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COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE CHICAGO AREA—PART 1

(UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA;
AND FARM EQUIPMENT WORKERS COUNCIL, UERMWA)

*U.S. Congress - House of Representatives
Committee on Un-American Activities*

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

SEPTEMBER 2 AND 3, 1952

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COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE CHICAGO AREA—PART I

(United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America; and Farm Equipment Workers Council, UERMWA)

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1952

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Chicago, Ill.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met pursuant to notice at 10:35 a. m. in room 237, Federal Building, 219 South Clark Street, Chicago, Ill., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Francis E. Walter, Morgan M. Moulder, James B. Frazier, Jr., Harold H. Velde, and Donald L. Jackson (appearance as noted in transcript).

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, William Jackson Jones, Robert B. Barker, and Alvin Stokes, investigators; and John W. Carrington, clerk.

Mr. Wood. Let us have order, please.

Mr. Reporter, will you please let the record show that acting under authority of the resolution establishing the Committee on Un-American Activities, of the House of Representatives, I have set up a subcommittee for the purpose of conducting hearings in Chicago, composed of the following members: Representatives Francis E. Walter, Morgan M. Moulder, James B. Frazier, Jr., Harold H. Velde, Donald L. Jackson, and myself as chairman. All of these members are present with the exception of Mr. Jackson. I am advised that he will report here at noon.

This committee in the past has made extensive investigation of fascism in this country. When the Communist Party was publicly supporting Hitler during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, this committee was making extensive investigations of nazism. In the past few years, much of the committee's time has been devoted to the investigation of communism, which is inspired and directed by an international conspiracy.

Many forms of the Communist conspiracy, including that of espionage by foreign agents, have been brought to light by this committee, and in its efforts to carry out the duties imposed upon it by the Congress, this committee has investigated and exposed Communist infiltration into the entertainment, educational, governmental, labor, and other fields of endeavor.

Investigations conducted in Baltimore, Md., the State of Massachusetts, the State of Michigan, and other places, disclose a pattern of Communist concentration in major defense areas of the country. How the Communist Party has used its members employed in industry to keep the national organization of the Communist Party and the international Communist movement fully advised of industrial potentialities, how the Communist Party has sought to colonize defense industry, and how the Communist Party has endeavored to infiltrate and control labor unions in defense areas, is described in the testimony of many witnesses who have appeared before this committee.

Anticipating, from our experience in holding hearings of this type in other places, the smear campaign which will be directed against this committee by the Communist slander apparatus, I wish to point out that this investigation began in January of 1952, and that during June of this year the committee took action fixing the date for this hearing, thus disproving the charge of the Daily Worker and other segments of the Communist apparatus that this hearing was timed by the committee for the express purpose of interfering with labor negotiations. The committee is not interested in internal disputes within labor or in disputes between management and labor, but individuals engaged in union activities enjoy no greater immunity from investigation regarding subversive conduct or activities than individuals employed in the entertainment field, or education, or the Government, or any other of the professions. The committee has succeeded to a marked degree in exposing Communist infiltration into certain labor unions with the result in many instances that the local unions involved have rid themselves of Communist domination and influence. In other instances, local unions have endorsed and supported the committee's work.

An examination of the decisions of the Comintern, Red International of Labor Unions, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, shows that the most important task, and I quote from the Communist, official organ of the Communist Party of the United States, is—

to shift the center of gravity of the daily activity of our party, unions, and opposition groups, to the shops and factory—to make the factories, mines, mills, and ships our fortress.

If it be true that the Communist Party of the United States is endeavoring in this area to use labor unions and its members for the financial and moral support of the Communist program, and if it be true that the Communist Party of the United States is endeavoring to use the rank-and-file members of labor unions to promote and advance the Communist Party program, the Congress of the United States is entitled to that information in order that it may take proper legislative action, designed to protect the internal security of this country. These are specific subjects of inquiry for the committee's consideration at this and other sessions of the committee which are likely to be held, on the nature, extent, character, and objects of Communist activities in the Chicago defense area.

The committee-baiting section of the Communist Party charges that this committee, in conducting these hearings, is motivated by a desire to raise racial issues. This typical propaganda effort on the part of the Communist Party has been worn threadbare. The com-

mittee deploras exploitation of racial groups by the Communist Party or any other group. This committee believes in the basic integrity, character, and loyalty of all Americans, regardless of race or creed.

I would like also at this time, before beginning the hearing, to make this announcement to the public:

We are here at the direction of the Congress of the United States, trying to discharge a duty and obligation that has been placed upon us by the Congress. No one who is present or who will be present in this room during the hearings, except the witnesses who are subpoenaed, is required to be here. You are here by the permission of this committee and not by its compulsion. This committee will not countenance any attempt or effort on the part of anyone to make any demonstration, either favorable or unfavorable, toward the committee's undertaking or to what any person called as a witness may have to say.

I do not mean to say this in any spirit of threat, but if such conduct should occur, I am going to promptly ask the officers to eject those who start or attempt to start any demonstration in the room, and if necessary, clear the entire room.

Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

I would like to call as the first witness Mr. Lee Lundgren.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Lundgren, will you come forward, please, sir? Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, sir?

Do you solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat, sir.

TESTIMONY OF LEE LUNDGREN, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, HAROLD A. KATZ

Mr. WOOD. You are represented by counsel, sir?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; I am.

Mr. WOOD. Will counsel please, for the record, identify himself, giving his business address?

Mr. KATZ. Harold A. Katz, 7 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Lundgren, during the progress of your examination here, you are at perfect liberty to confer with your counsel as often as you may see fit and seek such information from him as you feel yourself in need of; and he is at perfect liberty to confer with you and advise you at any time that he feels it proper.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Lee Lundgren.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Lundgren, I believe you have been under subpoena by the committee since the 21st day of March 1950, at one time or other, have you not?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And your appearance here is pursuant to a subpoena served upon you last week; is that not true?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct, and I am only here in response to that subpoena that has been served upon me.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Lundgren?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Chicago, Ill.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date of your birth?

Mr. LUNDGREN. July 17, 1915.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you explain to the committee briefly what your educational training has been?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I had 4 years of high school, a year of college, and approximately a year at night school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us a brief statement of your occupational background?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Presently or—

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us begin at the period of the beginning of your work in labor.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I was working at the Goodman Manufacturing Co., and the plant was organized by the United Electrical Workers Union there; and sometime shortly after that I went to work with the United Electrical Workers Union as a field representative.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you fix the period when you were employed by Goodman Manufacturing Co.?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I started there approximately in 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you continued to work there how long?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Until approximately 1945, somewhere in that general vicinity, and I went to work for the UE full-time around 1945 or 1946, and I worked with the UE until January 7, I believe it was, 1950, and subsequently went to work with the IUE-CIO, where I am presently employed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you state the circumstances under which you first became employed by the UE in 1945 or 1946?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I was the chief shop steward in the plant which had been recently organized, which is tantamount to the highest position that a person would hold in a particular plant. The officials of the UE at that time, Mr. Pat Amato and Irving Krane, asked me if I would go to work for the UE, and I accepted their offer and I went to work for the UE at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were a shop steward, what was the name of the local?

Mr. LUNDGREN. It was an amalgamated local, part of UE Local 1150. Amalgamated means more than one shop in a particular local.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you went to work as a full-time employee of the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your employment with the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I was a field representative, and my job consisted of negotiating contracts, and what we call servicing the various shops in the local, taking care of grievances, arbitration cases, and so on like that, and doing some organizing, too.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you were organizer of the UE, did you hold an official position in any other organization?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, as field representative, I also had been elected as, not full-time, but secretary-treasurer of the local union.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what was the number of the local union?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Local 1150.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, during the period you held those positions, were you also a member of another organization?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that organization?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party before you were asked to become a full-time employee of the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. No; I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long after you became an employee of the UE was it that you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, approximately 3 to 6 months after I went on the staff, I signed an application card for the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what part the Communist Party or any of its members had in the initial effort to get you into the UE as full-time employee?

Mr. LUNDGREN. As it turned out, the two people that asked me to become a full-time member of the UE were members of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were they?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Irving Krane and Pat Amato.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, just how you were recruited into the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Pat Amato, who was then the president of the UE local 1150, had talked to me over a period of time about joining the Communist Party, and told me that they would teach me a lot of things about the trade-union movement and the role of the Communists in the trade-union movement; and that they would send me to a Communist Party school if I joined up and signed with the Communist Party.

(Representative Harold H. Velde left hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that he had spoken to you a number of times, over a period of time, about those matters. Over how long a period of time would you say?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Approximately a month or so.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of those inducements, you became a member of the party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of the party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. A little over 3 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the date when you left the party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes. I sent a letter of resignation to the Communist Party and to the UE, both; I believe the date was January 7, 1950.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time that you withdrew from the party, did you make a public statement as to the reasons for your withdrawal and the circumstances under which you withdrew?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you an article, a news release, purporting to be a statement by you, bearing date of January 7, 1950, and I will ask you to examine it and state whether or not that is the statement which you made at the time of your withdrawal from the Communist Party.

(The document was examined by the witness.)

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is a true statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I have it, please?

Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer this statement in evidence and ask that it be marked as "Lundgren Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. It is so ordered.

(The document above referred to, marked "Lundgren Exhibit No. 1," filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. And with the committee's permission I would like to read it into the record.

CHICAGO, ILL., *January 7, 1950.*

NEWS RELEASE—STATEMENT BY LEE LUNDGREN

As of this date I have handed in my resignations both as a field representative of local 1150, UE, and as a member of the Communist Party.

As a trade-unionist, I have found that I could not serve two masters. My participation in the Communist Party made it impossible for me to properly serve the interests of the workers in building a democratic union, controlled by the membership, and devoted exclusively to the welfare of the rank and file. I am now completely convinced that the Communists are leading the UE workers down the drain.

My conclusions are based on the experiences accumulated since 1944, when I was instrumental in helping to bring the plant in which I was working into the UE, and in my successive capacities as chief steward at Goodman Manufacturing, as secretary-treasurer of local 1150 for 4 years, and as a full-time field representative for the local union since 1945.

Shortly after going to work as a field representative for the UE I was recruited into the Communist Party by Pat Amato, president of local 1150, UE.

I joined the party at the time I did because I was told that the Communist Party was serving the best interests of the workers, and that by joining the party I could assist the workers better in their day-to-day problems.

As a party member I participated in many private Communist Party meetings with many other UE officials in which the internal affairs of the UE were openly discussed and planned. In these meetings it was made very clear that serving the interests of the Communist Party were primary, and came ahead of the welfare of the union.

Present at these Communist Party meetings were Local President Pat Amato; Alice Smith, the secretary of UE District Council, No. 11; Fred Dutner, a UE international field organizer; and Sam Kushner, a Communist Party organizer, among many others.

It was at such Communist Party meetings in the recent past that it was ruled that Irving Krane was "politically unreliable" and that Fred Dutner should be the candidate for local 1150 business manager.

The recent statement of Pat Amato that Irving Krane was not proposed for the post of business manager because he is "incompetent" is a typical Communist lie. I know from my years in the local that Krane negotiated the best contracts in local 1150, and the record will very easily prove that fact.

Furthermore, to my knowledge Fred Dutner never negotiated a union contract in his life.

The plot to oust Krane from a leading position in our local was only the last item in a long list which has finally convinced me that the UE is utterly incapable of acting as an honest trade-union. Furthermore, never in my long experience with the UE has Ernest DeMaio, president of district 11, ever opposed the decisions of the Communist Party to determine the affairs of the UE.

I therefore urge the members of the UE to free themselves from Communist domination by seeking affiliation with the CIO, and I am prepared to assist them to the fullest extent of my ability.

LEE LUNDGREN.

Now, Mr. Lundgren, reference is made in that statement to Pat Amato. Is he still connected with the UE to your knowledge?

Mr. LUNDGREN. As far as I know, yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position he now holds?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't know what his official position is at the present time.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you were recruited into the Communist Party by Pat Amato and others, as you have described, were you assigned to any particular group, branch, or cell of the party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I was assigned to what we call the Parsons Club, the Parsons Branch or Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how the club obtained its name?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, the Parsons Branch was the branch in which all of the Communist Party members of the UE were assigned in the Chicago area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Pat Amato a member of that group or cell?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke in the course of your release about a person by the name of Irving Krane. Was he a member of that branch?

Mr. LUNDGREN. At that time he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Irving Krane has since left the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Irving Krane did leave the Communist Party, if I remember correctly, about October of 1949.

(Representative Velde returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether a person by the name of Julia Gudinas—was she a member of that group?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; she was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Florence Criley?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; she was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Her husband, Richard Criley?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Richard Criley, if I remember correctly, was an official of the Communist Party in the State of Illinois, not necessarily associated with our branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what official position he held—

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't recall his official position.

Mr. TAVENNER. At that time?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't recall his official position; no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ruth Levitova?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Ruth Levitova was also a member of the Communist Party at that time; it was the Parsons Branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she a member of the Parsons Branch?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; she was also on the staff as a field representative in our particular local at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the names of any other persons from UE who were members of the Parsons Branch at the time you became a member?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I think that is all at that particular time; there were others subsequent to that time, but when I actually joined I think that that is all I can remember.

(Representative Wood left the room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of others who united with that branch of the party while you were a member, or are you in a position to differentiate those from other Communist Party members with whom you met generally?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't quite understand your question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am asking whether it was difficult for you to distinguish between persons who became members of the Parsons Branch

after you joined and persons who were members of the Communist Party and with whom you met in Communist Party meetings? What I mean to say is if it is difficult for you to determine between the two classes, I will not press the question at this time as to who were actually members of this branch, this particular branch.

Mr. LUNDGREN. I would prefer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, when you joined this branch of the Communist Party, the Parsons Branch, how were you notified as to where the meetings would take place?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, usually by phone call or word of mouth or maybe a small little note or something like that, and everything was very secret as to where the meetings were actually going to be held.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were the meetings held?

Mr. LUNDGREN. The meetings were usually held in the homes of some of the Communist Party people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the meetings ever held in the union hall?

Mr. LUNDGREN. There was one held at the union hall and after that meeting it was deemed that it wasn't for the best of the people concerned to have any additional meetings at the union hall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, explain that, please. What was the reason for that?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, for example, we had this Communist Party meeting in the hall, at the UE hall, at 37 South Ashland, I believe it was, and somebody happened to open the door to the room by mistake and it looked kind of odd to see a small group of people meeting in a union hall when there wasn't any meeting scheduled for our particular local union at that time. We thought it would create a lot of suspicion.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, by suspicion do you mean that the rank-and-file members of the union would have objected to the use of its facilities for holding of Communist Party meetings if they had known the true purpose?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then does that mean that the members of the Communist Party endeavored to conceal their Communist Party membership from the rank and file of the union which they were attempting to lead?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Absolutely; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And because of the danger of exposing the Communist influence that was being brought to bear upon the union, you decided not to hold any further meetings in the union hall?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall at this time the names of the persons in whose homes the Communist Party meetings of the Parsons Branch were held?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, there were two homes that we met in pretty consistently and one was the home of Florence Criley, who at that time I think lived at 4107 West Arthington Street, and the other home was that of Willie Mae Smith, and I believe her address was 333 East Sixtieth Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what official position, if any, Willie Mae Smith held?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Willie Mae Smith was the recording secretary of local 1150 for quite some time. However, she resigned that position when the local union went on record and signed the non-Communist affidavits and she resigned from the office of recording secretary rather than sign the non-Communist affidavit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Willie Mae Smith hold any official position in the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't recall any official position; she was a member of her branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what official position in the union was held by Florence Criley, if any?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, Florence Criley at one time was a member or was an organizer on the international staff and later on she became a trustee of our local union and she had done some work on a voluntary basis, I understand, in some of the shops and then I think she was put into other shops on a subsidy basis by the local union as a sort of an organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Irving Krane hold any position with the UE at that time?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Irving Krane was the business manager of UE local 1150.

Mr. TAVENNER. And Julia Gudinas, or her husband, what position did either hold, if any?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, Julia Gudinas—I am sorry. Will you reframe that question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether Julia Gudinas held an official position in the union?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; for some time she was recording secretary to the local, and later on she was the trustee of local union 1150, UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Ruth Levitova hold an official position in the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; when I went to work for the UE she was a field representative on the UE local 1150 staff.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then all of the members of the Parsons Branch were officials of the UE; that is, all of the members at the time you united with it?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, of those people that I remember, they were officials of the local union, there were others who I can't recall at the present time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were those persons whose names you have mentioned as holding positions in the UE salaried employees of the UE? Were they receiving salaries for their work?

Mr. LUNDGREN. You would have to distinguish between them because some were and some were not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe which were and which were not?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, Irving Krane as business manager was a paid employee of the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it a full-time employment?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; he was, and Pat Amato was president of the local union and that was a full-time position, and he was salaried by the local union. Ruth Levitova was the field representative of the local union and therefore paid a salary by the UE local 1150, and that is all of the full-time people that I remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you were paid a salary as a full-time employee of the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any of the persons whose names I have mentioned as employees of UE paid for any of their services rendered by them to the Communist Party by the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Let me rephrase the question: At the time that these various employees of the UE were receiving salaries from the UE, were they also receiving salaries or compensation for services rendered by them to the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't know whether they were or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you?

Mr. LUNDGREN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would it have been possible for you to have performed your services or services that you were asked to perform for the Communist Party if you had not been at the same time receiving a living salary from the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes.

Mr. KATZ. Would you reread that question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me explain the purpose of my question a little further, and it might clear your understanding of it. I want to find out, if I can, to what extent the Communist Party was endeavoring to get its own members paid for work being performed for the Communist Party by having their members placed in high positions in labor where they would receive salaries from the unions. Have I made that clear?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I couldn't have existed if I didn't have a salary from the UE, I was working full time and that was my only income.

Mr. TAVENNER. And therefore you would not have been in a position where you could have rendered any valuable service to the Communist Party if you hadn't been sustained by a salary from the union?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And isn't that true of all of the other organizers of the UE who have been shown to be active Communist Party members?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Of the people that I knew; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I don't want to ask you what your union was paying you as a salary, but I do want to know whether the Communist Party paid you anything in the way of expense money or salary or compensated you in any way for anything the Communist Party asked you to do or anything you did for it.

Mr. LUNDGREN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not the Communist Party had a branch composed solely of persons who were affiliated with local 1150?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; they did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then that would be a separate branch, would it, from the Parsons Branch?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; we had a separate branch for members of UE local 1150.

Mr. TAVENNER. What name did it bear?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many members did it have?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, it varied from time to time, we sometimes had as little as 5 and sometimes we had as many as 25 or 30, and there was quite a bit of turn-over.

Mr. TAVENNER. From what class or group of the members of local 1150, I might say what level were the members of that branch, that is, were they rank-and-file members, and were they officers of 1950?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, there were some rank-and-file members, and others were officers of the local union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any of the meetings of those branches?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many groups or branches were organized within 1150, local 1150?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, again it varied, and we had for a while there we had one single club of everybody in UE local 1150 and then it seemed advisable to break it up into smaller groups, and then we had, I believe, three groups within 1150.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the largest number you think of groups within 1150 at any one time?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Various branches, you mean?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. LUNDGREN. It was either three or four.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell me what shops or plants local 1150 had contracts at that time?

Mr. LUNDGREN. At that particular time, you mean?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Now, is this going back to before 1950?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; back at the time that you are speaking of when you first became a member of the Communist Party and shortly thereafter.

(Representative John S. Wood returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. LUNDGREN. I am not exactly clear just what you want. You want the plants in the UE now or do you want the plants that were in the UE at the time I went to work for them?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I mean in the question for you to confine it to the plants with which the UE held contracts at the time these various locals or branches existed in 1150, that you just testified about, these branches of the Communist Party.

Mr. LUNDGREN. I can give you some, but I can't give you all. Our local union lost quite a few shops during the period of between 1948 and 1950, and it is a little hard for me to remember all of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; I understand the difficulty of it, but just give us those that you are certain about.

Mr. LUNDGREN. At that time?

Mr. TAVENNER. At that time; yes.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, there was Wheelco Instrument Co., which is presently in the IUE, CIO, and Thordason Electric.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell it, please?

Mr. LUNDGREN. T-h-o-r-d-a-s-o-n Electric, and that shop also left the UE and went to the IUE, CIO; and American Condenser Co., which is still in the UE, I believe. The Cinch Manufacturing Co.,

and there is the GM Laboratory Co., which I presume is still UE. Goodman Manufacturing Co., which is still UE. Jenson Radio Manufacturing Co., still in the UE. Pioneer GE Motors. It was Pioneer and then GE, and General Motors, which is still in the UE, I assume. Standard X-ray Co and the William H. Welch Co. It is still in the UE.

Another shop I recall is the Chicago Transformer, which the UE lost, and I understand there is no union in the plant at the present time. Sunbeam was also in the local at that time, which I understand has a contract with another union, and it is no longer UE.

