH. Ticket sales.

Senator DONNELL. What was the largest crowd you ever did have at one of these film showings?

Mr. TYSH. How many?

Senator DONNELL. Yes.

Mr. TYSH. Small gatherings, about 40 people.

Senator DONNELL. What was the largest gathering you ever had?

Mr. TYSH. I said before, about 500.

Senator DONNELL. What admission per ticket did you charge?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember. It was up to the local.

Senator DONNELL. How much was it? Do you not know how much it was?

Mr. TYSH. I think it was 50 cents.

Senator DONNELL. About 50 cents?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. Did they pay the money over to you, the local people from whom they collected?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. CRAMMER. Do you mean the gross proceeds?

Senator DONNELL. What did they pay over to you? Give us an illustration of that. You went to Massachusetts?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Senator DONNELL. To what town did you go in Massachusetts?

Mr. TYSH. Boston.

Senator DONNELL. How many shows did you put on in Boston?

Mr. TYSH. One.

Senator DONNELL. Just one? Where was that, in a hall?

Mr. TYSH. In a hall.

Senator DONNELL. What hall was it in, the International Workers hall?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Senator DONNELL. What kind of hall was it?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Senator DONNELL. How many people were there?

Mr. TYSH. Sixty or seventy people.

Senator DONNELL. You went up there from New York City to Boston to make that showing and paid the railroad fare?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. Did you pay that out of your own pocket? Did you take your own money and pay that railroad fare with it?

Mr. TYSH. They paid me.

Senator DONNELL. Who did?

Mr. TYSH. I put out my money and then they paid me from the showing.

Senator DONNELL. You mean in Boston?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Senator DONNELL. You say you had how many people at that showing?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember; I didn't count them.

Senator DONNELL. How many?

Mr. TYSH. I said 60 or 70, or maybe more.

Senator DONNELL. How much did they charge there for admission?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Senator DONNELL. How much money did the Boston people turn over to you for the showing?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Senator DONNELL. About how much?

Mr. ARENS. Did they turn enough over to you to reimburse you for your entire expense to Boston and back to New York?

Mr. TYSIL. I don't remember.

Senator DONNELL. How long ago was that?

Mr. TYSIL. I think it was this year.

Senator DONNELL. You think it was this year?

Mr. TYSIL. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. Do you now know whether it was this year or last year? Was it in the winter?

Mr. TYSIL. I think it was early in the summer.

Senator DONNELL. Early this summer?

Mr. TYSIL. This spring.

Senator DONNELL. What was the most recent showing you made away from New York of this film or any of these films?

Mr. TYSIL. I think that was the one.

Senator DONNELL. That was the most recent one up in Boston?

Mr. TYSIL. As far as I know.

Senator DONNELL. You think that was early spring?

Mr. TYSIL. I think so.

Senator DONNELL. Do you mean around March?

Mr. TYSIL. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. Was it cold weather, pretty cool?

Mr. TYSIL. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. As near as you can remember it, how much money did the man in charge there give to you, or whoever it was who was in charge, as proceeds that were coming to you for showing that film? I do not mean to the penny, but was it a hundred dollars?

Mr. TYSIL. No.

Senator DONNELL. \$50.

Mr. TYSIL. Maybe.

Senator DONNELL. Was it that much or not, if you remember?

Mr. TYSIL. I don't remember.

Senator DONNELL. You do not remember at all?

Mr. TYSIL. No; I think it was less than that.

Senator DONNELL. Sir?

Mr. TYSIL. I think it was less than that.

Senator DONNELL. Less than \$50?

Mr. TYSIL. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. How much was it, as nearly as you remember it?

Mr. TYSIL. It must have been about \$30.

Senator DONNELL. About \$30?

Mr. TYSIL. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. Did that pay you back all your expenses in getting up to Boston from New York and back?

Mr. TYSIL. I didn't go there purposely.

Senator DONNELL. Did you lose money on that trip?

Mr. TYSIL. All of these showings I didn't make any money.

Senator DONNELL. You did not make much?

Mr. TYSIL. One made better and another one less, and this way we covered the expense.

Senator DONNELL. On that trip to Boston did you lose money or make money?

Mr. TYSIL. I don't remember.

Senator DONNELL. When you got back to New York did you tell anybody about how much money you had taken in on the show?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do with the money in case that there was a surplus? Did you turn that in to somebody?

Mr. TYSH. Local lodges would have the money. If they made more, they would keep that money.

Senator DONNELL. What kind of arrangement did you have? What was your agreement with the Boston people before you went there as to what you were to get out of it?

Mr. TYSH. They asked first for movies.

Senator DONNELL. Yes.

Mr. TYSH. Then I went there and I met our members. I spoke to them about insurance and some organization business.

Senator DONNELL. When you went up to Boston from New York, did you know you were going to show the film?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. They had already asked you to bring the film up to show it?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. What was the understanding or agreement as to the financial part of it? How much were you going to get for showing it?

Mr. TYSH. There was no agreement for that.

Senator DONNELL. When you got there you showed the film, they collected the proceeds, and then they turned over \$30 or \$40 to you: is that right?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Senator DONNELL. Who was it turned it over to you? What was his name or her name?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Senator DONNELL. Was it a man or woman?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Senator DONNELL. There is nothing wrong with your memory, is there? You cannot remember things like that?

Mr. TYSH. It is such a detail I don't remember.

Senator DONNELL. Do you remember receiving the money?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. Were you in the hall or downstairs or upstairs?

Mr. TYSH. In the hall there were many people and I don't even remember who took care of that.

Senator DONNELL. Somebody came up and gave you \$30 or \$40?

Mr. TYSH. Somebody from the committee.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you sign a receipt?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Tysh, are you registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. TYSH. No. What is that?

Mr. DEKOM. Have you registered in Washington as an agent of a foreign government?

Mr. TYSH. I am not. I am a citizen of this country.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you registered as an agent of a foreign government? Under the law a citizen can be an agent of a foreign government.

Mr. TYSH. No.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TYSH. Mr. Senator, I must respectfully object to that question because it violates my constitutional rights under the first and fifth amendments.

Senator DONNELL. Are you declining to answer the question as to whether you are a Communist?

Mr. TYSH. I must respectfully object to that question.

Senator DONNELL. I understand, but you decline to answer it?

Mr. CRAMMER. He declines to answer.

Senator DONNELL. On advice of counsel?

Mr. CRAMMER. Yes, sir.

Senator DONNELL. On what grounds?

Mr. CRAMMER. The first and fifth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. DEKOM. He declines on the grounds of self-incrimination?

Mr. CRAMMER. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know Leo Krzycki?

Mr. TYSH. Yes. I think he is president of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. DEKOM. To your knowledge, is that organization listed as Communist and subversive by the Attorney General?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. You do not know?

Mr. TYSH. It is, if you say so.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you or do you not know of your own knowledge?

Mr. TYSH. I think it is.

Mr. DEKOM. What is your connection with the American Slav Congress or any of its branches? You are not a member? Do you know Boleslaw Gebert or Bill Gebert?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. TYSH. He is in Poland.

Mr. DEKOM. What is his position? Is he an official of the Polish Government?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know whether or not he was a Communist organizer in this country?

Mr. TYSH. I respectfully object to that question.

Mr. DEKOM. I did not ask you whether you were. I asked whether you knew he was a Communist organizer in this country.

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. You do not know? Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TYSH. I will object to that question.

Mr. DEKOM. On what grounds?

Mr. TYSH. On the grounds of the first and second amendments.

Mr. DEKOM. On self-incrimination?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you sat on fraction meetings with him?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you ever sat in cell meetings with him?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Tysh, talking man to man, these pictures you have been displaying around are Communist propaganda pictures, are they not?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Senator DONNELL. Did you not see the pictures?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. You know what is in them, do you not?

Mr. TYSH. It shows the reconstruction of Poland; the destruction of Poland.

Senator DONNELL. How often have you received money from Film-Polski?

Mr. TYSH. I did not receive any.