(Representative Francis E. Walter left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. LUNDGREN (continuing). That is all I recall at the present time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, that covered the period roughly between 1945 and 1948, did it not?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct. I am sure there are a number of other shops that were in our local union, because we had at one time 7,200 members, and in around January 1, 1950, we only had about 2,500 members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether a substantial number of these plants were engaged in work or contracts for the national defense of the country?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, are you going back to World War II—

Mr. TAVENNER. Through the period 1945 to 1948.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; a number of them had defense contracts; for example, at Goodman Manufacturing Co. where I was employed, I know they did have defense contracts.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us whether the unions which worked in any of these separate plants were separately organized by the Communist Party into cells or branches or whether there was just a few over-all branches that went into the various cells?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, for example, we had a special club at Sunbeam for Sunbeam workers who were members of the Communist Party, had then we had what we considered a North Side Branch where the shops that were on the north side would belong to a particular club and then we had the south side and the west side belonging to another group on the south side of the city.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, how was the Communist Party line brought down to the various cells or how were the Communist Party directives imparted to those cells?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, we have often had some of the top leaders of the Communist Party attend our meetings. Even when they did not attend the meetings, why, whoever had the job as educational director for that particular club would have a mimeographed copy of an order or plan or whatever it might be, whatever the thing might be at the time, and they would bring this to the club and then report from that directive they received from the Communist Party headquarters.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were some of these high-level functionaries of the Communist Party who attended your meetings and imparted the Communist directives or line?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I remember Gil Green attending some of our meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold?

Mr. LUNDGREN. He was chairman of the Illinois State Committee of the Communist Party; and Fred Fine, F-i-n-e, I guess that is the spelling, who was, I think, labor secretary of the Communist Party in the State of Illinois for a while.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether both Fine and Green are at the present time fugitives?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I understand they are fugitives from justice at the present time. In addition, there is Max Weiss, who I remember attended a meeting at the home of Flo Hall, who was also a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to ask you if any of the following-named persons who were alleged to be members of the UE attended any Communist Party meetings at which you were present?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I am sorry, sir, I didn't get your question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to ask you whether or not the persons whose names I am going to call attended Communist Party meetings at which you were present.

Now, the first one I want to ask about is Willie Mae Smith.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; she was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now the next is Florence Hall.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; she was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not she held a position in the district executive board of the Communist Party of Illinois?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; she did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Betty Verri, V-e-r-r-i?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes we held some of our meetings at the home of Betty Verri, with the Communist Party members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with her husband?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes, I met Al Verri at the home while the Communist Party meetings were going on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position he held with the Farm Equipment Workers?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; he was an organizer, a staff representative for the Farm Equipment Workers, which is now merged with the UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned in the course of your statement of January 7 the name of Fred Dutner, a UE international field organizer. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes, Fred Dutner was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you attended Communist Party meetings with him?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Jim Dawkins.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Thomas Brown, Jr.?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Lottie Glicker?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; she was a member of the Communist Party, or she was, I should say.

Mr. TAVENNER. Jack Birch?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; Jack Birch was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall what position he held?

Mr. LUNDGREN. He was the business manager of it, president, I believe, of UE local 1119. He was also a member of the section committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what general work were the members of local 1119 engaged?

Mr. LUNDGREN. They had a separate local of their own.

Mr. TAVENNER. What shops did they have contracts with, if you know?

Mr. LUNDGREN. UE local 1119 had Allied Industrial Co., Brunswick Radio Co., General Laminated Co. Brand Sheetmetal, Jennet Manufacturing Co., L. Hommedieu, H-o-m-m-e-d-i-e-u Co. It is the Mark Stone Manufacturing Co., Pastche Air Brush Co., United Motor Service Co. That is all I remember in 1119.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any of those companies engaged in the filling of defense contracts during the period 1945 to 1948, or even to 1950?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Pasco Soso?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Pasco Soso was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what local he was connected with?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes, he was president of UE local 1114.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what plants or shops did that local have contracts with?

Mr. LUNDGREN. UE local 1114. Alberg Bearing, American Corp., Armstrong Blum, Bamback Manufacturing Co., Bradfoot Gear Co., Chicago Metal Co., Combustion Engineering Co., Excelsior Tool & Die Works, Hansome Scale Co., D. O. James Gear Co., Hubbard Spool Co., John Wood Manufacturing Co.—

(Representative John S. Wood returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. LUNDGREN (continuing). Midwest Tool Co., Miehle Printing Press Co., Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co., Armatrude Machine, Onsrud, and Skelley Jones Co.

That is all I remember at the present time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Frank Allen a member of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; Frank Allen was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I would like for you, if you know, to state whether any of these people withdrew from the Communist Party, if they did withdraw.

Let me rephrase the question: If any of the persons that I asked you about have withdrawn from the Communist Party to your knowledge, I would like for you to so state.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes, I will.

Mr. TAVENNER. Up to this point have any of these persons withdrawn from the Communist Party as far as you know?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. What local was Frank Allen connected with?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Frank Allen was on the international staff as an organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. John T. Bernard—was he a member of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold in the union?

Mr. LUNDGREN. John Bernard was a field organizer and also the political action director for district 11 of the UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. Milton Burns?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Milton Burns also was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What official position did he hold with UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. He was an international representative for the UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you know that Milton Burns and these other persons whose names you have mentioned were members of the party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, all of these people whose names so far I have seen them at Communist Party meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were those meetings in which the Communist Party matters were discussed and acted upon?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were these meetings to which you refer meetings in the nature of the closed meetings of the Communist Party, or were they meetings which the public could attend?

Mr. LUNDGREN. They were closed meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Harry Freed. Are you acquainted with him?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; I know Harry Freed.

Mr. TAVENNER. What official position did he hold?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Harry Freed was at one time an acting business agent of UE local 1119 and was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of Ned Gorgolinski, G-o-r-g-o-l-i-n-s-k-i?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes, I was; he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know that?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, Ned Gorgolinski at one time was vice president of UE local 1150 and was in the same party branch that I was in for a long time.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean the Parsons branch?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Mike Karpa was also a member of the Communist Party, and he was, I guess he was on the international staff and also associated with UE local 1119, brother-in-law of Ernie DeMaio.

Mr. TAVENNER. John S. Kelliher.

Mr. LUNDGREN. John Kelliher was the president of the Local 1154, which was the UE local at Stuart-Warner before the UE lost that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Melvin Krantzler.

Mr. LUNDGREN. He was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall what his official position was?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Krantzler was research director for UE district 11.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Melvin Krantzler was educational director for our branch for a time.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the Parsons branch?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ina LaMaux.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Ina LaMaux was a member of the Communist Party, but to the best of my knowledge she left the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time she was a member did she hold any official position in the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; she was first vice president.

Mr. TAVENNER. Raynal Lofgren.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Ray Lofgren was for a short period of time a member of the Communist Party, but he definitely left the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Bernard J. McDonough.

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't remember McDonough, whether he was a member of the Communist Party or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Henry Meihls.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall what official position he held in the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I am sorry; I can't hear you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall what official position he held in the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Henry Meihls?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Henry Meihls was a field representative for the UE Local 1114 at one time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Art Rhodes, R-h-o-d-e-s.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Art Rhodes was also a member of the Parson Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Robert Scott.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Robert Scott was also a member of the Parsons Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall what local he was a member of?

Mr. LUNDGREN. UE Local 1150.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the plants or shops with which Local 1150 had contracts?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I believe I named them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you name those for 1150?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. William J. Sheehan.

Mr. LUNDGREN. William J. Sheehan was also a member of the Communist Party and an international representative for the UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. On what do you base your statement that Mr. Sheehan was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Bill Sheehan also attended meetings, the same meetings that I attended, of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Adam Smith.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Adam Smith also was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did Adam Smith hold in the union?

Mr. LUNDGREN. At one time he was vice president of UE Local 1119.

Mr. TAVENNER. Alice Smith.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Alice Smith was also a member of the Communist Party, and she was a member of the section branch, the section committee of the Communist Party of the UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by "the section committee"?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, the section committee was a committee made up of the representatives from the various clubs; in other words, the

section committee would have members from UE Local 1150, UE Local 1119, UE Local 1114, and the other UE locals who were in the UE at that time. And Alice Smith was at that time vice president of the district 11 UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. Walter Stempel, S-t-e-m-p-e-l.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Walter Stempel was also a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. On what do you base your statement?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Walter Stempel attended some of the meetings that I did in the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Louis Torre.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Louis Torre was not a member of the same branch that I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Therefore, you are unable to say?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I am unable to identify him as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Leo Turner.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Leo Turner, who is now with the Packing House Workers, was also a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know that?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Leo Turner attended some of the Communist Party meetings that I attended.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, all of the persons whose names you have identified as members of the Communist Party were members of the UE; were they not?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, during the course of your experience as a member of the Communist Party, did you meet in Communist Party meetings with other persons known to you to be members of the party who were not members of the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would that include high functionaries from the State of Illinois?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is, high functionaries in the Communist Party.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were some of those high functionaries, and under what circumstances did you meet them?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, as I previously testified, I met Gil Green, Fred Fine, and Max Weiss. I met another person by the name of Edward Brown, who also used the name, as I understand, of Ed Star, who was Illinois State secretary of the Communist Party. I met Richard Criley, who I believe had something to do with the educational division of the Communist Party in the State of Illinois, and at whose home we had some of our meetings; David Engelstein, who also was one of the top officials of the Illinois State Communist Party; and Sam Hammersmark, who operates the Modern Bookstore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where does he operate that store?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, the last I remember it was on Washington Street, and I don't remember the exact address.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the city of Chicago?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes. It was Irving Herman, who also attended some of our meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you name other persons?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well——

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were not members of UE, but whom you learned to know as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. There was Leon Katzen, who was a full-time functionary of the Communist Party, who was also on the UE staff at the recommendation of Ernest DeMaio for a short period of time. Sam Kushner was business manager of UE Local 1119, and he resigned from that position and went to work full-time for the Communist Party; and Claude Lightfoot and Herbert March. William L. Patterson was a director of the Abraham Lincoln School at the time, and William Sentner of the Chicago Star when it was in existence. Luther Talley——

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. What position did William Sentner have with the Chicago Star?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I believe he was publicity director at some official capacity with the Chicago Star.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, these persons whose names you have mentioned, other than the officials on a high level, and whom you say were members of the Communist Party, were known to you as Communist members on what basis?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, you mean where I met these people?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. How did you know them?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, at Communist Party meetings, sometimes the higher section committee meetings, Communist Party school that I attended, various Communist Party affairs that were strictly for Communist Party members only.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you meet Luther Talley at the Communist Party school?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet James Tate at the Communist Party school?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Alfred Wagenknecht?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. He was one of the top officials of the Illinois State Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Abe Feinglass?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his position within the union?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, he was regional director, or had some title like that, of the Fur and Leather Workers' Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the basis of your knowledge?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, at that time Abe Feinglass was an open Communist and admitted publicly that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Joseph Starobin?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Joseph Starobin is the foreign editor for the Daily Worker. I attended a luncheon at one time with Joseph Starobin as the principal speaker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Bernard Lucas?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was he identified with the union?

Mr. LUNDGREN. He was an official of the Harry Bridges Longshoremen's Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you know he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I attended Communist Party meetings with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Aaron Bindman?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Aaron Bindman was also an official of the Longshoremen's Union, and was also a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Hilliard Ellis?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Hilliard Ellis was an official of Local 453 of the United Auto Workers, as I understand it; also was an open member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have spoken of local district 11 in the course of your testimony, and I think it would be well to have at this time an explanation of the organizational set-up of district 11 of the Communist Party in this area as you understood it.

Mr. LUNDGREN. District 11 of the UE was the union number given to this area of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; of the UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then how many locals of the UE were there in district 11?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I wouldn't be in a position to know, because there were quite a few locals up in Minneapolis; Milwaukee, Wausau, Wis.; and down-State Illinois, and offhand I would not be in a position to tell you how many locals there were in the entire district.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what the total membership of district 11 of the UE was at that time?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I believe it was around 40,000.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you break that down and tell us the approximate membership of the locals which have been the subject of your testimony up to the present time, that is, 1150, 1119, 1114, that I recall, and I don't recall that you have named others or any others than those.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, offhand, in about 1950, the time I left the UE, Local 1114 had about 4,000 members, UE Local 1150 had about 2,500, and UE Local 1119 had about 1,200.

Mr. MOULDER. Were those union members?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Who were the officers of district 11?

Mr. LUNDGREN. At that particular time or the time I left?

Mr. TAVENNER. During the time that you were a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I don't recall all of the officers, but I do know that Ernest DeMaio was the president of the district UE, and Alice Smith was the—I believe she was the vice president of UE at that time, district 11. I don't recall the other officers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you mentioned the fact in the early part of your testimony that you attended a meeting in the home of Willie Mae Smith. Do you recall the date of that meeting?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes, I attended a meeting at the home of Willie Mae Smith on December 16, 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose of the meeting?

Mr. LUNDGREN. The purpose of this particular meeting was to draw up a slate of candidates which would be nominated at our regular union meeting on December 18, 2 days later, and outline the general program for the membership meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what kind of a meeting was this? Was this a committee meeting of the UE, or was it a meeting of some other organization?

Mr. LUNDGREN. It was a meeting of the Communist Party to plan the nominations and the slate of officers that would be nominated at the regular union meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that the common practice in the UE, that a slate of the officers would be selected first by the Communist Party before being presented to the UE for action?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, was such a slate prepared at this meeting of December 16, 1949?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that slate presented to the rank and file members of the UE at its regular convention or official meeting?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. And was it put over?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any instance in which a person whose name appeared on that slate was defeated for election?

Mr. LUNDGREN. No. The entire slate was selected at the Communist Party meeting on December 16, was nominated at the union meeting on December 18; and, subsequent to that time, were elected, without an exception.

I also should mention that not all of the people that were selected by the Communist Party group were members of the Communist Party. Many times, as in this case, they select non-Communist Party members to, let us say, give the appearance of respectability to their slate.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, those persons who were selected in that manner, were they persons who were considered in the light of their willingness to follow the Communist Party line, although not members of it?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I would say that some of the people just didn't know what was going on, and that the party felt that they wouldn't have any real opposition from these people, because they were a little naive of what was going on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, will you describe at this point just how that slate was put over by the Communist Party in the meeting which followed your Communist Party meeting; how did they go about getting their slate elected?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, also at the Communist Party meeting on December 16, 1949, they made arrangements or an agreement as to

who would nominate certain people, and who would second the nomination, and the slate was thus selected and nominated.

Mr. TAVENNER. The persons selected at the Communist Party meeting made the nominations from the floor?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, people that were selected by the Communist Party members, which not necessarily were Communist Party members themselves, made nominations, but they made the nominations of the people who were selected by the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were the Communist Party members to know whether or not their choice would be recognized by the chairman? If the chairman recognized someone else, it would have disrupted the plan, would it not?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I would say that the chairman of the meeting didn't expect any opposition from any particular group, and that as the people were nominated, or the officers, or it was time for the certain office to be nominated, that possibly only one hand would be raised to nominate a particular person for that office. And they also had people arranged that would move to close the nominations.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the chairman of the meeting at which this slate was selected?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Pat Amato—pardon me. The chairman at what meeting?

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the meeting which elected the slate of officers chosen by the Communist Party.

Mr. LUNDGREN. The union meeting?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. LUNDGREN. The union meeting was chaired by Pat Amato.

Mr. TAVENNER. And Pat Amato—

Mr. LUNDGREN. President of local 1150 at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. And did I understand that Pat Amato was a member of the Parsons branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Pat Amato had been a member of the Communist Party up until about October of 1949, at which time he resigned from the Communist Party to sign the non-Communist affidavit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, after Pat Amato resigned as a member of the Communist Party, did he attend any Communist Party meetings, to your knowledge?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Not that I remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he have access, to your knowledge, to the action that the Communist Party took on certain matters at its meetings?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, tell us about that.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, after we would have a Communist Party meeting, why, the following day I would tell Pat Amato or report to Pat Amato just exactly what had gone on at the Communist Party meeting, to keep him up to date as to what the program was of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. So he was as fully aware of the action of the Communist Party after he withdrew as he was while a member?

(Representative James B. Frazier, Jr., left hearing room.)

Mr. LUNDGREN. I advised him of the meetings. That is all I could say on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you advise him of the meeting at which the slate was prepared of those who were to be elected as the officers of the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. So that when he acted as chairman of the UE meeting, he knew the names of those that had been selected by the Communist Party at its prior meeting, who were to make the nominations?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And he also knew who composed the list which was to be crammed down the throats of the members of the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. He knew the list in advance.

(Representative Harold H. Velde left hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the business manager of local 1150 at the time of this Communist Party meeting which selected the list of proposed candidates for UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Irving Krane was the business manager of the local at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have already testified that he was a member or had been a member of the Communist Party, and was he a member at that time?

Mr. LUNDGREN. No; he was not. He had resigned in about October.

Mr. TAVENNER. And this was in December?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what position did the Communist Party at this preliminary meeting take with regard to the then present business manager, Irving Krane?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, in particular, Sam Kushner, who was a full-time member of the Communist Party, and also Flo Hall, who I have testified about previously, had said that the Communist Party had met, the State executive board of the Communist Party had met, and that they had said that it was unwise to have Krane continue on as the business manager of the local, and that he should be replaced by Fred Dutner.

Mr. TAVENNER. So that the State committee of the Communist Party made the decision that Irving Krane was no longer to be business manager of the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct. That is what I was advised; that is what I was told by Sam Kushner and Flo Hall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any reason assigned why the Communist Party would not permit the UE to elect its own business manager?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, the question wasn't really discussed; I mean it was just mentioned that he was politically unreliable.

Mr. TAVENNER. Politically unreliable. Krane had been considered politically reliable as long as he was a member of the Communist Party; hadn't he?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what occurred that changed his status so in the eyes of the State leaders of the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I would say that Irving Krane was beginning to question the policies of the Communist Party, and as such he was deemed politically unreliable.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, when a person who is a member of the Communist Party begins to deviate from the party line, which is

handed him, he becomes politically unreliable; is that in substance what you mean?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the State organization of the Communist Party successful in eliminating Irving Krane as business manager of local 1150?

(Representative Harold H. Velde returned to hearing room.)

Mr. LUNDGREN. He was eliminated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was it that led the fight to oust Krane because of his political unreliability?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Sam Kushner and Flo Hall.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the last name?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Flo Hall, Florence Hall.

(Representative John S. Wood left hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of the list prepared at the Communist Party meeting of the slate which was to be adopted by the UE at its next meeting? I am speaking now of the meeting of December 16, 1949; that is, at the home of Willie Mae Smith.

Mr. LUNDGREN. I remember the names of the candidates who were selected, but I want to emphasize the point that some of these people were not members of the Communist Party, and also had no idea that they had even been selected by the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then I will change my question, and ask you to state only the names of those on that list who were known to you to be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Starting off with the president, Pat Amato, who had previously resigned from the Communist Party, was selected. And then there was Fred Dutner selected for the business-manager position, and he also had been a member of the Communist Party, and was in attendance at that meeting at which we selected the slate, on December 16, at Willie Mae Smith's home.

Then there was Julia Gudinas, who was also a member of the Communist Party, who was selected on the slate as trustee.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position was she being recommended for, do you know?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Trustee of local union 1150.

And also, James Dawkins, who was also selected for the position of trustee of US Local 1150, and he also was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position was Fred Dutner put up for?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Fred Dutner was put up for business manager of local 1150; and, as I mentioned previously, Fred Dutner was in attendance at the meeting at Willie Mae Smith's home on December 16, and that was the Communist Party meeting at which he was recommended for that position; and, as I understand it, at the present time he still holds that position.

Mr. TAVENNER. What experience had Fred Dutner had which would have qualified him for the position of business manager, or what qualifications did he have for the office?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, actually, Fred Dutner was on the international staff as an organizer, and to my knowledge at that time Fred Dutner had never negotiated a contract, and he was not actually qualified to hold that job.

(Representative James B. Frazier, Jr., returned to hearing room.)

Mr. LUNDGREN. He had merely been an organizer, and getting workers into the UE, but had participated not in negotiations.

Mr. TAVENNER. What had Irving Krane's record been as a business agent?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Prior to Irving Krane's coming on the staff, Irving Krane was a lawyer, and he had negotiated the contracts in the local there for a period of 7 or 8 years, and in my opinion he was an excellent negotiator of contracts.

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me a moment.

Mr. WALTER. The committee will stand in recess for 10 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

(Representative John S. Wood returned to hearing room.)

Mr. WOOD. Let us have order, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Lundgren, do you recall the date when the UE took action at its convention to comply with the non-Communist affidavit provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I believe it was at the 1949 national convention of the UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. And was it the decision of the UE to comply with the provisions of the act by having the proper officers execute a non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall what position Willie Mae Smith held at that time?

Mr. LUNDGREN. At that time, Willie Mae Smith was the recording secretary of UE Local 1150.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she required, under the provisions of the act and the decision of the UE, to sign the non-Communist affidavit?

(Representative Francis E. Walter left hearing room.)

Mr. LUNDGREN. The decision of the UE nationally was referred to the various locals who deemed it advisable to be in compliance with the act, and our local went on record in favor of signing the non-Communist affidavit, which we subsequently did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that include the position of the recording secretary of the local 1150?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; it did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did Willie Mae Smith, as the recording secretary of local 1150, execute the affidavit?

Mr. LUNDGREN. No; she did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did she do?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, she resigned her position as recording secretary rather than to sign the non-Communist affidavit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, when action was taken by the local to comply with the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act with regard to the signing of the non-Communist affidavit, did your branch of the Communist Party, that is, the Parsons branch, also consider the matter?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; we had a meeting of our branch of the Communist Party, and we discussed who would sign the non-Communist affidavit, what officers would actually sign and which officers would not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that before the UE took its action?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct. That is UE Local 1150.

Mr. TAVENNER. So just as in the case of the preparation of the list of officers that were to be elected, so the Communist Party again met in a secret meeting ahead, and decided what the policy of the local UE should be with regard to the signing of the non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; in all cases where matters of importance were going to come up before the local membership meeting, those matters were discussed at the Communist Party meeting prior to the union-membership meeting, and that also included the selection of delegates to conventions, and any official business like that, always the names of these people were selected at the Communist Party meeting first. Then it was brought to the attention of the people at the regular union-membership meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would it be fair to say that the action of the UE was just merely a matter of form in carrying out the decision that had already been made by the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, that was what always happened.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any instance of any importance where the decision of the Communist Party in a prior meeting was turned down in a UE meeting later held?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Right at that point, let me ask you, when these meetings were held in which the Communist Party decision was followed and adopted, were those meetings fully attended by the rank and file of the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. The union membership meeting, you mean?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. LUNDGREN. No. For example, when we had 7,200 members in our local union, when we had 100 we had a pretty good meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Therefore, it was only necessary for the Communist Party to be certain that it had a majority of about 100 that would attend these meetings, or a majority, say, of 51 out of 100 that would attend these meetings, to adopt its program?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, they didn't actually have 51 members, but all they needed was the 51 people out of 100 who would go along with the program of the party, knowingly or unknowingly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Therefore, if the rank and file of the UE would desire to oust Communist control and influence, all it would have to do would be to come out and vote; isn't that about the solution?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, to some extent that is true, but if they had even turned out in greater numbers, they probably would have been met with a lot of parliamentary procedure and tactics of the Communist Party, which would tend to slow up the people's desire.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now—excuse me.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, another point that would probably happen is that they would drag the meeting out to some great length, which the average person would then go home, but the hard core would stay through and see that the policies of the party would be carried out.

Mr. TAVENNER. That conforms with the pattern that has been shown to the committee in various fields of endeavor—the moving-picture industry and other places.

I would like for you to describe a little more fully, if you can, the means that would be adopted by the Communist Party to put over in UE meetings the decisions which it had made secretly, ahead of the meetings. Now, can you explain it in a little more detail?

(Representative Francis E. Walter returned to hearing room.)

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, the local was under complete Communist control, and we really never had any major opposition, so that the people were not aware of the fact that actually a Communist Party meeting had been held to work out the details before the membership meeting, and therefore the people just went along with the policies without knowing too much about actually what was happening. Actually, the people thought they were making the decisions, and little did they know that they were only carrying out the mandate of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long has that situation continued to exist, to your knowledge, within UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, as far as I knew, up to the time that I left the UE. I would assume that it is still going on, and I don't know of any change.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, returning to the question of the non-Communist affidavit, I believe you stated that the policy of the UE with regard to that was determined by secret session of the Communist Party members prior to the meeting?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us just what occurred in the Communist Party meeting with regard to that question of non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, at that particular meeting, which was also at the home of Willie Mae Smith, Florence Hall was in attendance, and Florence Hall said that she had talked it over with the top members of the Communist Party here in the State, and that they deemed it advisable that she should not sign the non-Communist affidavit, and that she should issue a statement to that effect and, in fact, Florence Hall said that she would draft up a statement for Willie Mae Smith to sign, and issue that as her statement, as to why she did not sign the affidavit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wasn't Florence Hall one of the defense witnesses in the trial of the 11 Communists in New York?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I remember reading a statement to that effect, in the papers.

Mr. TAVENNER. And it was decided that she should not be required to sign?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. So through her, it was decided that Willie Mae Smith should not be required to sign the affidavit?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, what officers were selected at that meeting to sign the non-Communist affidavit, or may I ask you a question in this form: Was Pat Amato, president, one of those selected to sign the non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes; he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. And were not the following also required to sign: Ned Gorgolinski, who was the first vice president; Walter Rogalski, second vice president; Anthony Koss, financial secretary-treasurer? Were they not chosen at the Communist Party meeting as those who should sign?

Mr. LUNDGREN. The list of officers as you named there were selected by the Communist Party group, and again knowingly or unknowingly, and they followed out or they signed the affidavits so that the local would be in compliance.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, did Pat Amato resign from the Communist Party in order to sign the affidavit?

Mr. LUNDGREN. As far as I know, he did. He sent a letter of resignation to the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. He sent a letter of resignation?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any action taken expelling him from membership in the party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. But in the case of Irving Krane, who had become politically unreliable, he was expelled from the party by action of the party after sending in his resignation, was he not?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I asked you the question earlier as to whether or not you kept Pat Amato informed of the Communist Party action at its various meetings after he resigned.

Mr. LUNDGREN. I already answered that question, and it is "Yes."

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you also keep any of the other officers advised, that is, other officers who had resigned in order to sign the non-Communist affidavit?

Let me preface that question by another: Did the other officers whose names I have mentioned, that is, the first vice president, and so on, resign from the Communist Party in order that they might sign the non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, some did, but the only one that I actually kept informed of what went on at the Communist Party meetings was Pat Amato.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which of the others resigned, according to your knowledge?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I mentioned earlier that Ned Gorgolinski was a member of the party, and I know he resigned; and Irving Krane resigned. And I think that those, Pat Amato and Irving Krane and Ned Gorgolinski, were the three members of the party, if I remember correctly, who did resign.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, do you know whether or not other members of the Communist Party kept those who had resigned, informed of Communist Party activities?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. The only one that you kept informed was Pat Amato?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Pat Amato consulted other members of the Communist Party regarding Communist affairs, that is, after he resigned from the membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I do know that he met with members of the Communist Party after that time, but what was actually discussed, I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell us about the circumstances of those meetings?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, for example, I remember Sam Kushner, who was then a full-time organizer for the Communist Party, coming into our local union office at 37 South Ashland, and then Pat Amato and Sam Kushner would leave and walk across the street and have a cup of coffee, or something like that. I remember Leon Katzen coming into the UE office. Katzen was also a full-time member of the Communist Party, and talked to Pat Amato, and then would leave the office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did Pat Amato at any time discuss with you the position that he was in, in having formally resigned from the Communist Party, and had taken the oath that he was not a member of the Communist Party, and yet continued in Communist Party affairs?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I remember cautioning Pat Amato at one time for being so open about meeting Communist Party functionaries in the UE office, after he had signed the non-Communist affidavit; but Pat Amato just shrugged his shoulders and didn't seem to care whether or not he was seen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then it would appear that his resigning from the Communist Party was a mere subterfuge in order to be able to comply with the Taft-Hartley Act through the signing of the non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I have given the facts, and I think that you will have to draw your own conclusions on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the earlier part of your testimony, you referred to the fact that Pat Amato, in inducing you to become a member of the Communist Party, told you that you would be sent to school. Were you sent to school?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What kind of a school was it?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I was sent to a full-time Communist Party school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was the school held?

Mr. LUNDGREN. The school was held on Division Street, west of Ashland, above the Russian Coöperative Restaurant.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was its name?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I don't recall the actual name of that particular school. It was just a Communist Party school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you sent to more than one Communist Party school?

Mr. LUNDGREN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. What are the names of other persons who attended that school with you?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I don't remember too many of them, but I do remember Luther Talley and James Tate as so-called fellow students of this class.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the general subject or subjects which you studied?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, they gave us a brief study course on Marxist-Leninist theory, and the main purpose actually seemed to be how

wonderful conditions were in the Soviet Union, and that we ought to have the same thing here.

Mr. WALTER. Did they give you a course in staging the kind of a demonstration which we witnessed here this morning?

Mr. LUNDGREN. They did discuss programs of mass action for various reasons and causes; in how to actually put on a show and, say, make it appear that you are a lot stronger than you actually are, that you are bigger than you actually are.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the instructors, particularly those in the field that you have just mentioned?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I remember a few of the instructors, but I don't particularly remember which instructor talked about that particular subject. I didn't retain much of the course.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, will you give us the names of the instructors?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, there was David Engelstein, and Gil Green spoke there, and I believe it was Lem Harris and John Gray, Fred Fine—and I think that is about all I actually remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Engelstein was the educational director for the State of Illinois, of the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I believe he was at that particular time.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you attend this school?

Mr. LUNDGREN. One week.

Mr. TAVENNER. Lem Harris has appeared as a witness before this committee, and can you tell us what position he held in the Communist Party at that time, or at any time?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't know what his official capacity is, or was. I do know that he talked about the agricultural situation in the Soviet Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date of your attendance at this school?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't recall offhand.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at the time an organizer of the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you on vacation, or did you have a leave of absence when you attended this school?

Mr. LUNDGREN. No: I was still on the pay roll, and I received my regular pay from the UE, even though I attended the Communist Party school, and I was not on a vacation or not on a leave of absence.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did the UE know that you were attending a Communist Party school at the time that they were paying you a salary as an organizer of the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, the officers of the UE did, because it was worked out at one of our Communist Party clubs that I would attend one of these classes for a full week, and I would not do any union work, and I attended the classes in the morning and all of the way through the evening, and I had both Pat Amato and Irving Krane take over some of my work in the union while I was attending the Communist Party course. Those arrangements were made at a Communist Party meeting prior to my attending the school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether other members of or organizers of the UE received their educational instruction in the Communist Party at the expense of the UE, in addition to yourself?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I actually can't say that I do. I do know about myself; that is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you receive any expense money or compensation from the Communist Party during the period you were attending this school while being paid a salary by the UE?

Mr. LUNDGREN. The Communist Party did not pay me anything.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time been affiliated with the Civil Rights Congress in Chicago?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I may have, but I don't recall offhand.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a list of the officers of the organization, and I would like for you to look at it and tell us the names of any of those who appear as officers and who were known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

(Document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. LUNDGREN. Will you repeat the question, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like for you to look at the list of names of the officers of the organization, and state which of them, if any, are known by you to be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Tillie Carle.

Mr. TAVENNER. Spell the last name.

Mr. LUNDGREN. C-a-r-l-e.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is she known by any other name?

Mr. LUNDGREN. She married Frank Rogers, who at one time was on the UE staff of local 1114.

Sam Kushner—

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she [Tillie Carle] also associated or affiliated in any way with the Modern Book Store in Chicago?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't recall.

Sam Kushner, who at one time was the business manager for UE Local 1119, and later on was a full-time official of the Communist Party of the State of Illinois.

John Gray, who was one of the teachers at this Communist Party school which I attended.

That includes the officers and executive board members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Lundgren, in your statement made on January 7, 1950, at the time you withdrew from the Communist Party, you made this statement:

In these meetings—

referring to Communist Party meetings—

it was made very clear that serving the interests of the Communist Party were primary, and came ahead of the welfare of the union.

Will you be more specific than that, or can you tell us more definitely just what you had in mind when you made that statement?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I can give one example. We had a problem at the Goodman Manufacturing Co., and I remember Fred Fine making the statement that we had to carry out the policies of the Communist Party regardless or even if it meant the losing of the shop from the UE. And I questioned him on that, and he said that the Communist Party must come first at all times.

Another point, I remember distinctly that there was a dance being held at the Cinch Manufacturing Co., and Pat Amato approached me to sell some tickets, concerning the dance, and he asked that I not

sell any tickets to the Negro people because it was an all-white shop and they didn't want any Negroes present at the dance. And I questioned him on that, and he told me that that was the policy of the party at that time, which was contrary to the policy of our union.

Mr. TAVENNER. You withdrew from the Communist Party on January 7, 1950, and are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there any further statement you desire to make regarding the reasons for your withdrawing from the Communist Party and abstaining from reuniting with it?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I would like to say this in conclusion: That I found out that the Communist Party did not carry out the interests of the working people as they claimed they did, and that the Communist Party consistently distorted the facts, lied, just did everything contrary to what a good trade-unionist would do, and that they were more interested in carrying out the policies of the Soviet Union than they were in the interests of building a good, strong, democratic union.

One further point I think should be emphasized, and that is the overwhelming majority of unions, I would say probably 98 percent of the unions, are free democratic American unions, and not controlled by the Communist Party; and I don't think the people should get the impression that labor unions are bad just because a small handful of unions in America today are still under the domination of the Communist Party.

Also, I am happy to say that in very many unions the workers have taken it upon themselves to get rid of the Communist Party leadership of their particular unions.

Mr. TAVENNER. But in order to do that they must be acquainted with the facts.

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. I have no questions.

Mr. MOULDER. I have just one question.

You say the total membership in the local union 1150 was approximately 7,200?

Mr. LUNDGREN. That is correct, at one time.

Mr. MOULDER. And at that time can you give us an estimate, according to your best knowledge and information, as to the total number of Communists that were then working in that union?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, at the peak, when we had 7,200 members, I would imagine we probably had about 35 to 40 members of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. And what percent of the officers were Communists at that time?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, throughout the whole period the Communists always kept the key positions, like president and business manager, which were the full-time jobs.

Mr. MOULDER. When you were a member of the Communist Party, how much were your dues?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, the dues, I think, when I first joined, the dues were only \$1 a month, and they raised them to \$2 on the actual

dues; but we are more or less required to contribute 10 percent of our salary to the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you know, or have any information, as to whether or not any union money or dues were diverted or used in connection with the Communist functions?

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, for example, I don't recall whether it was the local executive board—I think it was the local executive board bought a certain amount of subscriptions to the Chicago Star, and they were given out to certain key members, which the local union paid for.

Mr. MOULDER. Who were some of the top leaders that you mentioned in your testimony that hadn't already been named? You mentioned some top leaders of the Communist Party.

Mr. LUNDGREN. Well, I mentioned all of the ones I knew in my testimony.

Mr. MOULDER. That is all.

Mr. VELDE. Did you carry a membership card in the Communist Party?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I did for probably the first couple of years, and then, I forget just what time or what year it was, I imagine it was around 1948, the Communist Party took the position that it wasn't too wise to carry cards any longer, and we eliminated the use of Communist Party cards.

Mr. VELDE. How did that order eliminating the use of cards come down to you, do you recall?

Mr. LUNDGREN. I don't recall who the exact person was, but normally what would happen in a situation like that, one of the top officials of the Communist Party would come to one of our club meetings and tell us what the party policy was.

Mr. VELDE. By word of mouth and not by writing?

Mr. LUNDGREN. More by word of mouth, and sometimes by mimeographed sheet or something like that, but more so by word of mouth.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Lundgren, I want to thank you for appearing and giving the splendid cooperation and your great contribution to this committee.

Mr. MOULDER. To clarify my understanding on the record, I would like to know the proper name of UE. What is the correct name?

Mr. LUNDGREN. The UE, the full name of the UE is the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Lundgren, I would like to express to you on behalf of the committee, as well as on behalf of the loyal American citizens in this area and throughout the entire country, our very deep appreciation for your cooperation here. It is not always easy for a man to discharge the duties of citizenship, and I think those of us who have been here in the room today have had a typical illustration of that. It has been, perhaps, the most disgraceful spectacle that it has ever been my misfortune to witness. But it shows the utter contempt and disregard of the democratic processes on which this Government has been founded and which have nurtured its growth to its present high state—the contempt that is entertained by those who lend themselves or their sympathies to a movement designed in its ultimate analysis to the destruction of the things that have made this great Republic.

We wanted to bring these hearings here for whatever value they might be to the people of Chicago and this area, that they might know and ascertain what is going on in their midst. For your contribution to that, we are very grateful to you.

Is there any reason, Mr. Counsel, why this witness should not be excused under his subpoena from further attendance?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It is so ordered.

We will stand in recess until 2:30.

(Whereupon, at 1:10 p. m., a recess was taken until 2:30 p. m., of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. WOOD. Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, we have Mr. Irving Krane.

Mr. WOOD. Are you Mr. Krane?

Mr. KRANE. Yes, I am.

Mr. WOOD. Will you stand and be sworn, please, sir.

Do you solemnly swear the evidence you will give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KRANE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING KRANE

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:45 p. m., Representative John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, James B. Frazier, Jr., Harold H. Velde, and Donald L. Jackson being present.)

Mr. WOOD. Will you have a seat, Mr. Krane. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. KRANE. No, I am not.

Mr. WOOD. In the course of your examination should you determine that you desire to have counsel, please let it be known, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please.

Mr. KRANE. Irving Krane.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Krane?

Mr. KRANE. I was born in 1905 in Russia.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to this country?

Mr. KRANE. I must have been 2 or 3 years of age.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. KRANE. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you naturalized?

Mr. KRANE. By an act of Congress, yes, while yet a minor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee, please, what your educational training has been?

Mr. KRANE. I am a graduate of DePaul University in the year 1923 and I am a practicing attorney.

Mr. TAVENNER. What employment have you had in addition to the general practice of your profession?

Mr. KRANE. Well, I was affiliated with the UE, United Electrical Workers, from about 1941 to 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you appeared here today under subpoena served upon you?

Mr. KRANE. Yes; I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Lundgren, in the course of his testimony, advised the committee that you at one time were a member of the Communist Party, and that you withdrew from the Communist Party, I believe, in October of 1949. Is that substantially correct?

Mr. KRANE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRANE. Sometime in 1936 or 1937, although I don't know the exact year or the exact month, but in that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you became a member of the Communist Party, what in general was the organizational set-up of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRANE. Well, if by that question you mean whether we met as a group in any particular locality, I can say that the set-up as far as I knew it was branch units, neighborhood branch units.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever progress in the Communist Party beyond that of being a member of a branch or unit?

Mr. KRANE. No; I never did.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the branch or unit to which you were assigned?

Mr. KRANE. I can't recall that, sir. That has been too long ago, it was a branch unit somewhere in, as I think of it now, in the forty-fourth ward of Chicago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us the circumstances under which you were recruited into the party?

Mr. KRANE. Yes; I will. Prior to the time of my coming into the party I had taken a very active part in the anti-Fascist movement which was then coming into existence. I believe I held the title of executive secretary of the Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism. In those years we ran some very large mass meetings to publicize the events that were occurring in Germany under Hitler. We had such personages come to the United States and to Chicago for the purpose of speaking at these meetings as Sonia Branting, the daughter of the former Prime Minister of Norway; the Earl of Lishoul of England; and Dr. Kirk Rosenfeld, who was a former Prime Minister of Justice in Russia and was then in exile. John Spivac, who had done a terrific job exposing the Fascist groups in America, was a principal speaker. It was the result of that activity plus my legal defense work about that time of those unfortunates who were without work, who had been dispossessed of their homes, who found a struggle on their hands for relief that prompted me to come into the Communist Party because it appeared at that time that that was the party undertaking that struggle.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you remained constantly in the party from that time until the present time?

Mr. KRANE. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. I mean up to 1949.

Mr. KRANE. No; for a time, and I don't remember when it was, possibly in the year 1938 or 1939, I dropped out from active participation in the party. I came back into the party again either shortly before or just about the time I came to the UE.

Now, there again I can't recall the circumstances, but that is in a general sense what happened.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, can you tell us what connection there was between your reuniting with the Communist Party and your becoming an employee of the UE?

Mr. KRANE. Well, the only connection I can think of, if it is a connection, and I have my serious doubts, is that I had gone to see Al Glenn, whom I had known from the anti-Fascist days. Al Glenn then had a position with the CIO. I had gone to him with the idea of coming into some trade-union and at that time he suggested that I come over and see DeMaio, because the UE was a young organization and was a developing organization at the time.

Now, I can't recall the details of whether I was then a dues-paying member of the Communist Party, or whether—probably I was, let us put it that way, because I can't recall any specific incident.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you were advised to confer with Ernest DeMaio, what position did he hold in the UE?

Mr. KRANE. DeMaio at that time was district president of district 11. In other words, he was the head of the UE set-up organizationally.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he an active member of the Communist Party at the same time?

Mr. KRANE. That I can't say.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, when you were sent to him, do you recall whether you were a member of the party or not at that time?

Mr. KRANE. I believe I was, sir. That is the point that I am a little bit uncertain about, whether I was at that time or that I became shortly thereafter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, when you did reaffiliate with the Communist Party, regardless of the exact time, did you learn that Ernest DeMaio was a member of the party?

Mr. KRANE. No; the fact of the matter is that outwardly and publicly Ernest DeMaio is in no way affiliated or associated with the Communist Party. However, I attended meetings, one meeting in particular, at his home at which Communist Party members were present and the reason I recall that meeting was because of some remark that was made that I don't think I will forget for a long time. It was made by Fred Fine, and was to the effect that if in pursuing the party line we will lose a union or lose the labor movement, it is of no great concern because the labor movement was lost before and has risen again, and that struck me as being a most—well, I would rather not characterize it, but I put in 16 hours a day for about 8 years building a local union and when a remark like that was made it just went a little bit against my understanding of trade-unionism.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, by that statement if there were a conflict in purposes of the union and the Communist Party, little thought should be given to the preservation of the union as it would have a chance to rise again.