Senator DONNELL. You have never received money from Film-Polski for any purpose whatsoever?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever pay Film-Polski for the privilege of displaying their pictures?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. How much did you pay them?

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember. I paid them some money.

Mr. DEKOM. Five, ten, or a hundred dollars?

Mr. TYSH. Five.

Mr. DEKOM. Altogether you paid them about \$5.

Mr. TYSH. Yes. Not altogether but I paid them as I was renting the films.

Mr. ARENS. You rented the films from Film-Polski?

Mr. TYSH. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What was the rental on the films?

Mr. TYSH. It depends on the picture.

Mr. ARENS. There were 10 different pictures, as I understand, you displayed from time to time; is that right?

Mr. TYSH. \$2, \$3, \$5.

Senator DONNELL. Did you pay that money to Film-Polski in cash or by check?

Mr. TYSH. In cash.

Senator DONNELL. From whom did you get the cash?

Mr. TYSH. From these showings.

Senator DONNELL. From the showings?

Mr. DEKOM. What happened to the surplus money if there was too much? You say the local lodge kept that; is that right?

Mr. TYSH. There wasn't any surplus.

Mr. DEKOM. You say there was no surplus?

Mr. TYSH. You mean after closing?

Mr. DEKOM. If there was more money than needed to pay you off, what did they do with the extra money?

Mr. TYSH. They paid expenses.

Mr. DEKOM. If there was more money taken in, what did they do with it?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Mr. Tysh, you visited the *Batory*¹ quite often when she came in, before the Eisler incident?

Mr. TYSH. Yes; because it was a new ship that came here, so I went over.

Mr. CRAMMER. He said "quite often."

Mr. TYSH. I don't think it was so often.

Mr. SCHROEDER. You had certain members of the crew you were designated to have conversations with when you boarded her?

Mr. TYSH. I don't know that.

Mr. SCHROEDER. You do not know of any members of the crew of the *Batory*?

Mr. TYSH. Crew of the *Batory*?

Mr. SCHROEDER. Yes.

Mr. TYSH. I knew some but I don't know if they are still on the ship.

Senator DONNELL. Do you know a lady by the name of Mrs. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn?²

Mr. TYSH. If I know her?

Senator DONNELL. Do you know of her?

Mr. TYSH. I heard of her.

Senator DONNELL. Where did you hear of her?

Mr. TYSH. I saw a statement over there.

Senator DONNELL. Did you see her here today or yesterday?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Senator DONNELL. Do you know her when you see her? Have you met her?

Mr. TYSH. I saw her in the papers.

Senator DONNELL. You have seen her name in the paper?

Mr. TYSH. Yes.

Senator DONNELL. Have you ever gotten acquainted with her personally?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Senator DONNELL. Never have?

Mr. TYSH. No.

Mr. DEKOM. Did you ever meet Wanda Skarzinska?³

Mr. TYSH. I don't remember.

Senator DONNELL. Mr. Tysh, you may return or go wherever you like, except that you are still under subpoena and you may be called back again. You may go back to New York or wherever you want to go but you are under subpoena, understand, so that if the committee sends for you again you are expected to come back.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you prefer that we inform you?

Mr. CRAMMER. No.

(Thereupon, the meeting was recessed.)

¹ A passenger vessel of the Gdynia-America Line.

² Member of the national committee of the Communist Party.

³ In testimony before the subcommittee she was identified as a clerk in the ship's store of the *M. S. Batory*.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AMONG ALIENS AND NATIONAL GROUPS

FRIDAY, AUGUST 12, 1949

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE IMMIGRATION
AND NATURALIZATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 2 p. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Harley M. Kilgore, presiding.

Present: Senator Kilgore.

Also present: Messrs. Richard Arens, staff director of the special subcommittee, Otto J. Dekom, and Frank W. Schroeder, professional staff members.

Senator KILGORE. We will come to order. Who is the first witness?

TESTIMONY OF STANISLAW A. GUTOWSKI, MANAGING EDITOR, NOWA EPOKA¹

Mr. ARENS. The first witness, Senator, is Mr. Stanislaw A. Gutowski. Mr. Gutowski, would you kindly stand and raise your right hand and be sworn?

Senator KILGORE. You swear the evidence you give now in the matter will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly state your full name and identify yourself by address and occupation?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Stanislaw A. Gutowski. I am a practicing attorney in the State of New Jersey. I live at 131 Florence Avenue, Irvington, N. J.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented today, Mr. Gutowski, by counsel?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Mr. Rogge is my counsel.

Mr. ARENS. Would counsel care to identify himself?

Mr. ROGGE. My name is O. John Rogge, with offices at 401 Broadway, New York City, and 1802 Twentieth Street, Washington, D. C. I have with me my associate, Herbert J. Fabricant, of the same address.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Gutowski, you have identified yourself as a practicing lawyer in the State of New Jersey. Are you also affiliated with a newspaper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. What is the name of the newspaper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Nowa Epoka.

¹ Accompanied by O. John Rogge and Herbert J. Fabricant, attorneys. The witness appeared under subpoena.

Mr. ARENS. Is that a foreign-language newspaper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is both Polish and English. We have two pages of English in every issue.

Senator KILGORE. You get out a combined edition of it, part in English and part in Polish?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Senator KILGORE. Are the parts identical, the same matter in English that is in Polish?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. No.

Mr. ROGGE. We are very happy to have these made exhibits.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. The first issue, statement of policy, that is in both Polish and English, identical.

Senator KILGORE. What is the translation of the title of that paper, New Epoch?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. New Epoch.

Mr. ARENS. If the Senator please, we should like to submit for the record as exhibits two issues of the newspaper which will be marked "Exhibit 1."

(The documents referred to were marked "Gutowski Exhibit 1" and are included in the files of the subcommittee.)

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly state the affiliation which you have with the newspaper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I am now managing editor of the paper, but I don't put any full time in. I am not paid, except actual expenses that I have, because I practice law in Newark, N. J., and I go to New York once or twice a week just to supervise. I have three people working up there, the chief editor, so-called manager, and secretary. These people conduct the business. I am just simply supervising it from time to time.

Senator KILGORE. Just a question at that point. What is the ownership of the paper? You are a stockholder?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. It is a corporation.

Senator KILGORE. A corporation?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes; and I am one of the incorporators.

Senator KILGORE. One of the incorporators.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. And I am president of the corporation.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been affiliated with the paper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. From its inception.

Mr. ARENS. When was that, please?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That was October 13, 1947, I think, the first issue.

Mr. DEKOM. How many employees does the paper have?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Now three, I mean outside of correspondents who write occasionally to be paid for. I don't call them employees, but I mean three in the office.

Mr. DEKOM. Three full-time employees.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. How many of these correspondents are there to whom you pay any money?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I have three.

Mr. DEKOM. So that is a total of approximately six employees, either full or part time.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Sometimes he writes an article, I pay him. If not, I don't pay him; I don't know whether you call them employees.

Senator KILGORE. You contract for the paper. That is printed in a commercial plant. You do not operate your own printing plant?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What are the names of the men who actually work on the paper.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. John Sliski, Max Miller, and Mrs. Helen Ciecich.

Senator KILGORE. I don't know your law there. Are you required once a year to publish a list of the principal stockholders and officials?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Not stockholders, no; it isn't the law in New York.

Mr. ROGGE. I will have to admit I don't know what the law in New Jersey is on this point. I practice in New York.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. It is only every year you have to file a statement as to the number of subscribers for the purpose of getting second-class matter, but we don't have second-class matter. We pay post office every week, you know, for each issue so far.

Senator KILGORE. The point I am getting at is in many States each newspaper is required to publish the names of 60 percent or 55 percent or 70 percent of their stockholders, those controlling that size block of stock.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I believe that is not the law in the State of New York.

Mr. ROGGE. You mean New Jersey.

Senator KILGORE. This is a New York paper.

Mr. ROGGE. I don't know the law on this point, either, in New York.

Senator KILGORE. I thought that we would save a lot of time if you would send us an edition of that when it was published.

Mr. ARENS. What is the circulation of your paper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. About 5,000 a week, sometimes a couple of hundred more.

Mr. ARENS. What is your paid circulation?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. As of yesterday we have 603 paid and 250 copies sold in New York on the newsstands. We have about 850 of paid.

Mr. ARENS. Then is it a matter of simple mathematics that you have 853 approximately paid?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. No, no: 603 paid. That means annual.

Senator KILGORE. Annual subscriptions.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Senator KILGORE. Then your daily sales amounted to how much?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. From 225 to 250 every week on the newstand in New York City.

Mr. ARENS. It is a weekly publication, is it?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Then you have approximately 853.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That would be 853; 600 and 250, that is 850.

Mr. ARENS. Out of a circulation of approximately 5,000.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What is the cost of the paper, the price of the paper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Five cents. It used to be 6, but we changed to 5. The first copy was 6 cents, as you probably know.

Mr. ARENS. What is the cost when you buy the paper by the year?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Three dollars in the United States. Outside of the United States it is \$4.50.

Mr. ARENS. Where does the paper circulate other than in the United States?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. We send about, I think, about 30 or 40 copies to Canada; and about, I don't remember exactly, about 50 or 60 to Poland; few to Brazil; some people simply write and ask for it. Very few outside of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Are those papers that are sent outside of the United States, what percentage or what number of them are to subscribers who pay money for the paper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That I cannot recall. We would have to refer to the book, you know. Mr. Chairman, may I say something here now?

Senator KILGORE. Yes.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. The subpoena that I received—

Mr. ROGGE. That is all right. Give the best of your recollection.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Calls only for the list of stockholders and list of contributors. Did nothing else, so I really brought this. So if you are going to ask me questions about, you know, this book business, you know, in my office, I won't be able to give you exact data. I can send to this office, I mean, this information.

Mr. ARENS. If you will do so, please, we will appreciate it.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes.

(The information submitted by letter of Mr. Gutowski of Oct. 24, 1949, is as follows:)

We used to send to Poland 70 copies of *Nowa Epoka*; to wit, 9 copies paid by the relatives in the United States and 61 complimentary copies; to Canada, 3 copies paid and 5 complimentary copies; to Cuba, 2 paid copies; to Argentina, 1 paid and 2 complimentary copies; to Brazil, 2 paid and 2 complimentary copies; to Peru, 1 paid, 1 complimentary copy.

For your information, the publication of *Nowa Epoka* was discontinued as of October 1, 1949.

Mr. ROGGE. May I interrupt to point out that the subpoena required "you are further commanded to bring with you a list of all owners and stockholders and the value of their holdings as well as a list of contributors and the amount of their financial contribution." It does not say what corporation, so I think it would be defective on that ground. But we are not raising the point if what you had in mind was the *Nowa Epoka*, because we did bring that material with reference to that paper.

Senator KILGORE. Do you have that material?

Mr. ROGGE. Yes.

Senator KILGORE. I wonder if it would not be advisable to put that material in the list of stockholders.

Mr. ARENS. If he could identify those exhibits, and then we will put them in, if it meets with your pleasure.

Senator KILGORE. Yes.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I would like to make a statement, Mr. Chairman, that, as I explained before, I know I am there just once or twice a week, and I really rely upon my manager, secretary, to make this list. If there is any error in this statement, I don't want to take the blame for it exactly. I don't want to be held for perjury, you know. That is a list of stockholders.

Senator KILGORE. In other words, these were obtained from the secretary of the corporation?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. No; secretary of the——

Senator KILGORE. Of the newspaper.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Of the newspaper, not secretary of the corporation. The secretary who works for me in the office; I mean she takes care of the office, and this is the list of contributors.

Senator KILGORE. You requested her to make that up from the books.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Senator KILGORE. Of the corporation.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. At this time, please, we would like to submit them for the record exhibit 2, which is a list of stockholders and holdings of this publication; and exhibit 3, which sets forth a list of contributors in the publication.

(The documents marked as "Gutowski Exhibit 2" and "Gutowski Exhibit 3" are as follows:)

EXHIBIT 2.—List of stockholders and holdings of Nowa Epoka Publishing Co., Inc.

Stockholder	Number of shares	Par value
S. A. Gutowski.....	780	\$7,500
S. Kosiba.....	40	400
R. Kutylowski.....	450	4,500
M. Miller.....	50	500
Polam Import-Export Co., Inc.....	3,190	31,900
J. Sliski.....	50	500
M. Szadkowski.....	600	6,000
S. Szadkowski.....	400	4,000

EXHIBIT 3.—Contributors to Nowa Epoka

W. Kielan.....	\$10
J. Anjeski.....	2
Alex Burji.....	1
Stanley Kutylowski.....	10
P. Sikorski.....	1
J. Kazmiserczyk.....	2
Ignacy Shafron.....	2
Walter Wajton.....	1
F. Carmon.....	2

Senator KILGORE. By contributors, do you mean, of course, people who have donated cash toward the publication of the newspaper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Sometimes they send \$5; sometimes a dollar.

Senator KILGORE. I know, but you know in newspaper business there are two kinds of contributors, those who contribute articles and those who contribute cash, and I want to get it straightened out that this meant cash contributor, and not a contributor of an article.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes.

Senator KILGORE. What is the name of the corporation?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Nowa Epoka Publishing Co., Inc.

Mr. ARENS. To whom are the 4,000-odd papers a week sent, to those people who did not actually pay for the paper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Our subscribers send, you know, a list of names, you know, their friends you know, for instance, to send just sample copy. Then we obtain some from some organizations, you know, addresses,

and we send this sample copy, you know, we send in 2 or 3 weeks and sometimes four, and then we cancel them, you know, and send to new people that are prospective subscribers or readers of the paper.

Mr. DEKOM. Do all of the unpaid copies go only to prospective subscribers, or are some permanently on your mailing list?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Well, like, for instance, universities or public libraries, I think they send out, you know, send them permanently, but to a very few people we send permanently if they don't pay.

Mr. DEKOM. How can the paper afford to maintain a staff of six and publish 5,000 copies on a paid subscription of 600?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Well, because our paper was a new paper, you know. We just started—I mean 1947—and, of course, we had deficits, you know, and have a deficit, but now this year we have a little less deficit, you know. We expect to put the paper on a sustaining basis. If you start business in the beginning you have to invest money, you know, but we don't expect to have this deficit every year, you know.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you expect to recover all of your losses from subscriptions?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Not from subscriptions, from both ads and subscriptions.

Mr. ARENS. Who are your principal advertisers?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. You see, now I was not asked to bring this, you know, but I brought anyhow.

Mr. ROGGE. To the best of your recollection.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I want to cooperate with this committee, you know, as much as possible, and I still repeat, you know, that I am not responsible if there is any mistake in this, because she, the secretary, made this list, you know.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us who are some of your principal advertisers?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I will in a minute. I left my glasses. I can't see very well now. For instance, Hartwig Co., Inc., I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, but I cannot read. Maybe you will.

Mr. ROGGE. The witness left his glasses.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I left my glasses home.

Mr. ARENS. If he wants to identify that document as a list of advertisers.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes; you can keep this, you know, this whole business. I have nothing to hide.

Mr. ARENS. Is this document, which I have just identified as exhibit 4, a list of the advertisers of the publication?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. This is not a document. This is simply a statement of advertising that we received, you know, since the inception of the paper, and how much we collected from these people.

Senator KILGORE. Also prepared by your secretary?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. By my secretary.

Senator KILGORE. Which you have no first-hand knowledge?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. No; I have not.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to incorporate this in the record at this time, as exhibit 4.