Mr. KRANE. That would be the import of that, sir, and in my experience with the UE, I saw that thing happen at least once.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now before you come to that, let us see a little more about the character of the meeting that you attended in Ernest DeMaio's house, who were present?

Mr. KRANE. At that meeting Fred Fine was present; there was some party leader, and I don't know his name. I never saw him before. He was from Minneapolis, and there was another leader from

Wisconsin. Alice Smith was there, and there might have been somebody there from Locals 1114 and 1119, the other two locals. The other two locals of the city of Chicago.

The discussion generally was about the situation that then prevailed in Minneapolis. It was getting rather serious. Threats of break-aways were coming in.

Mr. TAVENNER. Explain that a little more in detail, break-aways from what?

Mr. KRANE. Break-aways of the membership from the UE. In other words, a breach had developed in Minneapolis and there was a general discussion, personalities were discussed, the details I don't recall right now, and they didn't make too much impression on me. The thing that stands out was that remark by Fred Fine that the important thing was to carry out the party line whatever it was, and if the labor movement were destroyed in the process, not to worry about it, because it has happened before and the labor movement has risen again.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any disagreement expressed with that statement?

Mr. KRANE. Absolutely none, I might say that that same statement was repeated in essence again by another member of the Communist Party who played a rather sinister role there, and I am talking about Florence Criley, or Flo Atkinson, one was her maiden name and the other was her married name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee about that.

Mr. KRANE. Well, this was a meeting of some kind, and I can't recall the place particularly, but Florence Criley stated if you couldn't carry out the line of the party in any given shop, you didn't have that shop and we might just as well lose it. Well, I think she demonstrated that she could do just that thing, lose a shop for the UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean?

Mr. KRANE. Well, what happened was this, that in 1947 I believe—and I may be off a year or two, and that is not the important thing—but in 1947 I had negotiated a union shop and a 16½-cent increase at the Chicago Transformer. There was a change in the personnel in the local. I had assigned Pat Amato to take charge of the shop. I thought that with the union shop then in Chicago Transformer he wouldn't have too much work, being rather notorious for one who didn't love too much work, and his way of handling that shop was to get Florence Criley to get a job in Chicago Transformer. Within a year's time they completely upset the apparatus in that shop, brought in a new apparatus, and in an NLRB election which took place in the following fall we lost the shop. The workers broke away from us.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, do you claim there was a connection from that breaking away, with the method of operation—

Mr. KRANE. The connection was very obvious. It was not an idea of taking the leadership that you have in a shop and trying to develop it and to strengthen it and to bring unity to the shop. The operation was to discard one group of leaders who are not amenable to you, and impose others that suited you better regardless of a division that might develop.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what connection was there between the imposing of a new group upon that shop and the Communist Party?

Mr. KRANE. Well, obviously the old group of officers in Chicago Transformer were not amendable to Florence Criley and Pat Amato, whatever program they had. I didn't know of these developments until they had actually occurred. The report was made and we had an election of new chief shop steward and this is what happened: Later on we find out what happened in the shop. Then an election is ordered and NLRB and everything is rosy and we are going to win that shop and so the reports come through. And when the election is over, then the bitter tears start flowing, and what happened, and what went wrong? That wasn't an isolated instance. We had a similar experience in Hurley Machine, a shop where we had an excellent contract, and I don't know if you have any of the workers from Hurley who might come here, but it would be important for the workers in the rest of the UE to know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I want to understand clearly the point that you are making there. And if I do understand it clearly, it is this: That on occasion, members of the Communist Party have indicated that the imposition of the Communist Party line in the union is more important than the advancement of the worker or the union itself.

Mr. KRANE. That is a correct appraisal of the situation.

Mr. TAVENNER. And these are instances which you have given of it.

Mr. KRANE. Whenever I draw a generalization as a lawyer I would like to base it on concrete facts.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the approximate date of the meeting in the home of Ernest DeMaio to which you refer?

Mr. KRANE. The closest I can come to it was that it was in the summer of 1949 and I can't say which month, and possibly June.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall who invited you to the meeting?

Mr. KRANE. No, I don't, I don't recall the details, I was told by some one there was going to be a meeting at DeMaio's home and would I be there, and I think the meeting was held on a Sunday.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Lundgren has testified here this morning about an incident which occurred at a meeting of the Communist Party on December 16, 1949, in which a slate of officers was being proposed by that group. At the time I believe you were business manager.

Mr. KRANE. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were business manager of the local?

Mr. KRANE. I was business manager at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were not a member of the Communist Party at that time, as I recall.

Mr. KRANE. No, I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. You had resigned from the Communist Party in October of that year, I believe.

Mr. KRANE. About that time, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you learn of the fact that the Communist Party had formed this list for presentation at the local's meeting and that you had been supplanted by another?

Mr. KRANE. Lee Lundgren got in touch with me the following day, and told me what had happened, and he gave me the details and who was present, that is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you elected to an office that year?

Mr. KRANE. I didn't run, I resigned. That was the year I severed my connection with the UE. Following that meeting and following

a meeting in Ernie DeMaio's office about a week prior to this meeting, in which DeMaio indicated that because of the friction that had developed between Amato and myself, that it might be advisable that neither of us run for office; however, if I decided to run he knew how to mobilize the apparatus of the UE to fight. That statement by DeMaio, followed by the decision of the Communist Party to supplant me, I believe was more than mere coincidence.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you issue a statement on January 5, 1950, and release it to the public regarding your resignation?

Mr. KRANE. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you what purports to be a copy of your statement, and ask you to look at it and see if you can identify it as a copy of the statement you made.

(Document was handed to witness.)

Mr. KRANE. That is my statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read it into the record?

Mr. KRANE. It will be a little trying on my voice, but I will be glad to do it. It is under press release date of January 5, 1950, and addressed to the members of Local 1150, UE:

To the members of Local No. 1150, UE:

Effective immediately, I am resigning as business manager of Local No. 1150, UE, to which position I had been reelected each year for the past 7 years.

I declined to run for business manager again this year, despite assurances from the membership of the local that, had I accepted the nomination which was tendered to me by the chief steward of Sunbeam, and seconded by members from major shops in the local, that I would have been overwhelmingly reelected.

My decision to decline renomination and to resign my post in the local is based upon the following considerations:

I have found that I can no longer tolerate a situation wherein the membership of the UE is not permitted actually to determine the conduct of their own union affairs, nor to decide the policies of their own union.

The apparatus of the UE is controlled by the Communist Party in such a manner as to make it impossible for the UE membership to freely exercise their fundamental right to run their own union in the way they best see fit.

The members of Local No. 1150 have been wondering as to the manner in which the single slate of candidates in the current local election came to be selected.

Their wonderment can be cleared up by stating that the slate had been determined in advance by the Communist Party and Ernest DeMaio, without any regard to the fundamental right of the membership of Local No. 1150 to determine who their candidates for local officers should be.

On the 16th of December at a private meeting held on the South Side, at which some of the local candidates were present, it was reported by Sam Kushner, former business manager of local 1119 and at present full-time Communist Party organizer, that Gill Green and other leaders of the Communist Party were opposed to my candidacy because of political differences.

This meeting then proceeded to determine the candidates for the forthcoming election in local 1150.

DeMaio's support of the Communist Party's position was made clear by the activities of the UE staff members working under his direction.

During my entire term of office in the local, my first responsibility and concern was for the welfare of the membership. The record speaks for itself.

Feeling that I can no longer make myself party to the undemocratic set-up in the UE, I am therefore impelled to submit my resignation.

With warmest personal regards, I remain,

Yours fraternally,

IRVING KRANE.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first conclude that it was the purpose of the Communist Party to impose its will upon the UE regardless of how it may affect the UE?

Mr. KRANE. There were several incidents that occurred. The most important, of course, was the one involving Ray Lofgren who was chief shop steward at Sunbeam. I might say that Ray Lofgren had been chief shop steward at Sunbeam for about 6 years. He was probably the hardest working union member in the plant. He had day after day, summer and winter, appeared in front of the plant at 6 o'clock in the morning, had probably signed up more members in Sunbeam than the entire total signed up by all other stewards. He was exceedingly popular. He was a man who could settle grievances without creating ill will or friction. Despite that, the Communist Party decided that Ray Lofgren had to go.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why?

Mr. KRANE. One day—I am going to give you the reasons in relating the incidents, sir—I can say that for 2 years a most unprincipled and scurrilous attack was being leveled against him inside that plant, especially by two individuals, both party members, and I am referring to Ned Gorgolinski and Julia Gudinas. The situation became so scandalous that an open rift began in the plant. Julia Gudinas and Ned Gorgolinski in their entire membership in the local, in their entire membership hadn't brought in a tenth of the members that Ray Lofgren brought in in 1 month's time. Obviously they were favorites of the Communist Party under Flo Hall. Flo Hall held some title in the Communist Party, and she was a worker in Stewart-Warner, but apparently had time to mingle into the affairs of other locals and other situations.

One day, I think it was the spring of 1949, I was asked to meet with a committee of stewards and party members from Sunbeam. It was to discuss the situation. That meeting was held one evening at the union headquarters. Present was Flo Hall, Ned Gorgolinski, Julia Gudinas, Ray Lofgren, and one other individual, I think John Rogalski, and I am not sure and I am not positive about John Rogalski. The meeting then proceeded to discuss not how to strengthen the union in the shop by bringing in more members and bolstering the weakest department in the shop, Julia Gudinas' department, which probably had a quarter of the workers organized, but the meeting proceeded about how to get rid of Ray Lofgren because he wasn't militant enough. In the course of that conversation Flo Hall became insistent that I get Ray Lofgren not to run for chief shop steward and instead place Ned Gorgolinski in that position. I refused. I said, "It is my understanding that Ray Lofgren is popular, the workers like him, certainly on the basis of the record he has done a better job to build the union than Ned Gorgolinski." "But he is not militant," said Flo Hall, and I don't know what she meant by that, but that is a favorite expression, "He is not militant."

She said, "You have got to do it."

"Well," I said, "I am not going to do it."

I said, "I am only concerned in one thing, who do the workers want for chief shop steward in that shop, and now if you think that Gorgolinski is the more popular of the two and I am not going to say you are right or wrong, I think Lofgren is—let them both run."

With that Ned Gorgolinski jumped from his seat and said, "If Ray runs, I won't run, that is the end of that."

After more conversation it became very clear to Flo Hall that she wasn't going to tell me how to conduct the affairs of local 1150. The

election took place for chief shop steward shortly thereafter and Ray Lofgren was elected with acclamation, and I happened to see Flo Hall shortly thereafter and I said, "Have you heard about the election in Sunbeam?" and I said, "Now don't you feel you were a little bit mistaken about wanting Ray not to run?" Her answer was, sir, "That never was my suggestion."

I don't mean to cast aspersions on her veracity, sir, but that is the record. That was the first point.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you the question: Was Flo Hall a member of the Sunbeam local?

Mr. KRANE. Flo Hall worked in Stewart-Warner, but she held some title, and I don't know what she was.

Mr. TAVENNER. And was attempting to interfere in the matters of this local?

Mr. KRANE. She was speaking in behalf of the Communist Party, in attempting to dictate who shall be the chief shop steward in a local not even of her own.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the point, all right.

Mr. KRANE. The other incident, this happened possibly 3 or 4 months prior to this particular incident—no, I am sorry, this incident happened later. This was a meeting that was held in Flo Criley's home somewhere on the West Side. Again you are asked to come to a meeting and you are not to know what is being discussed and we are going to have a meeting; will you please come there?

Mr. TAVENNER. What kind of a meeting?

Mr. KRANE. The meeting turned out to be a Communist Party meeting, and present at the meeting, of course, was our hostess, Flo Criley, Flo Hall, Ned Gorgolinski, Julia Gudinas, Pat Amato, Dutner, and Lee Lundgren.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is Dutner's first name?

Mr. KRANE. Fred. Well, after a lot of discussion about other matters, which don't particularly come to mind, Flo Hall turned to me and said, "You ought to put Flo Criley on the staff of the local, out of consideration for what she has done for the union. I might explain here that Flo Criley had previously worked for the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers and had been let go. But I don't know why they let her go there. But after they let her go at the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers she came to work on the international staff of the UE, and after a year or more of fruitless effort on her part, not being able to organize a single shop, they let her go. It was obvious her design was to find a place somewhere on the staff of the UE.

I told Flo Hall at the time that our finances would not permit putting on another member on the staff of the local, and I didn't want to put it on any other grounds. The significant remark made by Flo Hall at that time was that, "I think you ought to put her on regardless of where the money comes from." If she weren't a lady, gee, I would say something to her that probably shouldn't fit into this record. But let it suffice, Flo Hall was not put on the staff of the local.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean Flo Criley?

Mr. KRANE. Yes; Flo Criley.

MR. TAVENNER. That effort to place her upon the staff regardless of where the money would come from came from the Communist Party?

MR. KRANE. Obviously.

MR. TAVENNER. What other incidents can you recall which convinced you that the Communist Party was endeavoring to put itself out to give its own instructions to the UE regardless of the consequences to the UE?

MR. KRANE. Well, there is a set of circumstances that come to mind which indicate the duplicity, the double-dealings, and the hypocrisy is some of the leadership of the UE, and at the time members of the Communist Party. I am referring to a situation that developed at Cinch Manufacturing Co., which was one of the shops in our jurisdiction. Cinch had no Negroes working in the shop. The policy of the UE was against discrimination, against anyone because of race, color, or political beliefs. It came to my knowledge one day that a dance had been organized at Cinch and that Pat Amato had turned some tickets over to Lee Lundgren with specific instructions to see that those tickets do not get into the hands of Negroes in our other shops.

I called a meeting with Pat Amato, and Lee Lundgren was present, and we had it out with him. He had nothing to say, and he sat like a bump on a log. Yet this same Pat Amato some time later, without discussion with either Lee Lundgren or myself, sent a letter out to the membership of Goodman Manufacturing centering around a rather unfortunate situation on the South Side involving a Negro family.

(Representative Harold H. Velde left the hearing room.)

MR. KRANE (continuing). Previous to that time the workers in Goodman had advised Pat Amato not to send out any letters of that nature without discussing it with the stewards. I didn't know any such letter was sent out until I received a telephone call from the chief shop steward at Goodman. His name slips my mind at the moment. And he said, "Somebody wants to talk to you," and turned over one other steward—I will have to recall his name later on—who said, "What was the idea of you sending out that letter to the membership in Goodman? Didn't we give instructions to the officers not to send out any letters without first clearing with the stewards?"

The chief shop steward's name is Ernie Judth, and the other name might come to me later on.

I said, "I don't know what letter you are talking about; what is it about?"

He said, "Well, it is a letter telling the workers in Goodman to mobilize some action around this issue."

I said, "Well, I personally am in favor of taking action because it is a case of discrimination on the South Side of Negroes. But I don't know anything about the letter. Who signed the letter?"

He said, "I will look and see and let you know," and in a few seconds he came back and said, "I am sorry, the letter was signed by Pat Amato."

Now, here is the same Pat Amato who in a shop that he is not handling, and he hasn't any problems, will proceed to send out a letter, and I am sure that he didn't send it out on his own initiative because he doesn't have such initiative, and yet will turn around and actively

take part in a dastardly discrimination against the Negro members of our union in a shop that he does not have control of. He is in great favor, I dare say, with the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there an occasion at any time when you were of the opinion that Communist Party members who were officers in the UE were reluctant to carry out their normal duties as officers of the UE in preference to any other kind of work?

Mr. KRANE. Well, Pat Amato was notorious for his laziness, and he was characterized as such by the same Flo Criley I mentioned. I am sure he wouldn't do anything that wasn't definitely requested of him.

Now, if that is your question, that is the answer; and, if it is something else, I misunderstood.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is in partial answer to my question, but I am wondering if there was any incident, or instance, where one of the UE officers indicated more interest in carrying out some proposal of the Communist Party than to carry out the normal functions as an officer of the union.

Mr. KRANE. I think I know what you are driving at. Well, this is a situation which to this day I don't know the meaning of, but it is rather peculiar. During this period that I spoke of before where Julia Gudinas and Ned Gorgolinski and the Communist Party were interested in deposing Ray Lofgren as chief shop steward, Julia Gudinas spoke to me one evening after an executive-board meeting and complained that Ray Lofgren wasn't militant enough. I said, "Well, Julia, it would come with much more effect from you if you were to make criticism to first go out and organize your own department."

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, by organizing your own department, you are speaking of a department of the UE?

Mr. KRANE. No; I am speaking of Sunbeam. They had something like 60 departments, and Julia Gudinas was the steward of one of those departments, the weakest one in the shop. When I said that to Julia, her remark—which to this day I don't quite understand—was: "I have something more important to do than to sign up members in the union."

Now, someone here can fathom that remark, and I would be thankful for it. I can't. I can imagine what she might have had in mind.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do know that she was active in Communist Party affairs, at that time?

Mr. KRANE. Yes; she was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What dues did you pay as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRANE. I don't recall now. I think it was \$2 a month.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom did you pay them?

Mr. KRANE. Well, at various times I paid it to various persons, and sometimes at one period it was paid to Fred Dutner, and others to Pat Amato, and others to Milt Krantzler, and yet others to Flo Criley.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you pay any special assessments made by the Communist Party?

Mr. KRANE. Occasionally there would be either special assessments or contributions, and the last contribution demanded of us was \$100 to raise funds for the defense of the Communist leaders then awaiting

trial. I recall in that respect and by the way the last request followed a previous request of about 6 weeks before where we had contributed \$100 once before, and prior to that time possibly another \$50, and they would come periodically, and in that respect I remember Ernie DeMaio complaining very bitterly to me of the demands made upon him, successively, for these contributions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall any instance where the making of these contributions was passed on to the union; that is, that union funds were used as donations to any organization or cause sponsored by the Communist Party?

Mr. KRANE. Sponsored by the Communist Party? That I can't say, and I know we made contributions to various causes. We made a contribution to a social center on the South Side—and I forget the name of the one right at this moment—rather a substantial contribution. I think we made a contribution and we became a subscribing member of the Chicago Star.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you say "we," do you mean the union as a whole?

Mr. KRANE. The local voted the contribution.

Mr. TAVENNER. A contribution?

Mr. KRANE. That is correct, a contribution in the one case, and a membership in the other.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of the contribution that was made to the Chicago Star, was the Star mailed to each member of the union without any charge to the individual?

Mr. KRANE. I don't recall the details of that, and I don't believe so. I think that the program was to go out and get subscriptions from the members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall who was instrumental in making of donations to the Chicago Star?

Mr. KRANE. I don't quite grasp your question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was it in the union or in the Communist Party who was responsible for the contributions being made to the Chicago Star, or who took the lead in promotion of the project?

Mr. KRANE. Well, the way those things are done, a committee is set up, and it is not altogether a Communist committee. It is a committee, as I recall it, to promote the launching of a newspaper, and then out of the committee headquarters come requests for you to support and so on. I don't think that there is any one particular person, although in that connection there is a rather amusing incident, and I don't know how effective it is here, but it throws light on some of the individuals in the set-up.

Just before the Chicago Star was to be launched, there was a meeting called of all of the subscribers to determine a matter of policy, the launching date of the Chicago Star. At that meeting—it was quite a large meeting—Gil Green, who was the head of the Communist Party, had gotten up at that meeting and had protested the early launching of the Chicago Star, and he felt that before it was actually launched it should have the assurance of some real financial backing. Sam Kushner, who was there at the time, came up to me and said, "Now, look; get up and talk against that proposition, and insist on the immediate launching."

I turned to this creature and I said, "Are you in favor of the immediate launching?" and he said, "Yes," and I said, "You get up and talk."

That is just a little sidelight about the individual. Sam Kushner played a very pernicious role in the UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with what took place in the UE at the time it was decided that the non-Communist affidavits should be executed by certain officers under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. KRANE. All I know about that is that it was generally understood—at least by me—that every officer will determine for himself whether he will comply or not. I determined for myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you present at any meeting of the Communist Party where a decision was reached as to who should or should not comply with the provisions of the act?

Mr. KRANE. I don't recall, although I heard of that meeting, and I don't recall being present at that meeting, but I know that some decision was reached because one of our officers refused to sign and all of the others did sign.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the officer who refused to sign?

Mr. KRANE. Willie Mae Smith, an employee at Thordason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the circumstances under which she refused to comply?

Mr. KRANE. No. Apparently that decision was one that came out of this meeting that you referred to, which I did not attend.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether any of those who signed the non-Communist affidavit maintained their connections with the Communist Party, although organizationally speaking they had withdrawn from the party?

Mr. KRANE. I can't say, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with James Dawkins?

Mr. KRANE. Yes; I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party to your knowledge?