(The document marked "Gutowski Exhibit 4" is as follows:)

List of advertisers of Nowa Epoka

Advertiser	Date	Amount
Polish American Trading, 55 Nassau Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.	Jan. 15, 1948	\$20.00
M. Szadkowski	Jan. 29, 1948	¹ 10.00
Shion & Jolles	Feb. 13, 1948	¹ 20.00
Reader Book Co. (Czytelnik), 30 East Twentieth Street, New York City	July 1, 1948	195.96
Do	July 16, 1948	304.04
Do	Aug. 20, 1948	250.00
Do	Sept. 8, 1948	250.00
Do	Oct. 4, 1948	100.00
Do	Nov. 8, 1948	100.00
Do	May 5, 1949	800.00
Total		2,000.00
Nino Saitta	Aug. 6, 1948	¹ 20.00
Frank Gnzik	Nov. 10, 1948	¹ 4.00
Polish Research Information Center	Dec. 2, 1948	¹ 4.50
Pekao Trading (Judson Sp. Agency), 545 Fifth Avenue, New York City	Sept. 18, 1948	6.25
Do	Oct. 2, 1948	31.25
Do	Nov. 23, 1948	16.66
Do	Dec. 28, 1948	53.12
Do	Jan. 3, 1949	20.00
Do	Jan. 15, 1949	53.12
Do	Feb. 22, 1949	40.00
Do	Apr. 27, 1949	40.00
Do	May 27, 1949	65.49
Do	July 11, 1949	40.00
Do	July 18, 1949	49.98
Total		415.87
Hartwig Co., Inc., 2 Broadway, New York City	July 6, 1948	300.00
Do	Aug. 3, 1948	300.00
Do	Aug. 17, 1948	300.00
Do	Aug. 18, 1948	300.00
Do	Oct. 20, 1948	300.00
Do	Dec. 3, 1948	300.00
Do	Jan. 8, 1949	300.00
Do	Feb. 17, 1949	300.00
Do	Mar. 19, 1949	300.00
Do	Apr. 8, 1949	300.00
Do	Apr. 20, 1949	300.00
Do	June 6, 1949	300.00
Do	July 11, 1949	300.00
Total		3,900.00
Batory, Gdynia America Line (Ervin Acel. Agency), 15 Whitehall Street, New York City	Dec. 14, 1948	49.98
Do	Feb. 20, 1949	26.66
Do	Mar. 28, 1949	26.66
Do	Apr. 13, 1949	40.00
Do	May 9, 1949	40.00
Do	June 23, 1949	40.00
Do	July 18, 1949	79.98
Total		303.28
Polish American Supply Corp., 39 Broadway, New York City	July 1, 1948	60.00
Do	July 30, 1948	24.00
Do	Aug. 30, 1948	24.00
Do	Sept. 29, 1948	48.00
Do	Oct. 30, 1948	24.00
Do	Dec. 4, 1948	24.00
Do	Jan. 7, 1949	20.00
Do	Apr. 6, 1949	108.00
Do	May 23, 1949	96.00
Do	Aug. 1, 1949	36.00
Total		464.00
Pasco Meat Products, Newark, N. J.	Jan. 29, 1948	20.00
Do	Jan. 7, 1949	20.00
Do	July 20, 1949	12.00
Total		52.00
Commodore Manor, Downingtown, Pa.	July 28, 1949	50.00
Pollonaise Restaurant, 230 Fifty-first St., New York City	(²)	88.00

¹ Miscellaneous.

² May, June, and July, 1949.

Senator KILGORE. The typewritten sheets here attached, as well as those previously attached, are both in red and black ink, but the red ink has no special significance. It just happens to be typed that way?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes, Mr. Chairman; I would say this, you know, that I really can't explain why she does it, the way she did it. Yesterday she was in an accident, you know, and I could not talk to her in the morning. I didn't ask her why she uses both inks. Really I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. I observe one of the series of items here of the advertisers is the Gdynia-America Line.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Is that the Polish-owned line that operates the *Batory* and the *Sobieski*?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Is that owned by the Polish Government?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I can't—I cannot answer. I imagine that the Government controls that line, but really I don't know, because I could not ask these people whether it is Government. It used to be sometime ago before the war, you know. There was a Danish corporation which the Polish Government had 51 percent stock. That is way back, you know, before the war. Maybe they operate now, but I really can't answer this question definitely because I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Could you identify the Polish-American Supply Corporation?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I understand this is a corporation that buys in the United States for the Government of Poland and sells; that means export and import corporation. I think that is strictly Government.

Senator KILGORE. In other words, it is a Polish Government purchasing agency, operating within the United States for the procurement of supplies and materials.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right. That is my understanding, of course.

Mr. SCHROEDER. The same as Amtorg?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I don't know anything about Amtorg. I know there is Russian.

Senator KILGORE. Amtorg is set up in this country as a purchasing agency.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I know, but whether these two organizations are alike, I don't know. I have never been in that office. I don't know.

Mr. ROGGE. Just give the best recollection you have on it, Mr. Witness. If you know, say so. If you don't, give your best recollection.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is what I say. It would not be proper for me to snoop around and ask these people what the status of their organization is, you know. Of course, now, by this organization, I know that this is a Government organization, but as to the Gdynia-America Line, I don't know, but there are some Danish people who have stock in this corporation and in the American line.

Mr. ARENS. The Gdynia-American Line is one of your advertisers.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I will say this, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. ROGGE. Is it your advertiser?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I know—I say "Yes," but I want to add this: that we get these ads not from Gdynia-America Line direct, but you have the name of the advertising agency who we get this from. They pay us by check every month, you know, for these ads, and I will say

this: that in every Polish newspaper in the United States you will find this ad of Gdynia-America Line and also this corporation. So, my paper is not exclusive recipient of the benefits, you know, under this.

Mr. ARENS. How many Polish-American newspapers are there in the United States in which the Gdynia-America Line advertises?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I believe there is about, used to be 80. Now, I think, about 70, because there are a few out of business, and most of these newspapers, I would say 75 percent, receive these ads and not from Gdynia-America Line directly, but from this agency.

Mr. ROGGE. Do you get yours from the agency?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I get \$40 a month for this.

Mr. ROGGE. Do you get that through the agency?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Through the agency. There is the name of the agency below.

Mr. ARENS. Could you identify the Pekao trading organization?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes, I believe this is strictly Government, Polish Government organization. It is like a branch of the bank which is packages to Poland from here. That means they advertise among the Polish people and say this: "If you pay, for instance, 5 or 10 dollars here, you know, we by cable—you get, your relatives will get a package for whatever you order, here in Poland in a short time." So, that is the kind of business they do, you know, and besides I don't know how much.

Mr. ARENS. Is that a Government, Polish Government agency?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I believe it is strictly Government agency.

Senator KILGORE. Let me ask you something on that point. I know that CARE distributes packages in Poland. Is it an affiliate of CARE or is it an independent agency?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is independent, but similar work they are doing.

Mr. ARENS. Owned by the Government of Poland.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I believe so, but I am not sure.

Mr. ARENS. Does this agency, Pekao, like the Gdynia Line, also advertise in other Polish-American papers?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Oh, yes, in every, practically, because you know they want to get, send these packages, as many as possible.

Mr. DEKOM. I notice that the three Polish Government agencies which advertise in your paper pay on the average about one-eighth or one-tenth of the ads of the Hartwig Co.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Does that mean the Hartwig Co. has ads 10 times as big in the paper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is a different proposition. Hartwig Co.—when we established this paper, we figured out on the export and import business between Poland and the United States, and there is a Poland Export-Import Corp. that is supposed to do that business—when I talked to Hartwig, I explained to him that if we are going to carry on the export and import business, he is going to get all of the business from us. At the same time we are going to give him write-up in our paper, so that if any other group of Polish-Americans would like to do business with Poland, you know, that they should go to him so that on that ground he gave me this big ad, you know, \$300 a month.

Mr. DEKOM. You did not quite answer the question. Are their ads 10 times as big as those of the Polish Government?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I don't go by this, you know. Sometimes there is one ad in my paper that I don't charge anything.

Mr. DEKOM. Could you answer the question, please. Are they 10 times as big or not 10 times as big.

Senator KILGORE. Did they use 10 times as much space?

Mr. DEKOM. Is the space approximately the same?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. No, it is not as big. It is bigger, but not 10 times.

Mr. DEKOM. Is it twice as big?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I didn't get this question.