Mr. KRANE. He was, and he came in very recently.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Anthony DeMaio, the brother of Ernest DeMaio?

Mr. KRANE. Yes; I know Anthony DeMaio.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party to your knowledge?

Mr. KRANE. I can't say whether he was a card-holding member of the Communist Party. All I do know is that he attended this meeting in DeMaio's home which I had spoken of before, and whether that denotes membership or not I can't say.

(Representative Harold H. Velde returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Walter Rogalski?

Mr. KRANE. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he have in the UE?

Mr. KRANE. Well, Rogalski came out of Exide and came to the staff of the UE, and I don't recall now whether he was first vice president or second vice president of the local, but he held an office in the local.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known by you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRANE. Yes. Wallie Rogalski was a member of the Communist Party, and as a matter of fact and here I want to divulge or rather indulge in one bit of hearsay.

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me; I didn't understand you.

Mr. KRANE. I want to indulge in one bit of hearsay, but I think it will be justified. Wallie Rogalski went back to work.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think that there should be a ruling of the chairman if you state that it is hearsay. I would rather not for you to state it.

Mr. KRANE. It was told to me by Lee Lundgren, of what had transpired at a meeting of Exide, where Rogalski called the lie of Fred Dutner and Pat Amato that they were not members of the Communist Party, and he said, "Now you are lying, because I was and I know you were."

That is when he broke with the Communist Party, and he took Exide out of the UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was Walter Rogalski?

Mr. KRANE. Wallie Rogalski; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred several times in the course of your testimony to Sam Kushner. Do you know whether or not he became an official on a high level in the Communist Party in the State of Illinois?

Mr. KRANE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what that position was?

Mr. KRANE. Yes. He was supposed to supplant Fred Fine when Fred Fine was moved up to some higher position as head of the labor secretariat or something.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a regular attendant at the Communist Party meetings during the period of your membership?

Mr. KRANE. No; I was not. If you paid attention to your job, and did everything that was required, you didn't have much time to do anything else but come home and get some sleep and get out again in the early hours of the morning, at the shop gates or at strikes and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were your duties in general, as business manager of your local?

Mr. KRANE. Well, I was business manager of the local.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is 1150?

Mr. KRANE. 1150, and I had responsibility for the local. When I first came to the local, it had a little less than 1,500 members, and possibly 8 or 10 shops. It grew to 7,000 in membership at the height, with 16 shops. The first 3 years that meant, in effect, approximately 12 to 16 separate negotiations every year, with that many different companies. It meant regular shop meetings with each shop, and it meant your local membership meeting, and it meant grievance meetings, and it meant arbitration cases, and at that time we were in the War Labor Board days and we had to spend countless time before the War Labor Board, and generally it was the responsibility for the local.

(Representative Donald L. Jackson entered the hearing room.)

Mr. KRANE (continuing). In 1946 we had three strikes going at the same time, one at Sunbeam, one at Hurley Machine, and one at Cinch. At Cinch, Pat Amato apparently thought it more important to spend the hours after the early morning picketing playing poker with the workers, although there were other shops that needed attention. We

carried through two successful strikes in 1946 and we had to capitulate in Cinch.

In 1947, I believe it was, we had a strike out at Benjamin Electric in Des Plaines, 20 miles out of the city of Chicago, and none of these great, stalwart labor leaders could find the time to come out there even once to get the workers on the picket line. It was much easier to sleep late in the morning and carry on.

That is the general idea.

MR. TAVENNER. I understand because of your very heavy duties in your position you were not a regular attendant at Communist Party meetings.

MR. KRANE. That, plus the fact that those meetings quite frankly were very dull meetings, and were a rehash of situations that we had discussed at our competitive board and rather significant things. The less effective a Communist Party member is, in his or her shop, the more obstreperous and demanding they are at party meetings, and it almost works in inverse ratio. The real effective worker in the shop isn't concerned to coming to party meetings and exerting influence and giving great and sage advice. He has done his job well.

MR. TAVENNER. Now, Mr. Lee Lundgren in his testimony has said that he was advised by Communist Party members that you had become politically unreliable. Do you know what was meant by that term?

MR. KRANE. The incidents I have described, where I would refuse and continue to refuse to allow Flo Hall or Kushner or anyone else to dictate to me the functions of our local, plus possibly one other thing that comes to mind, and this may have had a bearing, and I don't know. But Kushner engaged me in a conversation about a year before I left and rather strange, because Kushner and I as a rule didn't talk with each other too much, but he wanted to know my impression on the imminent economic collapse in the United States, and apparently I expressed an un-Communist thought when I said that I didn't foresee an economic collapse in the United States for some time, but I thought that there was quite a bit of flexibility in the system that could cope with things, especially since we were able to secure in the past 20 years some of our social legislation.

Now, that I take it might have been very much anti-Communist. Obviously it was reported back. That, plus these other incidents, sir, which made it obvious that as long as I was business manager I would continue to run that local as I thought the membership desired it to be run, and not as some creatures from the outside would have it to build an apparatus that they could possibly control.

MR. TAVENNER. Then you think it is a fair definition of the term "political unreliability" that when one ceases to follow the party line he can't be counted upon?

MR. KRANE. I think that that is obvious.

MR. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

MR. WALTER. Do you have any questions, Mr. Frazier?

MR. FRAZIER. I have no questions.

MR. VELDE. I have no questions.

MR. JACKSON. I have no questions.

MR. WALTER. There is no reason why this witness cannot be excused?

MR. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WALTER. It is so ordered, and you are discharged with the thanks of the committee.

We will take a recess for 10 minutes.

(A brief recess was taken.)

Mr. WOOD. We will come to order. Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. Will Mr. Ernest DeMaio come forward, please?

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the evidence you will give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DeMAIO. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Are you represented by counsel, Mr. DeMaio?

Mr. DeMAIO. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Counsel will please identify yourself.

Mr. ROTHSTEIN. My name is David B. Rothstein, Chicago. Do you want the address?

Mr. WOOD. The business address.

Mr. ROTHSTEIN. 188 West Randolph Street, Chicago.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. DeMaio, during the progress of your interrogation you are at perfect liberty to confer with your counsel and seek his advice at any time that it occurs to you.

Mr. DeMAIO. I would like to see that those photographers that want to take pictures take them now, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. If they will cooperate with us, it will be advantageous.

Mr. DeMAIO. I prefer that they not be taken during the testimony.

**TESTIMONY OF ERNEST DeMAIO, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
DAVID B. ROTHSTEIN**

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. DeMAIO. Ernest DeMaio.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. DeMaio?

Mr. DeMAIO. November 26, 1908, Hartford, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state briefly what your educational background has been?

Mr. DeMAIO. The grammar and high schools of Hartford, Conn., and some extension work at Columbia University.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your employment record?

Mr. DeMAIO. Shortly after I got out of high school I went to work for the Western Electric Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. DeMAIO. That was in the early June of 1927. I was employed by them until the latter part of August 1927, at which time I was fired out of an incident that developed from the Sacco-Vanzetti case at that time. I didn't realize it at the time, but I had been black-listed by the company because I obtained employment at a number of companies that would last 2 or 3 weeks and then they would call me in and they would say that the front office had informed them that they had to let me go. Well, after about several such experiences the depression came along in 1929, and blacklist or no blacklist, there were millions of Americans who could find no employment, and I was

among them. I went back to my home town around 1933 or 1934, and my brother—well, I had no employment until the labor movement began to develop into the organizational upsurge that brought about the CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. What date was that, approximately?

Mr. DEMAIO. You mean what date was the CIO formed?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; the date when you began employment again, which you said was during the upsurge of organizational work in labor.

Mr. DEMAIO. Well, I will tell you how that came about, because the date itself I don't recall. One of my brothers was employed in a Hartford plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, excuse me, I don't want to go too much into detail, just to fix it approximately, the approximate year.

Mr. DEMAIO. I would say sometime in 1935, possibly earlier or possibly a little later, but around that period.

Mr. TAVENNER. So your first employment then after returning to your home during the depression was 1935, about 1935?

Mr. DEMAIO. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of that employment?

Mr. DEMAIO. I was employed as an organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. By whom?

Mr. DEMAIO. By a local that was an offshoot of the International Association of Machinists, and it had disaffiliated and called itself the Machine Tool and Coworkers of America, Unity Lodge No. 1.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was it located?

Mr. DEMAIO. Hartford, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long then did you remain as an organizer with that organization?

Mr. DEMAIO. Approximately a year, I would say.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then if you will give us briefly what your next employment was and on up to the present time.

Mr. DEMAIO. At about that time a number of moves were taking place within the American Federation of Labor and certain forces within the American Federation of Labor were not satisfied with the organizational progress within the A. F. of L. They had seen the efforts of workers to organize into industrial unions thwarted, and felt that it would be necessary to establish a new trade-union center in this country. Out of those discussions came some indication of a general development or trend in that direction. When the development came about, I believe there was formed as far as our industry was concerned—of course, there were meetings prior to the actual formation—

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by "our industry"?

Mr. DEMAIO. The UE. It was formed in Buffalo, N. Y., April 1, 1936. I was hired by the UE as its first organizer and have been employed by the UE ever since.

Mr. TAVENNER. What unions at that time were brought together to form the UE in 1936?

Mr. DEMAIO. There were a number of independent unions, including this machine-tool local I referred to, and there were Federal local unions of the American Federation of Labor, and there was the Radio and Allied Trades Department within the American Federation of La-

bor, headed up by Jim Carey at that time, and a number of other independent unions in Springfield, Mass., and Lynn, Mass.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of them?

Mr. DEMAIO. I couldn't recall it, the local unions had some rather fancy names at that time, and I couldn't remember all of those names, but they were local unions in the electrical and machine-building industry in those towns.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions have you held with the UE since your first employment in 1936?

Mr. DEMAIO. Organizer, international representative, district president, and general vice president.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present position?

Mr. DEMAIO. I am president of district 11, and general vice president of the UE. That is district council 11; that is the correct term.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. DeMaio, the committee is endeavoring to determine the extent of Communist penetration into labor organizations in this area, and the effect that such penetration, if it exists, has had upon the operation of the labor organizations, especially those which are connected with defense industries. In order to make that study and this investigation, the committee needs the assistance of those persons who are in positions such as yourself to know the inner workings of the Communists insofar as they may affect top-level officers of the UE.

Now, due to your long connection and experience with the UE, we think you are in a peculiar position to be of aid to the committee in making that investigation, and we would like to call upon you to cooperate with the committee in giving it the benefit of such information as you may have which would be important to it. I trust you will be willing to cooperate in that respect.

Mr. DEMAIO. Well, Mr. Tavenner—you are Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. My name is Tavenner.

Mr. DEMAIO. Our union on a number of occasions, when involved in strikes, and when involved in key election situations throughout the country, has had this committee visit the particular locality or area where that strike or election was taking place, and it was always accompanied with a great deal of headlines, newspaper-whipped-up hysteria, and the sole purpose of the committee was to defeat our union, and to defeat the union workers involved in the strike or in an election.

Now, if you are asking me to cooperate with this committee to defeat a strike which is currently taking place at the International Harvester Co., obviously I can't do that and I won't do that.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have not been requested to do anything of that kind. We are interested only as the chairman has said this morning in following the movements of the Communist Party, whether it be in labor, whether it be in the field of entertainment, or whether it may be in others, and we are searching for the activities of the Communists.

Mr. DEMAIO. But while you say that, Mr. Velde, a member of this committee, issued a statement that the workers of my union in the International Harvester Co. went on strike against this committee. Now, I don't know whose statement I could believe at this moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Whether or not your organization went on strike against this committee seems to have no bearing as far as I can determine upon ascertaining from you what you know about Communist activities in your union.

Mr. DEMAIO. Mr. Tavenner, I have a statement I would like to read to this committee today.

Mr. WOOD. The rule of the committee has been and is that if you want to submit for the record any written statement you have, you can do so and turn it over to the reporter. If you will answer the questions asked of you we can proceed with much more dispatch. Just file the statement and it will go in the record.

Mr. DEMAIO. I don't want to prolong the proceedings, but I did notice that witnesses prior to my being here did have an opportunity to read statements for the record or had them read by the counsel. The only thing I want to know is this: Will this appear in the written proceedings of the hearings?

Mr. WOOD. It will be filed for the record.

Mr. DEMAIO. It will not appear in the proceedings?

Mr. WOOD. Not necessarily, unless the committee desires to do so.

Mr. DEMAIO. I see.

(Whereupon the statement was filed with the reporter, for the information of the committee.)

Mr. DEMAIO. Now, Mr. Chairman, I have in support of this statement which I have submitted to the clerk, some documentary evidence in support of that particular statement, and I think it might be interesting to this committee to understand why it is workers do go out on strike and what it is that brings people out on the street denying themselves their wages, with a considerable sacrifice to themselves and their families. I would like to be able to bring these documents to the attention of this committee.

Mr. WOOD. If you desire to file any of the documents for the use of the committee, you are at liberty to do so, and we are very happy to have them, and you can file them with the reporter.

I might clarify the situation at the moment by telling you, sir, that I have seen the handbills that have been circulated here, and we take note of your statement, but, with reference to International Harvester, I for one did not know there was a strike in progress in this town until I arrived here.

Mr. DEMAIO. There have been a remarkable series of coincidences regarding the entire matter, Mr. Chairman. One member of this committee announced last April that this committee was coming to town and it was just about that time we were preparing our negotiations with the Harvester Co.

Mr. WOOD. I hope you were listening this morning when this hearing opened and heard the statement I read, which speaks the facts of what this committee actually has done.

Mr. DEMAIO. That is one set of facts that you present, and we have an entirely different set of facts by which we govern our own actions.

Mr. WOOD. The purpose of this hearing now is to ascertain the character and the extent of the Communist movement, if there is such in that neighborhood. Evidence has been produced before the committee this day which indicates that, if it is true, and no one has disputed it yet—and you are at liberty to do so if you desire—that you are in a position to know and to tell us something of that.

The questions, as I understand it, from counsel, will be directed to you, and will be directed for the purpose of eliciting that information. I hope that you are in a position to answer it, and if you are we will be

happy to have it; and if you are not no good purpose can be served by entering into a controversy between you and me, or you and counsel, and it is just a question of what you want to do about it. You are at liberty to do either one you want.

So proceed, Mr. Counsel, and ask the questions and let us see if the witness will answer them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. DeMaio, let me ask you, how are international organizers of the UE selected and appointed?

Mr. DEMAIO. Any member of our union may place a name in nomination for that particular post, and I am referring to the international operation, if that is what your question is. That name is submitted on an application blank to the national office, to the organizational department. This department then circularizes that name to all of the vice presidents and general officers. Any general officer or vice president can at that point object, and if there is objection from one member of the general executive board, that person will not be hired. Now, that is the usual procedure.

Mr. TAVENNER. That originates then as far as the national council is concerned, with a name submitted to you, and who submits that name?

Mr. DEMAIO. Any member of the union can submit it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who does normally submit it?

Mr. DEMAIO. Member of the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are the members of the union normally officers of a local union?

Mr. DEMAIO. Some are and some are not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, in the main, which are they?

Mr. DEMAIO. Let me put it this way: All officers of the local union are members of the local union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of course.

Mr. DEMAIO. And they as members of the union as well as any rank-and-file member may nominate a person for appointment to the staff.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have had a great deal of testimony in different areas of the country, the State of Ohio, and we have had some of it here, and we have had it in other places, to the effect that many organizers of the UE are members of the Communist Party. What knowledge do you have of Communist Party membership on the part of any organizers of the UE?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question; I am asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what way does the assertion of that privilege affect your answer?

In other words, what is the basis of your refusal to testify on that matter?

(Whereupon the witness discussed the matter with his counsel.)

Mr. DEMAIO. I am discussing that now with my counsel.

(Whereupon the witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEMAIO. I am advised that you may not inquire into my reason for asserting the fifth amendment privilege, and so I again assert the privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am certain counsel will advise you that the matter of pleading the fifth amendment is a matter of good faith on your part, and that we have a right to test that good faith.

(Whereupon the witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEMAIO. Well, I want to assure the counsel for the committee that I am asserting the privilege of the fifth amendment in good faith, but in view of the proceedings so far today I again must assert the fifth amendment privilege, and do so.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what provision of the fifth amendment is it that you are asserting?

Mr. DEMAIO. The fifth amendment as I understand it, among other things, states that no person shall be compelled to be a witness against himself, and that is the privilege I am asserting.

Mr. WALTER. That is only part of it.

Mr. DEMAIO. It is the part of the fifth amendment, that part I am referring to.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you advise the committee whether or not you would reject the appointment or refuse to appoint a person as an organizer of the UE if the fact were made known to you that he was an active leader in the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMAIO. I am advised by counsel that I may, if I desire, assert the privilege on that question, and I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you do desire to assert the privilege?

Mr. DEMAIO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. DEMAIO. Yes; that is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you have been in the hearing today, during the course of the entire hearing, have you not?

Mr. DEMAIO. Yes; I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you heard the testimony of Mr. Lee Lundgren, and Mr. Irving Krane, did you?

Mr. DEMAIO. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear their testimony to the effect that certain individuals who were organizers of the UE were active members of the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMAIO. I heard the testimony, Mr. Counsel, and I have already answered that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear the testimony that I referred to?

Mr. DEMAIO. I heard their testimony this morning.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear the testimony that certain individuals who were organizers of the UE were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMAIO. I heard them make some such statements of that effect.

Mr. TAVENNER. Some statement to that effect?

Mr. DEMAIO. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Don't you recall positively that that statement was made?

Mr. DEMAIO. I don't have the record before me, and I don't recall all of the words that were said here, but to that effect I heard such statements made.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it true or false?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question; I am asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMAIO. The same answer, and the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what is that answer?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question. I am asserting my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMaIO. I decline to answer; the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. As an official of the UE, have you signed a non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. DEMaIO. It is a matter of record that I have signed an affidavit.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you signed it were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMaIO. I decline to answer that question, asserting the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the approximate date on which you signed the non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. DEMaIO. I decline to answer that question, asserting the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to answer the question. He testified that he did so sign it.

Mr. WOOD. I can't see that since you have actually signed the non-Communist affidavit, giving the dates can possibly tend to incriminate you or could be construed as giving evidence against yourself.

Let it be noted in the record that there are present five members of the subcommittee, appointed for this hearing, and the witness is directed to answer the question last asked him by counsel.

Mr. DEMaIO. I would like to consult with my counsel.

(Whereupon the witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROTHSTEIN. May I ask a question, please? Mr. Tavenner has advised me—

Mr. WOOD. Just advise your client.

Mr. ROTHSTEIN. I am not going to address myself to any question except procedure, sir. Mr. Tavenner has advised me that I may not be heard in the aid of a client in anything resembling oral argument, and I have no reason to doubt Mr. Tavenner's statement to me.

Mr. WOOD. You can confer with the witness all you desire.

Mr. ROTHSTEIN. May I not be heard by the committee?

Mr. WOOD. No.

(Whereupon the witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEMaIO. I assume you are referring to the first affidavit I signed?

Mr. TAVENNER. First I will refer to the first one; yes.

Mr. DEMaIO. I would say sometime in October of 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you subsequently sign another?

Mr. DEMaIO. Each year at about the same time; I don't remember the exact dates.

Mr. TAVENNER. For how long a period?

Mr. DEMaIO. Since 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Up to and including the year 1951?

Mr. DEMaIO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you signed one for the year 1952?

Mr. DEMaIO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, since the signing of your first non-Communist affidavit, have you met in Communist Party meetings with members of the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMaIO. I decline to answer that question; I assert the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet at any time since the signing of your first non-Communist affidavit with Fred Fine?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question; the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear the testimony of Mr. Krane at the point he described a meeting in your home?

Mr. DEMAIO. I heard his testimony this morning.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear the testimony of Mr. Krane this afternoon relating to a meeting which was held in your home?

Mr. DEMAIO. I heard something of that effect; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear Mr. Krane testify at that meeting there were persons present who represented the Communist Party of other States, States other than the State of Illinois?

Mr. DEMAIO. He said something to that effect.

Mr. TAVENNER. He repeated, did he not, in his testimony, a statement allegedly made by you; did you hear that?

Mr. DEMAIO. I heard him say something about something I was supposed to have said.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was it that he said you were supposed to have said?

Mr. DEMAIO. I really don't remember now. I think that you ought to go back in the record on that, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your recollection of what the witness said?

Mr. DEMAIO. I have no recollection, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the testimony of Mr. Krane as to what Fred Fine said in your home, at that meeting?

Mr. DEMAIO. I heard his name mentioned several times today, and, now, I don't recall this particular one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, the essence of what the witness said was that in the event that the action of the Communist Party might result in the loss or destruction of a labor union, that was not too serious a thing, because labor had lost before and had revived. Do you recall that testimony?

Mr. DEMAIO. Something to that effect, I heard.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mr. Krane accurately represent what Mr. Fred Fine said?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question. I assert the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you refuse to testify as to whether or not that statement was made at the meeting in your home?