Mr. ARENS. How do you account for the discrepancy in the size of the ads as compared to the payments made to the paper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Of course, I have special rates for different people. I have no standard rates in this paper.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have special rates for those agencies which are controlled by the Polish Government?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. No, no, not those agencies. I didn't say that, you know. Hartwig is not a Polish Government agency. This is domestic corporation.

Mr. DEKOM. Then you charge a private concern \$300 and the Polish Government some \$30 or \$40 for similar areas of space.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Because they don't pay any more; because they operate through the agency and they give similar ads to all of the Polish newspapers, not to antagonize different papers by giving more to this one than that one.

Mr. ARENS. Just to get the point clear, is the size space which is bought by Hartwig Co. for a dollar, the same size space which is bought by the Gdynia-America Lines for a dollar?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I don't know how many inches. We go by inches. Sometimes, you know, we charge \$3 for an inch, sometimes \$2, sometimes \$1.50, and a dollar. There are some ads, you know, that I charge more than the other ads. Hartwig comes to \$300. He agreed and I got him on it. I don't see the point of this question anyhow, because Hartwig is not the Polish Government agency.

Mr. ROGGE. What they are trying to get at, Mr. Witness, are the considerations in your mind that you used for fixing the price for different ads. I mean, is it solely based on space or are there other considerations?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I told Mr. Hartwig, you know, we are going to do business in the future, you know. In establishing the paper, give me some substantial ads, and he gave it to me, \$300.

Mr. ARENS. Will a \$300 ad bought by Mr. Hartwig buy a greater or lesser space than a \$300 ad bought by the Gdynia-America Lines?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. They didn't buy any space for \$300 except \$40, so we never talk about it. I can't speculate what I would do in the future. I don't know that.

Mr. ROGGE. What they are still trying to get at, Mr. Witness, are the considerations in your mind when you charge certain amounts for space. Do you understand their question?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes, I would ask probably them the same amount that I asked Hartwig. Does that answer it?

Mr. ROGGE. You charge a certain amount to certain persons, other amounts to other persons.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ROGGE. They are trying to figure out what the consideration is in your mind, whether you charged a certain figure in one place and another figure in another. Was the space different?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. It isn't a matter of space, you know. It isn't a matter really strictly of space, because now there are some people that I have ads, you know, just they pay me, you know, a dollar an inch, and there is one ad you know that I don't charge anything for, so I just simply get as much as I can.

Mr. ARENS. Have you or have you not charged the Gdynia-America Lines more than you would Hartwig for a given amount of space?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. You asked me what I would do?

Mr. ARENS. You sold advertising both to the Gdynia-America Lines and to Hartwig, have you not?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I doubt so far as Gdynia, I doubt whether the agency, the agency just simply was authorized to give me such an ad, you know, and they pay me so much. But what I will do with the Gdynia-America Line if I talked to them for an ad, that is another story. I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you identify the Reader Book Co.?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes. That is a branch of bookstores cooperative in Poland. Now, whether this cooperative is owned by government or controlled, I don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. You know as a matter of fact that it is. All cooperatives publishing in Poland are owned by the Government; don't you know that?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. No, no, some of them, not all. Some of them controlled by the Government. I have been to Poland last year and I know something about this cooperatives, like for instance you know, 40 or 50 or 100 men get together, you know, and they buy and sell, you know, and that is a cooperative. That is why these bookstores, you know, they just organize themselves into one cooperative.

Mr. DEKOM. I notice from the list of ads you submitted the majority of the entries are either those of some organization owned by the Polish Government or some organization which is acting on behalf of the Polish Government, like the Gdynia Line, is that correct?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Most of these ads, you mean?

Mr. DEKOM. That is right.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is probably correct; yes.

Mr. DEKOM. So that the majority of your ads directly or indirectly refer to organizations or to activities of the Polish Government.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Majority? I would have to count that. Let's see.

Senator KILGORE. Are you speaking in number or dollar value?

Mr. DEKOM. The number of ads.

Senator KILGORE. There is a difference there, if Hartwig is paying more for space.

Mr. DEKOM. There is only one Hartwig and four Government ads. They add up to about the same.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. About Readers, I don't know whether it is Government, of course, probably everything is controlled in Poland by Government.

Mr. ROGGE. Simply state to the best of your knowledge.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. There is one, there is one, two, one, two, three, four, five, yes, you are correct, that I mean for those ads are from either directly from this Polish-owned organization or from like, for instance—

Mr. DEKOM. It is your testimony that the majority of the ads come from organizations directly or indirectly which are owned or controlled by the Polish Government.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is correct.

Mr. DEKOM. That is the Polish Communist Government.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. In Poland.

Mr. DEKOM. Yes.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. The Government is controlled by Communists; that is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Would you identify the Polam Import & Export Co.?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Just off the record, now, I have been in Poland last year, and these Polish Communists, they are insulted—they call the Workers Parties now, so what was the question?

Mr. DEKOM. Would you identify the Polam Export & Import Co.?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I am one of the incorporators. I have five shares in this company and my associate, Mr. Michael Szadkowski is the president, and he owns, I think, about 94 or some percent of the stock.

Mr. DEKOM. What is the corporation; what is its purpose?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. It was organized for use by us for the purpose of doing export and import business between Poland and the United States.

Mr. DEKOM. How does it happen that of the 5,500 shares in the Nowa Epoka, 3,190 are owned by the Polam Co.?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Because Polam is helping this paper, you know, to live.

Mr. DEKOM. Why? Why is Polam helping this paper to live, since it is an export-import company?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I know, because we expect you know, for instance, how this Polam expects to get some distribution of Polish ham in the United States in some territory. The paper is going to help us out, you know, by advertising and everything else.

Mr. ARENS. In order to receive this export of ham, this company has to have the consent of the Polish Government, does it not?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Not at all. As I understand, you know, Atalanta Co., a corporation, domestic corporation here in New York, made a contract with the Polish Government, you know, to sell Polish ham here, and this Atalanta Corp. is going to have distributors, you know, all over the United States to sell this ham, and this Polam, you know, is trying to get the State of New Jersey, for instance, as territory, in which we would sell Polish ham. We have nothing to do with the Government, except with this Atalanta Corp.

Mr. ARENS. Which is an instrument of the Polish Government?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Not the instrument. They are separate domestic corporation here. The same company used to bring ham—sell ham upon—sell Polish ham before the war, you know, when there was the last old regime was in Poland.

Mr. DEKOM. Do private corporations in Poland still control the ham business as before the war or is it now a government monopoly?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I am not sure, but I think it is a government monopoly.

Mr. DEKOM. So that the Atalanta Co. represents the Polish Government monopoly in this country?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Not represents. When they made a contract to buy for a million or 10 million dollars of Polish ham here, you know, so that is the consummation of contract between one party and another party.

Senator KILGORE. Do they have an exclusive contract?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. They have an exclusive contract.

Senator KILGORE. In the United States?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. This is the organization that is helping support your paper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. This organization? Polam, you mean?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Polam, you know, is Michael Szadkowski, is my associate and friend. He is also a lawyer and businessman, and he is rather well-to-do man. He expects, you know, in the future, don't you see, not only to get the money that he put in this Polam Corp. to help the Nowa Époka, but to make a few dollars; that Polish ham business is very profitable.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us on the basis of your experience as a managing editor of this foreign-language paper, first of all, how many foreign-language newspapers are there in the United States, Polish-language newspapers?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I told about 70.

Mr. ARENS. What is the combined circulation of those 70 foreign-language newspapers?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. We have three types of Polish newspapers. I think we have six dailies: Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Boston, and Buffalo. They have bigger circulation, that is a daily paper. Then we have weekly papers, like my paper. They have very few, have more subscribers than my paper, because they are local, like Trenton, for instance, or Jersey City.

Mr. DEKOM. Do they also send out 4,000 free copies, like you do?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That I don't know. Most of them do, you know, because you have to send out sample copy in order to get subscriptions, but I can't answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. There are approximately 70 foreign-language Polish newspapers in the United States?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. About 70.

Mr. ARENS. On the basis of your experience, can you testify as to the extent to which the Polish-Government-controlled organizations, such as the Gdynia Lines, advertise in these Polish-language newspapers?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I will say that the Gdynia-America Line and this package company, probably in most of these newspapers, Polish newspapers, you know, I would say 75 percent.

Mr. ARENS. Is it your testimony, in order that the record may be clear, that of the approximately 70 Polish foreign-language newspapers in the United States, that the Polish-Government-controlled organizations advertise in approximately 75 percent of those papers?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Is the contribution or relative contribution of the Polish-Government-controlled organizations, through their advertising in the Polish foreign-language newspapers in the United States, approximately the same extent as they are to your paper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is correct. So far as I recall.

Mr. DEKOM. I notice that in the issue of April 19, 1948, which you submitted in evidence, you have an article on Poland by a reporter with the note "Special to the Nowa Epoka." Do you have a correspondent in Poland?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Oh, that is a boy I met in Cracow, when I was last year, and I asked him to send me one or two articles, so that is one of his two articles that he send me.

Mr. DEKOM. That is an article that was sent to you from Poland?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Which one?

Mr. DEKOM. Report from Cracow by Jan Wolski.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is something else. That was in 1948. I cannot answer this question. You will have to ask the chief editor, because really I don't edit the paper, you know, and he is responsible for these things, so I can't answer this question.

Mr. ARENS. Are you familiar with it?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That was a year ago.

Mr. ARENS. With the policy of the other Polish foreign language newspapers, the seventy-odd, which are published in the United States?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I am very happy to answer that question. I know the policy, because I have been active in the Polish affairs for 40 years and I know.

Mr. ARENS. Let me ask you a question: To what extent do these Polish foreign-language newspapers in the United States, of which you have testified that approximately 75 percent of the 70 Polish-language newspapers receive advertising from Polish Government controlled corporations—

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Reprint articles which have emanated from Poland?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. They all do, you know, practically. Most of these newspapers are hostile to the present regime in Poland and if there is any news, bad news, about Poland, you know, they put it in. If there is good news, you know, they would not put it in, because their policy is this, if I may make, Mr. Chairman, a statement about this Polish, there are two schools of thought, you know, among the American Poles in America. One, which is represented by Polish-American Congress, you probably heard about this organization, and also which constitutes the majority of the Polish Americans in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Anti-Communist organization, is it not?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes, anti-Communist, that is correct; that is right. Their point is this, that they should not deal with Poland. They should not help Poland, because there is a regime that they don't like it, and they boycott Poland, and the help for Poland, because there is communistic regime as they call it, and they control most of these newspapers, Polish newspapers in the United States, and therefore, you know, this majority of the American Poles simply refuse to have anything to do with Poland.

There is another school of thought which is minority, which claims that we as American citizens should not meddle with the political internal affairs of Poland. We are not supposed to tell them what government they have. We don't care. We have to help the Polish people, not the government, but the people up there by sending economic help and cultural system so that they would recognize that they are not left alone by the Poles in the United States, and in this way, you know, probably, I mean we would probably not help them to go into the arms of Russia, because if everybody is going to forget about his poor Polish people in Poland, then they will go to Russia. So that group, you know, is represented by my paper.

Mr. ARENS. Does your paper's policy favor the present regime in Poland, the government regime in Poland?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Pardon me. I personally, in my paper does not favor the present regime in Poland. I have written this here political credo for this paper in April 1948 and I would like for the record, Mr. Chairman, to show just a few points, the gist of the policy. I would like you to read that because I cannot without glasses.

Senator KILGORE. Is that in English?

Mr. ROGGE (reading):

Summing up the above facts and observations the conclusion is inescapable that Polish-Americans cannot and should not pursue the same policies regarding Poland as do the Polish refugees who are guided by personal and party interests.

(1) We, as American citizens, have no right to interfere in Polish domestic problems. We do not pay taxes in Poland, nor do we share in any other burdens of the Polish people. If for no other reason, for this reason alone we have no right to dictate to Poland how she should regulate her own social and political affairs.

(2) Polish-Americans cannot and should not conduct any political action on the international scene. The United States Government attends to that, and does it much better.

(3) Polish-Americans have no right to accuse the United States Government of betraying Poland. It must be realized, after all, that to the United States Government American interests are paramount to the interests of Poland or any other nations.

(4) Polish-Americans, following the example of the United States, should take up normal relations with Poland, no matter what its government, since without such direct contact there can be no question of giving any real aid to the Polish people.

(5) The Polish-American Congress should revise its program and confine its activity to the following objectives:

(a) to convince the United States Government that to refuse American relief and economic aid to the Polish people means not only to punish them for crimes they did not commit, but also to alienate, from the United States, the friendship of the Polish people, who were always most amicably disposed toward this country.

Mr. DEKOM. May I interrupt you for a second? You stated above that the management of relations with Poland should be left exclusively to the Government because that is its business.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I did not say to the Government. I said to the people of government.

Mr. ROGGE. You mean our foreign.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. DEKOM. You say it is now the job of our Congress, of the Congress to convince our Government to take some action.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Says, for instance they say, memorandums and appeals, they send them to England, to the United Nations Organiza-

tion, or to—they make protests to the State Department, because you know Poland in Yalta was sold down the government. They called Roosevelt traitor of the Polish because, you know, they say America betrayed Poland, you know.

Mr. ARENS. This Polish Congress is the anti-Communist organization?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is exactly.

Mr. ARENS. That is the organization you are criticizing in your paper.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right, so I claim this, that we have no right, you know, to meddle with the internal affairs, you know, because the Government of the United States, you know, does that, but to help Poland, and, you know, our flesh and blood, you know, that is not exactly international problem that we should not do. Mr. Chairman, I claim this, that it is our policy that the United States help Czechs and Poles economically, that would be the best propaganda against Stalin in Poland, you know, because these people, the Polish or Czech really love America. I was there last year and I know it, and they don't like Russians and they are not, they are opposed—simply despise communism. That I know. I found that nobody is going to make many Communists in Poland.

Mr. ARENS. When you went to Poland last year, you went on a Polish visa?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Beg pardon?

Mr. ARENS. Did you go on a Polish visa when you went to Poland?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Well, naturally, I have American passport but I got Polish visa in order to do that.

Mr. ARENS. Was that issued to you by the Polish Communist Government? Was that Polish visa issued by a Polish representative in this country?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. It was issued to me by the Polish consul general in New York.

Mr. ARENS. How often do you see him?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. How about finish this statement, you know, and then I will answer that question.

Mr. ROGGE (reading):

(b) To convince the United States Government that to take away from Poland her recovered western territories in favor of Germany, would not only deprive Poland of her independence, but would, at the same time help to revive German militarism and provoke another world war.

(c) To encourage every effort toward extending relief and economic and cultural aid to present-day Poland.

(d) To send a delegation of the Polish-American Congress to Poland in order to study the situation at first hand and to learn about Poland's most urgent needs.

Having profoundly considered all these points, we have come to the conclusion that only a sound program of economic, cultural, and public-health assistance to present-day Poland can prove of any real value to the future of the Polish nation.

Mr. ARENS. To get back to this visa question.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. You received a visa from the—

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Polish consul general.

Mr. ARENS. In New York.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Who is under the Polish Communist Government regime.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right, naturally.

Mr. ARENS. And where did you go when you got to Poland?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. When I went to Poland?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. We went: we landed at Gdynia. We went to Wroclaw. We went to Katowicze and Cracow.

Mr. ARENS. What was the occasion for your trip?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That was, there were six lawyers, you know, here in America, were invited by the Polish Bar Association in Warsaw and we went as their guests, and they had, you know, these lawyers, took care of us in Poland and we went sight-seeing Poland.

Mr. ARENS. You were invited to sight-see by the Polish Bar Association?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is what I understood.

Mr. ARENS. And who paid the expenses of this trip?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. We paid expenses: we didn't pay for the transportation. And they paid for 10 days in Poland, you know, for our subsistence: after 10 days, we paid our own.