Mr. DEMAIO. I have already answered. I decline to answer the question. I assert the privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Mr. Fred Fine in your home at the meeting in question?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question. I assert the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has he ever attended a meeting in your home?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question, the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. DeMaio, in 1950, it is our information, you were elected by district 11 as a delegate to the World Peace Conference which was scheduled to be held in Sheffield, England, and which was transferred to Warsaw, Poland. Were you elected as delegate to that meeting?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question, asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you denied a passport to attend that meeting?

Mr. DEMAIIO. I am advised by counsel that I may properly—no, strike it. I refuse to answer the question. I assert the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Harold Ward, financial secretary—

Mr. WOOD. I am not sure that people who are now in the audience were here this morning at the beginning of the session, so I will repeat that you are here by the courtesy of this committee and not by its compulsion, and you don't have to stay. This committee will not tolerate your staying here unless you obey the committee's regulation with respect to demonstrations, whether it is favorable or unfavorable to the testimony that is being given here.

Mr. Officer, the first time you find anybody in this audience violating that instruction, please eject them from the room.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. DeMaio, do you know whether or not Harold Ward, financial secretary of International Harvester, Local 108, was elected as a delegate of district 11 to this same meeting and attended it?

Mr. VELDE. What was the date of that meeting, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. The date of the alleged election of the delegates was in 1950, but I don't know the month.

Mr. DEMAIIO. I decline to answer that question and I assert the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who paid Ward's expenses on that trip?

Mr. DEMAIIO. I decline to answer; the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the People's Publishing Association in the city of Chicago?

Mr. DEMAIIO. I decline to answer that question and assert the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the People's Publishing Association publish the now defunct Chicago Star?

Mr. DEMAIIO. I decline to answer that question, asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether the locals in your union were required to subscribe to the Chicago Star or members were required to subscribe?

Mr. DEMAIIO. I decline to answer that question, the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have had testimony by Mr. Krane that contributions were made by the UE to the Chicago Star. Do you know the extent of those contributions, and whether or not on occasions they amounted to substantial sums of money?

Mr. DEMAIIO. I decline to answer that question, fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Krane read into evidence a press release which he gave the press at the time of his withdrawal from the Communist Party, and among the reasons given for his resignation, according to his statement, was that the apparatus of the UE was controlled by the Communist Party, and that the selection of officers for local 1150 had been determined in advance by the Communist Party and Ernest DeMaio.

Was that testimony truthful, or was it false?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question. I assert the fifth amendment privilege. But I might point out that I would like the same opportunity to read my press statement, that he was given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make a press statement at the time that Mr. Krane withdrew as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMAIO. I am referring to the press statement submitted to the clerk here a short while ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make a press statement at the time that Mr. Krane and Mr. Lundgren both resigned from the party and stated their reasons for resigning?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question and assert the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever publicly deny the statements made by Mr. Krane and Mr. Lundgren as to the reasons for their resignation from the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMAIO. The same answer; the same reason; I decline to answer; the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Walter W. Rumsey?

Mr. DEMAIO. Will you identify him, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. He is a former equipment worker, farm equipment worker, from Moline, Ill.

Mr. DEMAIO. I never heard of him, not until today.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Victor Decavitch?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question. I am asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wasn't Mr. Decavitch at one time an organizer of the UE in the State of Ohio?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question, the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Decavitch testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities on July 14, 1950, and I would like to read a part of his testimony relating to you:

After having identified certain persons as members of the Communist Party, he testified as follows:

Next, going back to Dayton, I omitted one name of a person who came into the employment at the early inception of the CIO. As the condition of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America got a little better they were able to place more people on the staff, and this person happened to be one of the first UE worker organizers, and his name was very prominent in the district at one time. He was Ernest DeMaio, who is now the general vice president of district 11, or, to make it more specific, it is the Chicago area. Ernest DeMaio is a general vice president at present of that district. I do not know how many States it comprises. On occasions he did solicit me to come into the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he active in the work of the Communist Party while you knew him?

Mr. DECAVITCH. Definitely; very much so. And one thing comes to my mind. At one time one of the general vice presidents of the St. Louis district, William Seutner, thought it would be advisable to come out in a national magazine admitting he is a member of the Communist Party, and he did. And I think this picture was opposite that of some industrialist in St. Louis where they had a debate in the magazine as to how a Communist and how an industrialist may work together. I think it was Time, or something like that. I cannot help recall a statement DeMaio made in New York City to him. He said, "Bill, I do not know how you can openly go out and admit you are one in print, as a member of the Communist Party."

Ernest DeMaio was outspoken, but I think he could hide his identity as a member of the Communist Party. He was prominent in district 7 for a couple of years, I think.

Now, is that testimony of Mr. Decavitch true?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question. I am asserting the fifth amendment privilege. But I would like to point out to you, since you seem to be concerned about my activities, I have spent the greater part of my life organizing workers, fighting to defend and advance their economic interests and welfare. I have fought against Jim Crow.

Mr. TAVENNER. And have you fought for the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question, and am asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. WOOD. Why?

Mr. DEMAIO. You are inquiring into my reason for asserting the privilege, and I decline to answer. I am again asserting it.

(Representative Donald L. Jackson left hearing room.)

Mr. WOOD. You are perfectly willing to give us your other activities, voluntarily, and no one asked you about it.

Mr. DEMAIO. I have given you my answer.

Mr. WOOD. You want to stick by that?

Mr. DEMAIO. I am sticking by that.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have no denial or explanation to make of the statement made by Mr. Decavitch—

Mr. DEMAIO. I have answered that.

Mr. TAVENNER. —That you solicited him to come into the Communist Party?

Mr. DEMAIO. I have already answered that question, and I have refused to answer it, and I am asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of page A-7 of the Washington Star of October 30, 1951. It contains an open letter to the Attorney General of the United States in defense of trustees of the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress. Will you look at the document and state whether your name appears thereon as one of those signing the statement?

Mr. DEMAIO. You have handed me a photostat here with hundreds of names on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. We will endeavor to aid you so that you don't have to read them all.

Mr. DEMAIO. I will save you the trouble. I decline to answer the question. I am asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. My question was whether or not your name appears on the list. I did not ask you whether you signed it.

Will you examine the document and state whether or not your name appears there? I am not asking you whether or not you permitted it or authorized it or actually signed it. I am asking you if your name appears on that.

Mr. DEMAIO. You have here marked off in pencil "E. DeMaio, UE field organizer, New York."

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the name that appears?

Mr. DEMAIO. That is the name that appears there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you sign that letter or authorize the letter to be signed?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question. I am asserting again the fifth-amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. The matter of the furnishing of bail bond for members of the Communist Party has been the subject of investigation by

this committee and other committees of the Congress. Has any local of the UE or any branch of that organization made a contribution to the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question. I am asserting again the fifth-amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you made any contribution to the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question. I am asserting the fifth-amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of a program of the Abraham Lincoln School for the 1943 fall session, and will you look at the exhibit and state whether or not your name appears there as a member of the board of directors of that school?

(Representative Donald L. Jackson returned to hearing room.)

Mr. DEMAIO. What was the question again?

Mr. TAVENNER. The question is whether or not you see on that exhibit your name as a member of the board of directors of the school?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question. I am asserting the fifth-amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the paper and state whether or not your name appears on it, or whether or not the name of Ernest DeMaio appears on that document?

Mr. DEMAIO. Will you repeat the question again, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you see the name of Ernest DeMaio on that document?

Mr. DEMAIO. On the document you have handed me, I see the name "Ernest DeMaio."

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the name appear there as a member of the board of directors of the school?

(Representative Harold H. Velde left hearing room.)

Mr. DEMAIO. All this thing says here is "Board of Directors."

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the name appear under "Board of Directors" along with other names?

Mr. DEMAIO. There are other names on the page, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I didn't get your reply.

Mr. DEMAIO. There are other names on this document.

Mr. TAVENNER. Appearing under the title of "Members of the Board of Directors"?

Mr. DEMAIO. The title is just "Board of Directors."

Mr. TAVENNER. With a list of names under it?

Mr. DEMAIO. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the name of Ernest DeMaio appears as one of those?

Mr. DEMAIO. The name "Ernest DeMaio" appears here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the address of the school appear there?

Mr. DEMAIO. No; it does not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not the address of the school was 1110 South Oakley Street, Chicago?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question. I am asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, did you serve as a member of the board of directors of that school?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question. I am asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the name "William L. Patterson" also appear as one of the members of the board of directors in the list that you read from?

Mr. DeMAIO. I really don't know that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will withdraw the question. He is not on the document that I presented to you. I am mistaken again. It is on there.

Will you hand it to him?

(Document was handed to witness.)

Mr. DeMAIO. Well, I have a document you have handed me here, on which that name appears.

Mr. TAVENNER. That appears in the list to which you referred a moment ago, does it not?

Mr. DeMAIO. It is on this document; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of your own knowledge whether William L. Patterson was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DeMAIO. I decline to answer, the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Alfred Wagenknecht?

Mr. DeMAIO. I decline to answer that, asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photograph, and ask you to examine it and state whether or not there is shown on the photograph your picture and that of Alfred Wagenknecht?

Mr. DeMAIO. I decline to answer that. I am asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photograph in evidence, and ask it be marked as "Exhibit DeMaio 1."

DeMAIO EXHIBIT No. 1



At lower part of picture, left to right, are shown Ernest DeMaio and Alfred Wagenknecht.

Mr. DEMAIO. May I see that again, please?

Mr. WALTER. Is your picture on there?

Mr. DEMAIO. I have already answered that. I have declined to answer it.

Mr. WALTER. You did not answer that question: Is your picture on there?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer the question. I am asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

(The document above referred to, marked "DeMaio Exhibit No. 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you another photograph, and I will ask you to examine it. You will note that there appears near the bottom of the photograph, directly under the picture of each individual, a number, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. Can you state whether or not you can identify those persons as follows:

No. 1—Abe Feinglass.

No. 2—Leon Katzen.

No. 3—Charles Lawson.

No. 4—Hilliard Ellis.

No. 5—Bernard Lucas.

No. 6—Ernest DeMaio.

No. 7—Herbert March.

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer the question, the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that a photograph taken of you and others in the May Day parade of May 1, 1948?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question, the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photograph in evidence and ask that it be marked as "DeMaio Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. WOOD. It will be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "DeMaio Exhibit No. 2," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. I have no questions.

Mr. FRAZIER. I have no questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. DeMaio, have you ever applied for a passport?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question, asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

(Representative Harold H. Velde returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. JACKSON. In your opinion, how do you distinguish, if you do, between an American Communist and a North Korean or a North Chinese now engaged in military operations against the United Nations?

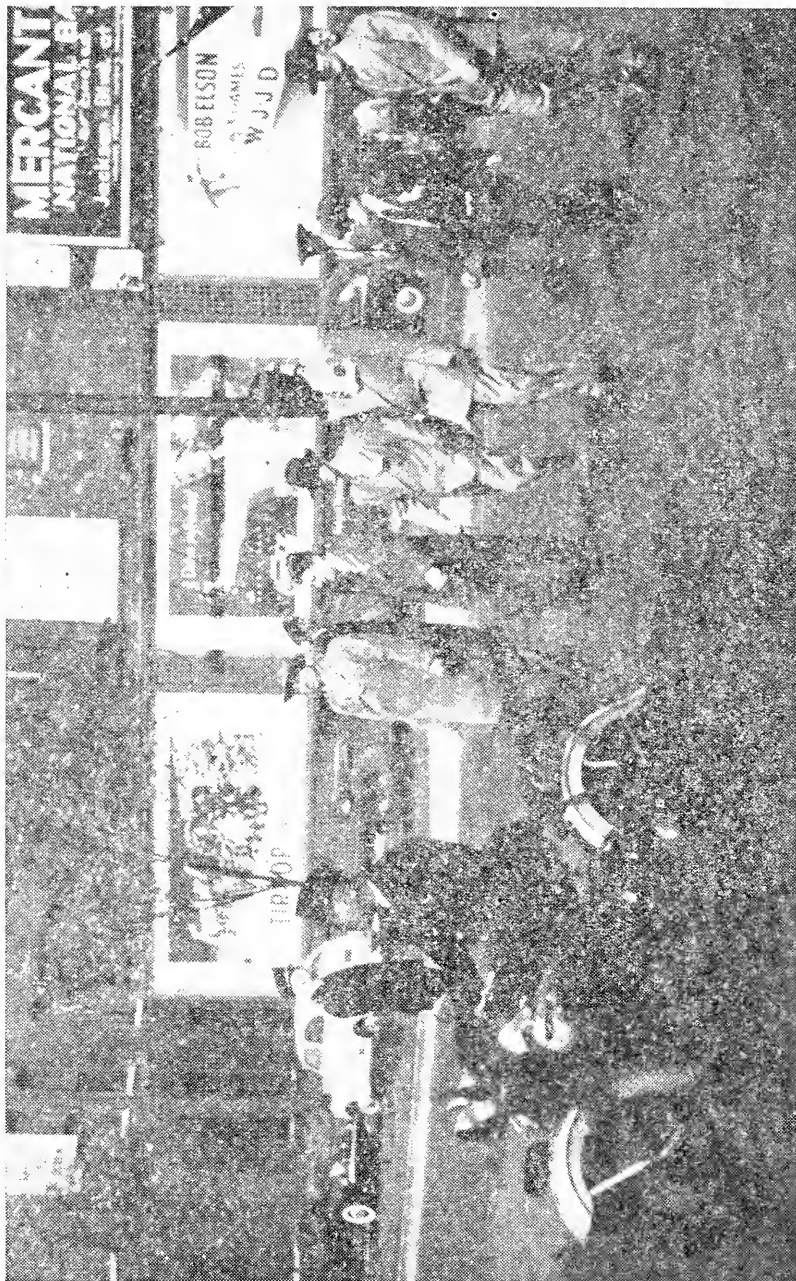
Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question on the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. You would be criminally implicated in case you answered that question?

Mr. DEMAIO. You are now inquiring into the reason of my asserting the privilege, and I decline to answer that question.

Mr. JACKSON. Not at all. I am merely stating the balance of the privilege you are claiming when you claim the privilege of the fifth

DeMAIO EXHIBIT No. 2



Photograph taken in Chicago, Ill., at May Day parade, May 1, 1948; names of persons following motorcycle officer, reading from left to right, and shown with numbers beneath, are: 1, Abe Feinglass; 2, Leon Katzen; 3, Charles Lawson; 4, Hilliard Ellis; 5, Bernard Lucas; 6, Ernest DeMaio; 7, Herbert March.

amendment against incrimination in a criminal matter. You failed to delineate that when you gave your original answer. It must be a criminal matter when you decline, and you must stand in fear of criminal prosecution.

Mr. DEMAIO. That is correct, I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you still hold to your answer, then, that to answer this question that I have asked would implicate you in a criminal matter?

Mr. DEMAIO. I repeat my answer.

Mr. JACKSON. You decline to answer the question?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer the question, and I am asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no further questions.

Mr. VELDE. Do you consider communism or membership in the Communist Party a crime?

Mr. DEMAIO. I decline to answer that question. I am asserting the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. VELDE. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness shouldn't be excused from further attendance under the subpoena?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. It is so ordered.

The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:05 p. m., a recess was taken until 10 a. m., Wednesday, September 3, 1952.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE CHICAGO AREA—PART I

(United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America; and
Farm Equipment Workers Council, UERMWA)

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1952

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Chicago, Ill.

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:10 a. m., in room 237, Federal Building, 219 South Clark Street, Chicago, Ill., Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, Morgan M. Moulder, James B. Frazier, Jr., Harold H. Velde, and Donald L. Jackson.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, William Jackson Jones, Robert B. Barker, and Alvin Stokes, investigators; and John W. Carrington, clerk.

Mr. WOOD. Let us have order, please.

Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman.

The first witness is Mr. John T. Bernard.

Will you come forward, please, sir?

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand, please, and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the evidence you will give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BERNARD. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN T. BERNARD, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, DAVID B. ROTHSTEIN

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bernard, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. BERNARD. I am, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify his name for the record?

Mr. ROTHSTEIN. I am the same Mr. David B. Rothstein who appeared here yesterday; or, in the alternative, the same David B. Rothstein, without the "Mister," sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please state your full name, please?

Mr. BERNARD. My name is John T. Bernard, B-e-r-n-a-r-d.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. BERNARD. I was born in France, March 6, 1893.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you arrive in this country?

Mr. BERNARD. I arrived in America the 1st day of August 1907.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. BERNARD. I became a citizen through the naturalization of my father, who became an American citizen in 1905.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your father's name?

Mr. BERNARD. Joseph Bernard, B-e-r-n-a-r-d.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you please state for the committee what your educational training has been?

Mr. BERNARD. I will be pleased to do that if you give me the same, at least the privilege that you gave to the other side. I hope you will.

From——

Mr. WOOD. What do you mean, "the other side"?

Mr. TAVENNER. Which side are you on?

Mr. BERNARD. I was referring to the stool pigeon who testified here, if you want me to speak very freely.

Mr. WOOD. Are you on the side of the Communists or are you on the side against them?

Mr. BERNARD. I am on the side of America, definitely.

Mr. WOOD. I am very happy to have you say that, and I hope you will bear it out.

Mr. BERNARD. I am sorry. May I testify as to my education now?

I attended parochial schools in southern France for approximately 7 years, to 1905, when the French Government separated itself from the Catholic church. I was then compelled to attend public schools for 1 year. That was the term of 1906-07, when I left for America.

I left on the 14th of July 1907. We went directly to a mining town in northern Minnesota, known as Eveleth, E-v-e-l-e-t-h, in the heart of the iron-ore country, where they mine the iron ore, the lifeblood of American industry.

I went to public schools for 3 years; and by the way, I may say that at the end of 3 years, or at the beginning of the third year, I reached the tenth grade, and I graduated from the tenth grade with the other children of my age.

At 17, I went to work in the iron mines of northern Minnesota. I worked there from 1917, when there was work to be gotten——

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BERNARD. I am sorry. You only asked me about my education, that is correct, my counsel has advised me.

That is the extent of my education, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that your father's name was Bernard. Had he changed his name by legal procedure?

Mr. BERNARD. Had he changed his name by legal procedure? I do not know that. What do you mean?

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you born under the name of "Bernard"?

Mr. BERNARD. Was I born under the name of Bernard?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Had your name ever been changed?

Mr. BERNARD. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment on that, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, when was your name changed?

Mr. BERNARD. I came to America as Bernard, and I left France as John Bernard. My father became an American citizen 2 years before I came to America, and he became a naturalized citizen as Julius Bernard.

Mr. WOOD. Just answer the questions that are asked you.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your name before you came to America?

Mr. BERNARD. I invoke my privilege on that, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you came to this country, did you come under the name of Bernard?

Mr. BERNARD. I did, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you sign all papers relative to your admission to this country under the name of Bernard?

Mr. BERNARD. I had to sign no papers whatsoever. Perhaps if you look into it, you might know it wasn't necessary for a child of 14 to sign any papers.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your name before you came to the United States?

Mr. BERNARD. I still invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. How could the giving of your true name before coming to the United States in any way subject you to criminal prosecution?

Mr. BERNARD. I still invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment. You are inquiring into the reasons why I am invoking it, and I am not going to give them to you.

Mr. TAVENNER. You contend, as I understand, that to divulge your name might subject you to criminal prosecution?

Mr. BERNARD. Mr. Tavenner, I will try to make it very plain. You see, I realize that you didn't call me here to do me any good. You realize that, don't you?

Mr. TAVENNER. We called you here to get facts.

Mr. BERNARD. Let me answer the question.

Mr. WOOD. We do not want any lecture out of you. Just answer the questions that are asked you.

Mr. BERNARD. That is the way you treated stool pigeons. All right, I will answer your question. I invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution, and I refuse to answer that by invoking that privilege. Is that clear?

Mr. TAVENNER. Does your name appear in Who's Who in America?

Mr. BERNARD. Yes; it does.

Mr. TAVENNER. Didn't you give the biographical data to Who's Who?

Mr. BERNARD. Did I give it the data? They took that from the Congressional Record, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. I asked if you didn't give the data to Who's Who for your biographical sketch.

Mr. BERNARD. I don't remember giving it to them, I may have.

Mr. TAVENNER. You know you did, you know you did.

Mr. BERNARD. I don't remember that, that happened some years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. And do you not know that Who's Who also submitted to you a copy of the biographical data to see if it was correct?

Mr. BERNARD. You might be correct on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. You know it is correct.

Mr. BERNARD. I don't remember. I knew that they tried to get me to give them some money to get in Who's Who again, and I didn't think it was worth while.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of Who's Who, of the section of Who's Who in America dated 1938-39, volume 20, page 306, relating to Bernard, John Toussaint, and I will ask you to examine it and state what it shows your father's name to have been, and your mother's name.

Mr. BERNARD. What was your question again?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state what the biographical sketch shows the name of your father to be?

Mr. BERNARD. You want me to read this to you?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; my question is perfectly plain.

Mr. BERNARD. I don't see my father's name mentioned here at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the last name of your father when you resided in France and when he resided in France?