Mr. ARENS. Is it clear that the Polish organization which invited you and your associates to come to Poland paid at least part of the expenses?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. They paid transportation from New York to Warsaw, and they paid 10 days, you know, in Poland for our subsistence.

Mr. ARENS. What vessel did you travel on?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I went on *Batory* and came back on the plane.

Mr. ARENS. The *Batory* is the boat owned by the Gdynia Lines that advertises in your paper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. How often are you in contact with this consul general in New York?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Quite often. I go up there on professional business. I was in Poland and I am known among the Poles as a Pole. You know, they come to me for different problems they have in Poland, so I have to go to intervene and try to help them out. They come as clients and friends, you know, that is why I go to the Polish consulate quite often.

May I add, Mr. Arens, I don't know your name, in the Polish consulate at present time. I mean most of the officials are friends of mine who used to be under the old regime. Just they have been taken over, so I have my friends up there you know, from the old times.

Mr. DEKOM. Could you name some of them?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Surely, I can name some of them. For instance, Consul Kwiecien.¹

Mr. DEKOM. What position did he hold under the old regime?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. He is the consul. He was the consul under the old regime.

Mr. DEKOM. How long ago was that?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. My goodness, that was about 12 years ago, I think.

Mr. DEKOM. Who were the six lawyers who went with you or the other five, I should say.

¹ Roman Kwiecien.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I will tell you. Michael Szadkowski. That is my friend who is the president of Polam. There are three lawyers from Detroit. One is Robert Joseph Sapala, Chester Kozdroj, and Robert—it is on the tip of my tongue, I can't recall—maybe I will recall it a little later.

Mr. DEKOM. If you do not recall them, write them down and send them to the committee. Will the chairman direct the witness to do that?

Senator KILGORE. Yes. Get the list for us. You can get it and hand it in later.

(The information, submitted by letter of Mr. Gutowski of October 24, 1949, is as follows:)

The names of the lawyers who went to Poland in August 1948, besides myself, are as follows: Joseph Sapala, Robert Wojeinski, and Chester Kozdroj, all of Detroit, Mich.; Joseph Hellnuth, of Chicago, Ill., and Michael Szadkowski, of Jersey City, N. J.

Mr. DEKOM. You mentioned Chester Kozdroj.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes; that is right.

Mr. DEKOM. He is the same man that is an official of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I saw his name in the Polish newspaper.

Mr. ROGGE. Tell us if you know or not.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I don't know whether this is the same one or not the same name, first and second. I never understood him to be an official, because he is teaching in the Roman Catholic Seminary. You know, he is a professor up there. He is practicing Roman Catholic and he is not a Communist, absolutely anti-Communist and how he got there I really don't know.

Mr. DEKOM. Is the American Slav Congress listed as Communist and subversive by the Attorney General, to your knowledge?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I think so, yes.

Mr. DEKOM. In your paper, you have a good many articles dated in Warsaw. Would you tell us whether or not you have a correspondent in Warsaw? I see about 22 on one page.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. We receive some Polish newspaper from Poland.

Mr. DEKOM. You receive a Polish newspaper from Poland?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes; that is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Could you name it?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. One is the Rzeczpospolita.

Mr. DEKOM. Is that the official organ of the Polish Workers Party?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. There is another name for it. This one is really, I understand it is not Communist newspaper, but the other, Trybuna Ludu, that is the Communist, that is the organ, official organ of the Workers Party down in Poland.

Mr. DEKOM. You don't think that the Rzeczpospolita is a Communist newspaper, is that your statement?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I am not sure, you know, really. I am not sure. Mr. Chairman, as I stated before, I practice law and I go up there and I hardly read these Polish newspapers from Poland. The editor does it.

Mr. DEKOM. You are listed as managing editor, is that correct?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is correct. You know, I mean that is rather normal. I know these people are honest and trustworthy. I just go from time to time to supervise but the material he is using, the chief editor, really I don't know much about it.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you get information from the Polish consulate or other official bodies, such as the embassies or the Information Center?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. They call it different.

Mr. DEKOM. Polish Information Center.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you get material from them?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. They send to every Polish newspaper.

Mr. ARENS. Do you reprint those?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Some of them we do, but very few.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Do you have a representative of your paper in the International Workers Order in New York?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I don't know whom you refer to, because I have three of these, what you call—

Mr. ROGGE. If you don't know, say you don't know, Mr. Witness. Have you a specific one in mind?

Mr. DEKOM. Do you know Walter Tysh?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Walter who?

Mr. DEKOM. Tysh? International Workers Order Polonia Society.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I think I never met him. I don't know who you are talking about.

Mr. DEKOM. What is your connection with the Polonia Society?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. None whatever.

Mr. DEKOM. You have none.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. None.

Mr. DEKOM. You have never had any connection with them?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Never.

Mr. DEKOM. Never attended their meetings?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Never.

Mr. DEKOM. You receive press information from them?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Press information?

Mr. DEKOM. Releases or publicity material.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I think they send once an announcement about a dance or something.

Mr. DEKOM. Do you publish that material?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I cannot recall now. That was a long time ago.

Mr. DEKOM. If it is in your paper, would you say that you published it?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. If they paid for it, I would.

Mr. DEKOM. If it is a news story, would they have paid for it?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. News story?

Mr. DEKOM. In the issue that you submitted in evidence, mentioning some IWO activities.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Here in this paper?

Mr. DEKOM. Yes.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I don't know anything about it. I don't know anything about it.

Mr. DEKOM. While I look that up, do you know whether the International Workers Order is listed as a Communist organization by the Attorney General?

Mr. ROGGE. If you know.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I don't know. I don't remember.

Mr. SCHROEDER. As a matter of fact, didn't you receive some names from the IWO to mail these publications out?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. To tell you the truth, I really don't know what this IWO—

Mr. ROGGE. If you don't know, say you don't.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I have nothing to do with this organization. I never did in my life. I don't know. I am not a Communist. You know, it looks to me that you gentlemen look at me as though I am a Communist here. I have nothing to do with Communists and never had and probably never will in my life, because I am an American.

Senator KILGORE. To get down to it, then you are not one in the organization that knows about those things. Who would in your organization?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. The chief editor, you know.

Senator KILGORE. The chief editor would?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. He writes the paper.

Senator KILGORE. He would know the source of where the news stories came from?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes.

Senator KILGORE. Does he also have charges of the distribution of the papers?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. No, no; there is another man up there, Max Miller.

Senator KILGORE. There is one thing I wanted to ask you a few questions about, that I was not satisfied on, that I may have the full information on it or that I understand what you said.

This Polam Import & Export Co., Inc., that owns 3,190 shares of stock in the newspaper, did you not say that your partner, Szadkowski, which one, "M" or "S"? There is an "M" and an "S" Szadkowski.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Michael is the son and "S" is his father. One owns 400 and 600.

Senator KILGORE. Are they connected with the Polam Export & Import?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Mike Szadowski is the Polam.

Senator KILGORE. He is the Polam Export-Import Co.?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Senator KILGORE. Is that a corporation?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Of New Jersey.

Senator KILGORE. Formed under the laws of New Jersey?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Senator KILGORE. For the purpose of purchasing for import into this country of Polish materials and—

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Vice versa.

Senator KILGORE. And purchasing for export to Poland American materials.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is correct.

Senator KILGORE. And that paper, of course, owns the major portion of the stock in the newspaper, that corporation?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is correct.

Senator KILGORE. And he is the real man that owns it. How much of the stock does he actually own in Polam?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. In Polam?

Senator KILGORE. Yes.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. He is about 94 percent. I have just five shares in Polam and there is one man has one share. The balance, you know, is owned by Szadkowski.

Mr. ROGGE. May I ask the witness some questions on it? Will you state where you were born, please?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. In Poland.

Mr. ROGGE. When did you come to this country?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Nineteen hundred and seven.

Mr. ROGGE. Did you become a citizen?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. In 1917.

Mr. ROGGE. Would you care to state your religious affiliation?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I am Roman Catholic.