Mr. BERNARD. You want the last name of my father when my father resided in France?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. BERNARD. I assert my privileges on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does it appear on the biographical sketch?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that on the privilege granted me by the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, read what the biographical sketch says.

Mr. BERNARD. I read it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let me hear what it is.

Mr. BERNARD. If you want to read it, you are getting paid for this; I am serious about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed—

Mr. BERNARD. Do you want me to read it out loud or to myself?

Mr. TAVENNER. When I say read it, I mean to read it into the record.

Mr. BERNARD. Out loud?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the only way you can read it into the record.

Mr. BERNARD. I will read it to myself. I will ask advice from my counsel.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. My only question was what does the biographical sketch show was the name of your father and your mother before coming to this country.

Mr. BERNARD. Bernard, John Toussaint. I will read it on advice from my counsel. Bernard, John Toussaint.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name, please?

Mr. BERNARD. T-o-u-s-s-a-i-n-t. That is my middle name, in case you are a little confused, that is my middle name, which means all saints in French. "Congressman, b. Bastia, Corsica, March 6, 1893, only remaining son Joseph and Mary Toussaint (Mattei)," and I don't know what that means.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not asking you to read the whole biographical sketch. I want you merely to read the last name of your father before coming to this country.

Mr. BERNARD. I am reading from this document which you handed me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what does it show with reference to the last name of your father?

Mr. BERNARD. Let me read this document again, apparently you didn't hear me or I don't know what you have in mind. "Son of Joseph and Mary Toussaint Mattei."

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not certain whether it does or not. Is Mattei the last name of your mother's family?

Mr. BERNARD. I am reading from this document, that is right, my mother's name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the record show the last name of your father before coming to this country?

Mr. BERNARD. It doesn't show it, I am reading from this document that you gave me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say it doesn't show it?

Mr. BERNARD. I am reading from this document which you are showing me, that is what I am saying to you.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right; that is all.

Will you state for the committee, please, what your record of employment has been since 1935?

Mr. BERNARD. Since 1935, in 1935 I was working as a city fireman for the city of Eveleth, Minn. In 1936 I was elected to Congress as a member of the Farm Labor Party, served in Congress for 2 years. In 1936, I mean in 1938, from 1938 to November of 1942, let me see, from 1938 I think it was to the end of 1940, I may be wrong in that, but if you know better I will accept it. I am really trying to give you an honest picture.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand; just give the approximate dates.

Mr. BERNARD. From 1938 to 1940 I was unable to find employment of any kind because in my opinion as a member of Congress I had refused to bow to the Steel Trust and I remained true to the people. I challenge you or anyone to show whether during my term in Congress I have voted against the welfare of the people who sent me there. From 1940, from the beginning of 1940 to 1941, approximately a year, on that period I assert my privilege accorded me by the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over what period of time do you assert that?

Mr. BERNARD. One year, I think it was a full year, of 1941, I think it was the full year of 1941. I think I am correct in that. You have the records there anyway. You can correct me if I am not right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then what was your employment after 1941?

Mr. BERNARD. From, let us say from the beginning of 1942, if I remember correctly, I worked that 1 year from the beginning of 1942 to November of 1942, when I had already reached a radius of 60 miles looking for work and unable to find it, 10 days after Pearl Harbor I sent a letter to President Roosevelt offering my services. I wanted to do something. There was a period during that time when it looked as though I might be taken into the United States forces. I went to Fort—what is the name, that Army post in Minneapolis, Fort Snelling—and I passed a physical examination and they took me to the University of Minnesota where there was a French professor and they wanted to see whether I really spoke French or not, and the French professor said, "He speaks French, he speaks as I do, a Frenchman."

Then the captain of the Army intelligence who questioned me for about 2 hours said, "Bernard, you had better get home and be ready to go, I don't think you will have to wait more than 48 hours." I went back home and I had a confab with my wife, and she was sad to see me go, of course; on the other hand she knew that this being on the blacklist; unable to earn my livelihood was working on me, and it didn't make me feel like bowing to the forces of reaction, of course, on the contrary. I waited for that call to come; that call did not come. I called this major, not a captain, a major of the Army intelligence and asked him if he had heard anything, and he said, "I will call Washington." And, by the way, I had received a telegram from the lieutenant commander, General Ulio in Washington, asking me if I would be willing to accept a commission in the Army for immediate active field duty. I naturally answered in the affirmative, not knowing where they wanted to put me, and not caring, to be frank with you. And it was shortly after that that I went into Minneapolis to the Army post, and to the university and anyway that call never came. That is why I didn't go for the third time as a volunteer into the United States Army when my country called me.

In November of 1942 I went to work for the UE, as a field organizer. I have been working at that since then, up to this time.

MR. TAVENNER. Where have you resided since 1942?

MR. BERNARD. Where have I resided?

MR. TAVENNER. In the city of Chicago?

MR. BERNARD. That is right; yes.

MR. TAVENNER. Prior to that time where did you reside?

MR. BERNARD. Prior to that time I lived all of the time, outside of the time I was in the Army and the short period in Congress, I lived in Eveleth, Minn.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you living there in 1941?

MR. BERNARD. In 1941. That was my home in 1941; yes.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you living there?

MR. BERNARD. Was I living there?

MR. TAVENNER. Yes; in 1941.

MR. BERNARD. My address was there, and my family was there.

MR. TAVENNER. That isn't my question.

MR. BERNARD. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Bernard, the Daily Worker of April 29, 1937, at page 3, carries a picture of you greeting Angelo Herndon, national chairman of the Young Communist League. According to this article this occurred at a mass meeting in honor of Ben Leider, a Communist who was killed in the Spanish Civil War. Do you recall the occasion?

MR. BERNARD. Can I see the document?

MR. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; we will show it to you.

(Document was shown to the witness.)

MR. TAVENNER. After looking at it do you recall the occasion?

MR. BERNARD. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment, Mr. Tavenner.

MR. TAVENNER. Well, did you know Angelo Herndon at that time to be the national chairman of the Young Communist League?

MR. BERNARD. The same answer for the same reason and if you want me to state my reason at length, I will.

MR. TAVENNER. I understand your reason is that to testify relating to the matter might tend to incriminate you and therefore you

claim the privilege of the fifth amendment. Is that what you intend?

Mr. BERNARD. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. On what basis?

Mr. BERNARD. I don't have to tell you on what basis; the fifth amendment of the Constitution states very plainly that no person can be compelled in a criminal case to testify against himself, that is the privilege I am invoking.

Mr. TAVENNER. The catalog for the 1943 spring term of the Abraham Lincoln School, according to the Daily Worker of January 7, 1945, at page 6, reflects that you were an instructor at that school. Were you such an instructor?

Mr. BERNARD. May I see the document, or don't you want me to see it?

Mr. TAVENNER. I do not have the document immediately available.

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason I stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether William L. Patterson was the director of the Abraham Lincoln School?

Mr. BERNARD. The same refusal, and invoking the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether William L. Patterson was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BERNARD. The same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a letterhead of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, dated June 28, 1938. Will you look at the document and state whether or not your name appears there as a sponsor? Does your name appear there as a sponsor?

(Document was shown to the witness.)

Mr. BERNARD. I invoke my privilege, and refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked as "Bernard Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Bernard Exhibit No. 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you visit Spain during the period of the civil war there on behalf of the Spanish Loyalist cause?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse that under the same reasons. Why don't you ask me about my vote against Spanish arms embargo?

Mr. TAVENNER. If you will explain your membership or your trip to Spain, I think you would be entitled to explain anything regarding any contrary action you may have taken at any time, and it would be perfectly agreeable for you to make a full explanation of it.

Mr. BERNARD. I invoke my privilege, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Daily Worker of February 3, 1938, at page 2, carries a news item that you were to speak at a conference of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to be held in Washington on February 12 and 13 of that year. Did you speak on that occasion?

(Document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. BERNARD. The same privilege, the same refusal.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy, dated May 18, 1939, and will you state if your name appears on that letterhead, as a member of the national committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does your name appear on the document?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that for the same reason, and I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Bernard Exhibit No. 2."

(The document above referred to, marked "Bernard Exhibit No. 2," is filed herewith.)

Mr. JACKSON. I would also suggest the official citations of the Attorney General and of this committee with respect to these organizations, as they are called, as subversive organizations and Communist-dominated organizations, be made a part of the official record in connection with the citations.

Mr. WOOD. The organizations which appear here on the list of subversive organizations have been cited by the Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with the fact, Mr. Bernard, that Attorney General Biddle in the citation of this organization, American League for Peace and Democracy, stated that the American League for Peace and Democracy was established in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union.

Mr. BERNARD. That is rather—I didn't quite grasp it all, it is rather lengthy.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with the fact that Attorney General Biddle in the citation of this organization, that is, American League for Peace and Democracy, said that it was established in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BERNARD. Well, Mr. Tavenner, you read that and I believe that is correct, but I had never heard it before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, do you believe it is a truthful and accurate statement?

Mr. BERNARD. On that I invoke my privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the American League for Peace and Democracy was cited as subversive and Communist by Mr. Tom Clark, Attorney General of the United States, on June 1, 1948, and was also cited by Attorney General Francis Biddle on September 24, 1942.

The Daily Worker of April 7, 1941, at page 5, reports that you presided over the afternoon session of a meeting of the American Peace Mobilization. Did you attend a meeting of the American Peace Mobilization held in New York City in April of 1941, and I will ask you to examine the issue of the Daily Worker for the purpose of refreshing your recollection.

(Document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that for the same reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the Attorney General, Mr. Biddle, cited the American Peace Mobilization as subversive and Communist, the first time. It was cited by Attorney General Clark, on December

4, 1947, and also September 24, 1942, by Attorney General Francis Biddle.

The citation by Attorney General Francis Biddle said the organization was formed under the auspices of the Communist Party, and the Young Communist League as a front organization designed to mold American opinion against participation in the war against Germany. You do know as a matter of fact, Mr. Bernard, do you not, that the American Peace Mobilization ceased to exist when Germany attacked Russia?

Mr. BERNARD. I invoke my privilege on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Daily Worker of May 24, 1937, at page 5, states that you, Earl Browder, and others were scheduled to speak at the American Writers' Congress of the League of American Writers. Will you examine the photostatic copy of the Daily Worker, for the purpose of refreshing your recollection, and state whether or not you spoke at that meeting?

(A document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that, invoking the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, Mr. Chairman, the American Writers' Congress of the League of American Writers, or rather, the League of American Writers was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark on June 1, 1948; but previous to that time, Attorney General Francis Biddle, on September 24, 1942, cited it.

I show you a letterhead of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, dated May 28, 1948; and this letterhead, as you will see, reflects your name as a member of the board of directors. Were you a member of the board of directors of that organization?

(A document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the letterhead in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Bernard Exhibit No. 3."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Bernard Exhibit No. 3," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy is reported to have held a meeting in New York City on January 23 to 25, 1948, and this meeting is generally referred to as the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East. The committee staff has information that you attended this meeting. Did you?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that for the same reasons, invoking the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Daily Worker of November 8, 1948, reported the American Council for Democratic Greece sponsored a telegram to intervene in what was referred to as Taft-Hartleyism in Greece. Your name, as legislative director of the district 11 UE, is listed as having been signed to the telegram.

Mr. BERNARD. Sometimes the truth comes out.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, will you give us the truth about that, as to whether or not you signed that?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. WOOD. Suppose you help us get the truth out by answering the questions.

Mr. BERNARD. I beg your pardon?

Mr. WOOD. Suppose you assist us in getting the truth out by answering these questions.

Mr. BERNARD. No; the counsel said "Taft-Hartleyism," and I consider that to be the truth.

Mr. WOOD. Is that as far as you want to go about the truth?

Mr. BERNARD. Mr. Chairman, you spoke the truth in Congress, and so did I, and you can't make me believe you believe in Americanism. I am not going to permit this committee to trap me, and I am going to assert my privileges.

Mr. WOOD. I was just simply trying to find out how far you were willing to go to help us.

Mr. BERNARD. Let us discuss your record and mine, if you want to.

Mr. WALTER. Now, just a minute. I did not quite understand. What did you mean by "trapping me"?

Mr. BERNARD. Well, you know, he is a clever attorney, and he has been doing this for a long time, and I am only a worker, and I am going to try to keep awake here.

Mr. WALTER. What do you mean by "trapping" you?

Mr. BERNARD. By trying to make me make statements that I refuse to make. That is what I mean. And I am protected from making them if I don't want to, by our Constitution, the fifth amendment. That is what I mean.

Mr. WALTER. You might find that your interpretation of the fifth amendment is erroneous.

Excuse me. Go ahead.

Mr. BERNARD. We all make mistakes, I suppose.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the American Council for Democratic Greece was cited as a subversive and Communist organization, formerly known as the Greek-American Council, by Attorney General Tom Clark, June 1, 1948.

Did you attend the peace conference held in Mexico City in September of 1949?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that, invoking the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. A Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America was held in Washington in June of 1940. A call to that conference reflects your name as one of the sponsors.

(A document was shown to the witness.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine the call which is being handed to you, and state whether or not you were a sponsor of that conference?

Mr. BERNARD. Is the date 1940, you said?

Mr. TAVENNER. In June of 1940.

Mr. BERNARD. The question was: Did I attend the conference?

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a sponsor of the conference, as indicated on the document handed you—

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which is a call for the conference?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that, invoking the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Bernard Exhibit No. 4."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Bernard Exhibit No. 4," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you in attendance at the conference that was held in response to that call?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that for the same reason, invoking the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties the outgrowth of that conference?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that for the same reason, invoking the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark on December 4, 1947, and prior to that it had been cited by Attorney General Francis Biddle on September 24, 1942.

Do you know whether the International Labor Defense Organization is still in existence?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that, under the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't it a fact within your knowledge that the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties merged in 1946 to form what is presently known as the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. BERNARD. I invoke the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it a fact that the International Labor Defense was an arm or branch of the Communist Party movement?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that, invoking the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a letterhead of the National Labor Defense, which has at the bottom of it a list of those who were members of the national committee, and there I see the name of John T. Bernard; and will you examine it and state whether or not you were a member of the national committee of the International Labor Defense?

(A document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. BERNARD. I am glad you called me John T. Bernard.

I refuse to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the letterhead in evidence, and ask it be marked as "Bernard Exhibit No. 5."

Mr. WOOD. It will be admitted.

(The document above referred to, marked "Bernard Exhibit No. 5," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of a pamphlet published by the International Labor Defense entitled "Under Arrest," and I will ask you if you have ever seen that pamphlet before?

(A document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Or a copy of it.

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this is the same publication of the International Labor Defense which has previously been admitted in evidence in connection with other testimony.

(Representative Francis E. Walter left hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I will read at this time only one part of this pamphlet. It is entitled "The Work of the ILD."

The principal work of the International Labor Defense consists in arousing the widest mass protests as the chief effective method with which to wrest the working-class militants from the bosses' clutches. It also aids the families of

the class-war prisoners while their breadwinners are in jails, and of murder victims. It supplies prison comforts to the imprisoned class fighters. It fights for the class-war prisoners' rights and privileges inside the prisons, and against the attempts of prison administrations at petty tyranny and persecution.

The International Labor Defense likewise helps to provide as far as possible legal aid and bail, but an ever-increasing burden is being thrown upon the forces of the International Labor Defense by the great increase in the number of arrests. It cannot always provide the assistance of lawyers unless the seriousness and political importance of the case absolutely requires it. Therefore, we print this pamphlet.

The pamphlet then goes on to describe what to do when arrested, and how to enter pleas to the charges that may be made, and various other matters.

Did you take any part or do you have any knowledge, Mr. Bernard, of the methods used by this organization to furnish bail?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that, invoking the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a letterhead of the United States Council of United States Veterans, and I will ask you if your name appears there as a member of the advisory board?

(A document was shown to the witness.)

Mr. BERNARD. I invoke the same privilege; I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the letterhead in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Bernard Exhibit No. 6."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Bernard Exhibit No. 6," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. According to information in the files of the committee, you were a member of the advisory board of Frontier Films. Is that information correct?

Mr. BERNARD. Just a moment. Frontier Films?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, Frontier Films.

Mr. BERNARD. Let me consult with my counsel on that.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that, invoking the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the Daily Worker of February 20, 1937, at page 2, you were scheduled to speak at a conference called by the Milwaukee section of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. Did you speak at that meeting?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that, invoking the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you affiliated in any manner with the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy?

Mr. BERNARD. I am invoking the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this organization was cited as Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark on April 27, 1949.

According to information in the files of the committee, you were a member of the National Committee to Win the Peace. Is that information correct?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that, under the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this organization was cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist on December 4, 1947.

I show you a photostatic copy of a letterhead of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, dated November 6, 1940, which reflects your name as a sponsor.

(The document was shown to the witness.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a sponsor of that organization?

Mr. BERNARD. The same objection, the same privilege, the same refusal.

Mr. TAVENNER. The organization was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General on December 4, 1947.

I desire to offer the letterhead in evidence, and ask that it be marked as "Bernard Exhibit No. 7."

Mr. WOOD. It is received.

(The document above referred to, marked "Bernard Exhibit No. 7," is filed herewith.)

Mr. BERNARD. I have a brief statement here, made by the chairman of the national board of the National Association of Manufacturers. It is only one sentence, and I would like to read that, if you will let me. Can I?

Mr. TAVENNER. If you will just answer the questions, I believe—

Mr. BERNARD. I thought you would like to hear this. It is only one sentence, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. After I conclude my questions, you may address your request to the chairman.

Mr. BERNARD. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bernard—

Mr. WOOD. I think we can adjust that subject at the present time.

What I am concerned about at the moment is some of the answers from the witness, rather than letting him use an answer of someone else, and he doesn't seem very cooperative in that respect.

Mr. BERNARD. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman. You see, yesterday when you made your opening statement, it was in such a low tone of voice I couldn't hear everything that you were saying.

Mr. WOOD. You understand the questions being asked you.

Mr. BERNARD. I thought I heard you say something about fascism.

Mr. WOOD. You understand the questions, don't you?

Mr. BERNARD. Very well; and I answer them very clearly, too.

Mr. WOOD. I fail to hear that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bernard, the Attorney General of the United States made certain findings of fact at the time of the decision that he reached in regard to the Harry Bridges case. Now, those findings of fact related in part to the Communist Party, and these findings of fact I want to read to you.

The third finding of fact was that—

the Communist Party of the United States of America, from the time of its inception in 1919 to the present time, is an organization that believes in, advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

The fourth finding of fact was that—

the Communist Party of the United States of America, from the time of its inception to the present time, is an organization that writes, circulates, distributes, prints, publishes, and displays printed matter advising, advocating, or teaching the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

The fifth finding was that—

the Communist Party of the United States of America, from the time of its inception to the present time, is an organization that causes to be written, circulated, distributed, printed, published, and displayed, printed matter advising, advocating, and teaching the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

The sixth finding:

That the Communist Party of the United States of America, from the time of its inception to the present time, is an organization that has in its possession for the purpose of circulation, distribution, publication, issuance, and display, printed matter advising, advocating, and teaching the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

Now, after the publication of those findings of fact, there was a pamphlet issued by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties which was in the form of an open letter to the President of the United States, dated July 11, 1942, urging that the decision of the Attorney General in the case of Harry Bridges be rescinded.

Will you look at page 16 of that document, that open letter, and state whether your name appears thereon as a signer?

(The document was shown to the witness.)

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that, invoking the same privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will read a paragraph appearing on page 15 of this letter:

It is equally essential that the Attorney General's ill-advised, arbitrary, and unwarranted findings relative to the Communist Party be rescinded.

Now, did you agree with that statement in the letter to which your name appears—

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment—as desiring the Attorney General to rescind these findings of fact with regard to the Communist Party?

Mr. BERNARD. Are you through now?

Mr. TAVENNER. I have asked you the question.

Mr. BERNARD. I was wondering if you were through, that is all.

I refuse to answer that, invoking the same privilege.

Mr. WALTER. Does his name appear, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, his name appears as one of the signers of the letter; and I desire, as proof of it, to offer the document in evidence, and ask that it be marked as "Bernard Exhibit 8."

Mr. WOOD. It is received.

(The document above referred to marked "Bernard Exhibit No. 8," is filed herewith.)

Mr. MOULDER. Does it appear as John T. Bernard?

(The document was handed to Representative Moulder.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you disagree with the findings of the Attorney General of the United States with reference to the Communist Party as I read to you a moment ago?

Mr. BERNARD. I invoke the same privileges.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you disagree now with them?

Mr. BERNARD. For that reason, I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you disagree now with the findings made by the Attorney General of the United States with regard to the Communist Party?

Mr. BERNARD. I invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment of the Constitution, and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that, invoking my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse that for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions?

Mr. MOULDER. During the year of 1941, you refused to divulge your occupation or what you were doing during that period of years, invoking, as you say, the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. BERNARD. Mr. Congressman, please believe me that I wouldn't be ashamed to tell you where I worked, honestly; and let me say to the members of this committee, whether you agree with me or not, but I want to say to you that all of the things that I have done during my life, I am very proud of them, and I will do them again.