Mr. ROGGE. All of your life?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. All of my life.

Mr. ROGGE. Would you care to state your political affiliation?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I am a Democrat.

Mr. ROGGE. How long have you been one?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. In New Jersey, since 1922.

Mr. ROGGE. You are not a Communist, you stated.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. God forbid; no.

Senator KILGORE. You said you lived at what is it, Irvington.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I live in Irvington, now.

Senator KILGORE. What county is that in?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Essex County.

Senator KILGORE. I thought I knew just about where it was. I just wanted to know. I wanted to get it fixed in my mind. Do you practice in that county?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes; I was running for assembly twice in this county and I was very active in Democratic Party.

Senator KILGORE. How old were you when you came from Poland?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I was 19 years of age.

Mr. DEKOM. Has Gutowski always been your name?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Naturally.

Mr. DEKOM. Have you used any other name?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Me, no, no; Stanislaw, here, for instance, I have even shortened—I have not shortened my first name. I am proud of that name.

Mr. ROGGE. Did you serve in the First—

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I was captain, United States Army, for 3 years.

Mr. ROGGE. And in the Second World War?

Senator KILGORE. Which regiment?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I was commissioned in Infantry but then you know I was assigned to military intelligence division here in Washington. I was here for 3 years.

Mr. ROGGE. In the Second World War, did you do any service?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I served on the board, on the draft board, Government appeal agent from the beginning to the end and I have three citations from Mr. Roosevelt, from Mr. Truman, and I got in 1947, I got Congressional Medal citation for my work, you know, last 7 years. I resent, you know, assuming that I am a Communist.

Mr. ROGGE. Did you ever have any conversation with President Roosevelt about Poland?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. ROGGE. When was that?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That was in October 1944, before he went to Yalta.

Mr. ROGGE. Was that after Tehran?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That was after Tehran. That conversation makes me believe that the Poles in America—

Mr. ROGGE. Will you tell us what the conversation was?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Well, Mr. Roosevelt—I am going to give verbatim what he told us. He said when he talked to Stalin—

Mr. ROGGE. Was he talking about the Tehran Conference?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes; about Tehran. "Mr. Marshal,¹ now, about Poland, you know, why don't you leave Lwow, because this is a Polish city," and Stalin said, "Mr. President, that is true, that Lwow is Polish city but the territory is Ukranian. Why do Poles want these minorities, Lithuanians and Ukranians and White Russians? Let them stick to the ethnographic boundaries, and let them get in the west, you know, the territory that used to belong to Poland, you know, hundreds of years ago." And Mr. Roosevelt said, "Gentlemen, I could not argue with Marshal, because simply I had no argument."

Mr. ROGGE. When you say marshal, you mean Marshal Stalin.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes. I had no arguments to offer, and then Mr. Roosevelt explained to us, you know, "Why do you want this eastern territory that really isn't Polish. You can go as far in the west as you want." And, I remember that he said that, "And I am going to help you out. I am going to send the Germans to Germany and get Poles from the east, and you are going to have a nice compact, you know, Poland."

Mr. ROGGE. This was President Roosevelt's explanation?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right. And at that time, you know, I made my mind, you know, to get away from this Polish American Congress. After Yalta, this bunch here with Mr. Rozmarek² who probably makes helps you to investigate me.

Mr. ROGGE. In other words, this conversation you had with President Roosevelt convinced you.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Absolutely. They called me as soon the finest man a traitor to the Polish, because that Roosevelt sold Poland down the river in Yalta and I have said that he helped Poland at that time. You know, the Poland has no business for the eastern territories, because that is strictly Ukranian and White Russians and Lithuanians.

Mr. ROGGE. You do believe she should have the western?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Absolutely.

Senator KILGORE. That is the land she lost in the partition just before the American Revolution?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right. With Boleslaw³ there was a credible Polish state in the eleventh century. Now Breslau was Polish city, Polish capital, but the Germans pushed the Poles toward the east and because the Poles were too weak, so they, you know, got Ukranians and Lithuanians, because they were much weaker. It was easier, you know, to go along the lines of least resistance. Now they want the lands back. I am fighting, you know, and they sore at me, because I tried to explain to the Polish people that they should be good Americans, they should help the Poles, leave this international business alone. They recognize the old government in London, Mr. Rozmarek

¹ Referring to Marshal Stalin.

² Charles Rozmarek, Chairman of the Polish National Alliance and President of the Polish American Congress.

³ Boleslaw I, called the Brave.

and his Congress, which is ridiculous, because we don't recognize this government. They act like a state within a state here in America.

Mr. ROGGE. Let me ask you, the ideas you formed after your conversation with President Roosevelt, is that what you tried to carry out in the editorial policy of your paper?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. When I tried to explain and convince these people, you know, I mean the head of the Polish-American Congress, they should stop bothering the State Department and Roosevelt, sending protests, but get busy to ask the Government to help Poland economically, they laughed at me, because I was secretary general of the Polish Immigrant Congress and in charge of the office here in Washington for 7 months, and I resigned and I was inactive for about 2 years, but then, you know, I figured out, you know, they are my friends, there are thousands of them who are not satisfied but they are afraid even to talk sometimes to me, because, you know, some gentleman make Communist out of me for no reason at all, these people.

Mr. ROGGE. You started the newspaper.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I started it.

Mr. ROGGE. When did you become a member of the bar?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. In 1925.

Mr. ROGGE. Is this the first time you have had anything to do with writing or newspapers?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. No, no: I was editor of three newspapers. That was in 1917, when I was in Boston University Law School. I edited some paper up there, the New York Daily in New York, and then one weekly in Newark, N. J.

Senator KILGORE. All Polish-language newspapers?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes; but I did write Scribner's magazine, my two stories were printed that I got paid for it. So I am writing and newspaper is my hobby, Mr. Chairman. That is why, you know, I organized this paper.

Mr. ROGGE. You think you have a good editorial policy?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I have absolutely perfect, as far as our American interests are concerned and Polish. If they only listen to this paper, you know, you would not have any trouble with the delegations here with the letters they send to the Senate, to the House of Representatives. They make me sick and tired with their policy.

Mr. ROGGE. Just another question or two. I gathered from your statement that so far as the price for ads, I mean if you could get more from another person, you took it. I mean, there wasn't—

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Naturally.

Mr. ROGGE. You did not have any established price, but the position in the paper or other considerations—I mean, if the person were willing to pay more, you took it?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, absolutely. I have some friends who would give me, you know, hundreds, even thousands, of dollars to help this paper, but they are afraid, you know, that they might be, you know, tainted with Communists because this paper is communistic paper.

Senator KILGORE. You said that these ads you received from—what is it?—the Polish Gdynia Line and agencies of the Polish Government, you received through an advertising agency; I did not under-

stand which. There are two kinds of advertising agencies. There are advertising agencies which represent the advertisers and there are also advertising agencies which distribute advertising among the newspapers. Was this an agency that you were a subscriber to or was it the agency that the steamship line, shall we say——

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Senator KILGORE. One or several agencies?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That only one agency that I deal with. They send out the same cards—the same material—to all of these Polish papers and I got one.

Senator KILGORE. For all of the advertisers that they represent?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. That is right.

Senator KILGORE. In other words, there is one agency that represents apparently all of these advertisers.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I think so.

Senator KILGORE. And that business came through them.

Mr. GUTOWSKI. Yes.

Senator KILGORE. But you are dealing——

Mr. GUTOWSKI. With the agency. Hartwig is a domestic corporation.

Senator KILGORE. Did you deal direct with them or did they have an advertising agency you dealt with?

Mr. GUTOWSKI. I dealt directly with the president, who is a friend of mine.

Mr. ROGGE. He gave something here that I did not see that has the red and the black on it and I would like to have a copy for my files; if he has a copy, well and good. May I request that a copy be sent to me?

Mr. ARENS. Did the young lady in the office make a copy?

Mr. ROGGE. Not of that one.

Senator KILGORE. We will furnish you with a copy.

(Thereupon, at 3:30 p. m., the committee recessed subject to call.)

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