Mr. WOOD. Why do you object to telling us about it, then?

Mr. BERNARD. Mr. Chairman, I ask you for the permission to read one sentence given by the chairman of the board of the National Association of Manufacturers, and you refuse me that.

Mr. WOOD. You have been given an opportunity to answer a whole score of questions here.

Mr. BERNARD. This man is invoking fascism.

Mr. MOULDER. Where did you reside during the year 1941?

Mr. BERNARD. Where did I reside?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes.

Mr. BERNARD. That same question was asked of me, and I refused to answer, and I would be willing to tell you when this committee adjourns if you want to know, and I am not ashamed of it, please believe me.

Mr. MOULDER. What are your duties now, Mr. Bernard?

Mr. BERNARD. I am working with the UE, as a field organizer, United Electric, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, and I want to say that I know on this committee there are members who are decent guys, and I studied the record of all of them.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Bernard, you say that you are a field organizer for the UE. Is that the same as a legislative director?

Mr. BERNARD. I think that I should try to enlighten you on that. My real title is field organizer on the international payroll, that is what I am, and I get the wages of a field organizer, and you would be astounded to hear what those wages were.

Mr. VELDE. Well, astound me, then. How much are they?

Mr. BERNARD. After taxes are paid, I get \$78 a week.

Mr. VELDE. How big a territory do you cover as field organizer?

Mr. BERNARD. Merely Chicago, mainly Chicago.

Mr. VELDE. How many plants in Chicago does your organization represent?

(Representative Morgan M. Moulder left the hearing room.)

Mr. BERNARD. You are asking me how many plants the union has in Chicago?

Mr. VELDE. Yes; how many they represent for bargaining purposes.

Mr. BERNARD. I really don't know the exact number, you must have them in the record.

Mr. VELDE. If you don't know it, all right.

Mr. BERNARD. I don't know just how many there are.

Mr. VELDE. How many members of the UE do you have at the present time?

Mr. BERNARD. In Chicago, in the Chicago area?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. BERNARD. I think it is about thirty-two or thirty-three thousand.

Mr. VELDE. Have you ever signed a non-Communist affidavit for the purposes of obeying the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. BERNARD. I have never been asked to sign one.

Mr. VELDE. Do you consider that the field officer or the legislative director is not an official of the union?

Mr. BERNARD. Well, I will try to tell you that I am a field organizer, and that is what I am, but because of my background I assist them on this legislative work, and that is all. I get the wages of a field organizer, and that is what I am.

Mr. VELDE. Do you not consider yourself to be an official under the meaning of the Taft-Hartley law that requires you to sign a non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. BERNARD. No, I don't know, the Taft-Hartley law tells you those things, and I was never asked to sign it, and apparently I don't have to, apparently the position I have doesn't require it.

Mr. VELDE. Would you if you were asked to sign it?

Mr. BERNARD. If I was asked to sign it, if I was in that category——
(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BERNARD. I think I will invoke my rights under the fifth amendment on that, my privilege, rather.

Mr. VELDE. That is all.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Bernard, where do your sympathies lie in the present conflict in Korea? With the United States or North Koreans People's Republic?

Mr. BERNARD. I am glad you asked me that because I heard you ask the same question, something like it, yesterday.

Mr. JACKSON. I think it is very important.

Mr. BERNARD. Do you want, whether you believe it or not, I am telling you the truth——

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BERNARD. That is all right. My sympathies lie with our boys who are being slaughtered there, in my opinion unnecessarily, and my sympathies lie also with those poor folks who are being murdered. If I were in your position I would try my level best to see that hostilities cease at once and then let us find ways and means of solving other matters and let us stop the bloodshed.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you in the event of armed hostilities with the Soviet Union enter the military forces of the United States willingly?

Mr. BERNARD. Mr. Chairman, I mean Mr. Congressman, the fact that I am here, appearing before this committee, in my opinion proves definitely that I have been always willing to defend my country, any nation which attacks America, I willingly will join and do my level best. I have done it before. I have never had to be drafted. Even in the last time, I perhaps found I was too old or too radical, and I don't know what happened, but they wouldn't let me go. I will fight any country which attacks my country. My father and my mother, and my son and my brother are buried here, this is my country and I am going to remain here.

Mr. JACKSON. You could render your country a great service by disclosing some of the nature of this international conspiracy. Either, Mr. Bernard, you have been and are a member of the Communist Party, or you owe them a great amount of money in dues, one of the two. You have perhaps as startling a record of Communist-front

affiliation as I have seen since I have been a member of the committee.

Now, one more question: Did you ever belong to the Elks?

Mr. BERNARD. Did I belong to the Elks Lodge?

Mr. JACKSON. To the Elks Lodge.

Mr. BERNARD. Ask me that after the meeting.

Mr. JACKSON. I am asking you now.

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse to answer that, under the privileges.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you ever belong to the Knights of Columbus?

Mr. BERNARD. I refuse for the same reason, with the same privilege, and I belong now to an organization that you might belong to.

Mr. JACKSON. You are not prepared to tell the people of the United States through a working committee of the Congress, fully authorized to inquire into things of this sort, you are going to tell them absolutely nothing which might be of service in helping to disclose the nature of the Communist attack upon this country. Is that correct?

Mr. BERNARD. You mean it will help you if I tell you that I belong to the Elks?

Mr. JACKSON. It will be of considerable help if you will tell us about some of these organizations with which you have been affiliated or with which you have been associated, organizations which have been prescribed by the Attorney General of the United States, and whose findings have been upheld in the Supreme Court, that they are seeking the overthrow of this Government by force and violence, and yet you, a former Member of the Congress of the United States, refuse to help that Congress or refuse to help the American people. I have no further questions.

Mr. BERNARD. Can I answer that?

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused from further attendance of the committee?

Mr. TAVENNER. No.

Mr. BERNARD. I wanted to answer that, may I put my application for a copy of the hearings, and may I get that?

Mr. WOOD. You may do that.

Mr. BERNARD. And also my money for coming here.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will call Mr. Francis William McBain.

Mr. WOOD. I believe, Mr. Counsel, at this moment we will take about a 10-minute recess.

(A brief recess was taken.)

Mr. WOOD. Who do you have, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will Mr. Francis W. McBain come forward, please?

Mr. WOOD. Do you solemnly swear the evidence you shall give to this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McBAIN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF FRANCIS WILLIAM McBAIN, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, DAVID B. ROTHSTEIN

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat, please. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. McBAIN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. The same counsel who identified himself a while ago?

Mr. ROTHSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. State your full name, please, sir.

Mr. McBAIN. Francis William McBain.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. McBAIN. I was born in North Dakota. Do you want the city?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. McBAIN. Bottineau, a little town there.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date of your birth?

Mr. McBAIN. July 31, 1905.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee briefly what your educational training has been?

Mr. McBAIN. I went through 4 years of high school, after grade school, in Bottineau, then I went to 1 year of college, the State College of North Dakota, and 1 year to, well, it is in a different town, it is the same thing, actually I have 2 years of college in engineering, and that is my general education.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you served in World War II, didn't you?

Mr. McBAIN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the period of time you were in the Army?

Mr. McBAIN. I was in the Navy.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the Navy?

Mr. McBAIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Excuse me.

Mr. McBAIN. There is quite a difference, I was a little white-hat in the Navy. I enlisted in the Navy; do you want the time?

Mr. TAVENNER. The period of time when you were in the Navy.

Mr. McBAIN. It was I enlisted in the last part of 1942, and I am not sure, the exact date, it was some time before I was called, but it was near the last part of 1942 and I got out on points in September of 1945.

(Representative John S. Wood left the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. With the exception from the period of the last part of 1942 until September of 1945, how had you been employed since the completion of your school work?

Mr. McBAIN. You want the time after I finished school and skipping that time I was in the Pacific?

Well, actually I got out originally, I graduated from the first year in college I believe in 1923 or 1924.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us skip part of that period, begin with 1935.

Mr. McBAIN. In 1935 I was in Chicago, and I am a tool maker by trade, and I worked in job shops in Chicago for quite some time; that is my trade.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first come to Chicago?

Mr. McBAIN. I believe it was in 1926, I believe, and most of that time I worked as a tool maker, and beginning with 1930 the rest of it is the depression. In 1935 I worked, I believe, near this period for Belke manufacturing plant, a plant on the West Side, and I will say up until 1937 I worked, I am not too clear on it because I was pretty hungry and I worked in a lot of shops and I even ran lathes in basements to survive, but I actually worked most of that time in the trade, although one time I ran a tool machine for 23 cents an hour in order to eat. Around 1936, or I believe 1936, I had a job as a model maker and a job shop model maker, which is scale modeling, it is even more skilled than tool making.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Chicago?

Mr. McBAIN. Yes, in Chicago; and I can't think of the exact name, and I don't know if they are in business, it was a job shop where they made exhibits for different companies, and you are familiar with general model making, scale model making for exhibits.

After I left there I worked as an experimental tool maker in a plant on the West Side of Chicago, I believe General Scientific, or some name similar to that, the same thing as a tool maker, and an experimental worker. Then after that, or during all of this period I probably was out of work in between times. I went to work for the Rosenwald Museum, Industry and Science on the South Side as a model maker, following the same thing there, and I want to make clear they are fairly closely related, tool maker and scale model maker is related.

Mr. TAVENNER. I didn't intend for you to go quite into so much detail, I just wanted to get a general idea of your employment, and the places of employment.

Mr. McBAIN. After I left the museum, I worked for a while at the Westinghouse plant in Chicago.

Mr. TAVENNER. About when did you begin your employment with the Westinghouse Co.?

Mr. McBAIN. I believe it was in 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue there?

Mr. McBAIN. I believe I worked through 1940, and I am not just clear on that, I think it was in 1940 that I quit that. After I quit there I went to work for the NYA, and I don't remember the dates, but that would establish it, when they first opened up in Chicago, as a trial, they had a machine shop on Huron, it was the beginning of the NYA shops. I worked with them for over 2 years and I was a supervisor of the NYA machine shop when I quit.

Mr. TAVENNER. By NYA you mean National Youth Administration?

Mr. McBAIN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work for the National Youth Administration.

Mr. McBAIN. I believe around 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Around 2 years?

Mr. McBAIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that bring you up about the time you went into the military?

Mr. McBAIN. I got leave from the NYA and enlisted in the Navy and I was working, that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. On your return from the service in 1945, what was the first employment you obtained?

Mr. McBAIN. Well, first—

Mr. TAVENNER. Or were you self-employed?

Mr. McBAIN. I was, first I went out to Denver when I got out, my mother was living in a little town out of Denver, my health was pretty bad, and I put in for disability and I got some kind of a bug in the Pacific and I never could get it identified and my health was pretty bad and I went out to Denver thinking I would bum around out there for a while because the climate was very good, but the employment wasn't too good, and so I started a venture of my own, a little machine shop.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was that?

Mr. MCBAIN. It was in a town on the highway out of Denver, I will think of it in a moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Strassburg?

Mr. MCBAIN. That is correct, it is a little town, and it has a lot of names to it, but that is correct. I bought the machinery through the veterans preference of the RFC.

Mr. TAVENNER. Rather than to go so much into detail about this, how long were you in business for yourself in Strassburg?

Mr. MCBAIN. I believe I ran out of money about the following fall, and I quit, and I went out of business. I couldn't do it no more.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time on the pay roll of the UE while you were in Strassburg?

Mr. MCBAIN. Well, here is what happened: When I quit this machine shop, and I went broke, I filled out an application for an organizer for the UE and I was accepted but I couldn't say whether it was right about that time, I didn't work any place else, the application, when I got the job could have come back within that time, but that is approximately the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you do any work as an organizer while you were in Colorado for the UE?

Mr. MCBAIN. I was on their staff in Colorado; that is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you work? And what was the nature of your work while in Colorado?

Mr. MCBAIN. Well, first I was there all by myself, and I simply checked plants and so forth for possible organizing purposes, for new organizing purposes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue the work of an organizer in Colorado?

Mr. MCBAIN. I don't know the exact time but they decided to discontinue it and I got a transfer and I transferred into Chicago.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to Chicago on this assignment?

Mr. MCBAIN. It was in the spring of 1947, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you do any organizational work of any character in Colorado besides that for the UE?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. MCBAIN. I will have to decline to answer that on my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date when you left Colorado for Chicago?

Mr. MCBAIN. I don't remember the date, it was in the spring.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what year?

Mr. MCBAIN. I think I said before I thought it was 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was not certain of it.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Tavenner, does the committee have knowledge and information concerning what other organizational work he was engaged in?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not certain it does. It was inquiring to find out. I wouldn't state what full information the committee might have in the form of leads.

Mr. WALTER. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you became an employee of the National Youth Administration, were you required to sign an affidavit relating to possible Communist Party membership?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. McBAIN. I decline to answer that on my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am asking what you stated in an affidavit, but did you sign an affidavit relating to it?

Mr. McBAIN. I still decline to answer under my privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. On July 4, 1947, did you attend an affair at the Justice Park Gardens, Justice, Ill., under the auspices of the Illinois district of the Communist Party, at which time Foster was the principal speaker?

Mr. McBAIN. I decline to answer that under my privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you in attendance at a meeting on June 6, 1948, of the Civil Rights Congress rally, sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress, and held at the Colliseum, Fifteenth and Wabash Avenue, Chicago, which conference related to the defeat of the Mundt-Nixon bill which was pending in the United States Senate?

Mr. McBAIN. I decline to answer that under my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state whether or not at that meeting there was a person by the name of Russ Nixon, among others, who spoke in that meeting?

Mr. McBAIN. I decline to answer that under the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Russ Nixon?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. McBAIN. I decline to answer that on my privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know that Russ Nixon was the legislative director of the UE?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. McBAIN. I decline to answer that under privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a convention of the Communist Party in Denver, Colo., on May 18 and 19, 1946?

Mr. McBAIN. I decline to answer that under my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Since coming to Chicago, have you acted as an organizer of the Communist Party in any way?

Mr. McBAIN. I decline to answer that under my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McBAIN. I decline to answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McBAIN. I decline to answer that, under my privilege, under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you at this time an organizer for the UE?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. McBAIN. Will you state that again?

Mr. TAVENNER. I say, are you at this time an organizer of the UE?

I understood you came to Chicago when you transferred as an organizer of the UE.

Mr. McBAIN. You mean am I on the UE payroll?

Mr. TAVENNER. No.

Mr. McBAIN. No, I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, are you an organizer of the UE? At this time do you hold a position, whether you are on the payroll or not, do you hold a position with the UE?

Mr. McBAIN. Yes, I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is that position?

Mr. McBAIN. Well, do you mean in the shop or in the UE union where I work, as a tool maker?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, there are rank-and-file members of the UE, and then there are members of the UE who occupy official positions in the organizations.

Mr. McBAIN. Well, I will state that now where I work in the Ingersoll Products Division as a tool maker, I work as a tool maker, and I am also the elected chairman of the plant bargaining committee; as such, it is the shop bargaining committee, and an elected committee member and I am chairman of that committee; and also since you raised the point, I would like to raise a question here that I believe that before we are in a little tough spot, being called down here at this time, that we are under negotiations in this plant at the time and I am chairman of the shop committee, and the company put out a letter stating that we were going to be investigated before I was even subpoenaed to this committee and right now whether this committee is tied up with that, it certainly is, the company certainly is taking terrific advantage of this by trying to do a job on us, and I have a letter—

Mr. TAVENNER. Now you say that you are put on a spot by being called here. You mean in connection with Communist Party activities, that is the only thing that could put you on the spot, isn't it? If you were not connected with the Communist Party in any way, how would you be on the spot?

Mr. McBAIN. Can I give my explanation of what I mean by being put on the spot?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, if it relates to my question.

Mr. McBAIN. I would like to. You asked me what I meant when I said it, and can I give you my meaning of what I said?

Mr. TAVENNER. If you answer my question; I am not going to consent to your making a speech about it, if you are not going to do it in connection with my question.

Mr. McBAIN. If you were chairman of a bargaining committee and the plant was about to go on strike, and you are responsible for the actions of that plant, involving over 1,100 workers and you are down here with a strike deadline coming up, and unable to meet with company, I think that I have a right to say I am on the spot. That is what I am talking about.

Mr. TAVENNER. Unquestionably, if it interferes with your time that you ought to be devoting to something else, I can see how you mean being put on the spot.

Mr. McBAIN. Because this thing is pretty hot, there is a deadline on the strike coming up, and I am certainly the chairman of this committee that is elected in the shop and I work in the shop, and I am certainly, I would say, the thing involves a problem because the strike

is set for a week from Friday, that is 8 or 9 days, and I have no chance to negotiate with the company, to find out what is happening.

As chairman of this committee who is responsible for the bargaining, by rights I should be there, so I could take care of it.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, was any request received from the witness that his subpoena be laid over?

Mr. TAVENNER. None that I have learned of.

Mr. JACKSON. Was such a request made to the committee, that in light of the circumstances, which you have detailed, a hardship would be worked upon you and that your appearance should be delayed? Has any such request been made?

Mr. McBAIN. No. Well, the fact the company put out this letter, and so forth.

Mr. JACKSON. Isn't it a fact, Mr. McBain, that a large part of the tough spot in which you find yourself is the fact that 95 percent of the witnesses—and I take a minimum figure—who claim the protection of the fifth amendment before this committee have either been identified or will have been identified as members of the Communist Party, and is that not a large part of the tough spot you find yourself in, because here is the greatest forum in the world, if you have nothing to hide from the people with whom you work and with whom you are associated, here the newspapers of the entire country are represented, and you have no greater forum than simply to answer the questions of the committee counsel honestly, fully, and frankly when they are asked? There is a great chance for you to get off that tough spot, if it has anything to do with the feelings of the people you work with in connection with communism.

Mr. WALTER. We have gone very far afield. Did you make a request that you be permitted to testify at a future date?

Mr. McBAIN. I didn't know that that was possible; I did not know that there was such a thing.

Mr. WALTER. Well, you are represented by counsel. Did counsel make such a request?

Mr. ROTHSSTEIN. Counsel did not, and may counsel accept full responsibility for the failure to realize that such a request might not be made successfully.

Mr. WALTER. In many instances this committee has deferred hearings for this very reason.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you came to Chicago in 1947, you were a UE organizer, and how long did you remain a UE organizer?

Mr. McBAIN. I quit in the last part of 1947, and I am not exactly sure of the time, and I quit being an organizer, I believe, in 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say that you quit; I didn't understand you.

Mr. McBAIN. That is right; I quit.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean resigned as organizer?

Mr. McBAIN. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose of your resignation?

Mr. McBAIN. Well, I don't know if you can understand this: I am a toolmaker, and I feel I am a skilled worker, and I felt I would like to go back into a shop, and I have stayed in a shop ever since, because I decided for one reason, as a toolmaker, you have skills which are very highly developed, over a long period of time can become very rusty, and I simply made a decision to go back.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever sign a Communist affidavit under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. McBAIN. State that again, will you?

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever requested to sign a non-Communist affidavit under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. McBAIN. To my knowledge I have never been requested to sign one, as far as I know, as far as I can remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MOULDER. I have no questions.

Mr. VELDE. I have no questions.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no questions.

Mr. WALTER. Is there any reason why the witness cannot be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. ROTHSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, may I have permission, please, to address a request to the committee. I am advised not later than 15 minutes ago that this committee will honor a request for a delay for the reasons to the subcommittee if the persons subpoenaed are heavily involved in negotiations, and I will state to you frankly I didn't realize it was a fact.

Mr. WALTER. We have done it on dozens of occasions, and we have done it at the request of your union.

Mr. ROTHSTEIN. I am getting my feet wet here, as it were, and I didn't know that.

Mr. WALTER. And you know your way around pretty well.

Mr. ROTHSTEIN. I asked Mr. Tavenner for a copy of the rules.

Mr. TAVENNER. I said there are no printed rules of the committee.

Mr. WALTER. We operate under the rules of the House of Representatives.

Mr. ROTHSTEIN. All right, I will stop playing buyer.

Mr. WALTER. Your next witness.

Mr. ROTHSTEIN. I haven't finished my request. Mr. Fielde, who is subpoenaed, and Mr. Oakes, who is subpoenaed, and Mr. Gilpin, who was subpoenaed, are heavily involved in the present negotiations with the International Harvester Co. in an effort to settle a strike involving 26,000 or 27,000 people. Their presence at the negotiations I am informed is materially necessary in order that progress be made, if progress can be made, in the settlement of the issues, and therefore in their behalf, and I am requested to ask that their subpoenas be extended—is that what you call it—to another date.

Mr. WALTER. We will take it up in executive session. Your request comes very late, I might say. You should have made it before we prepared the agenda, you know, and you don't put these hearings together in 5 minutes.

Mr. ROTHSTEIN. I agree with you it comes pretty late, and I trust my explanation as to why it comes late will be exempted with the candor with which it was made.

Mr. WALTER. All right, we will take it up in executive session.

Who is your next witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Al Kratz is the next witness.

Mr. McBAIN. Could I put the letter in evidence that the company sent out to the employees?

Mr. WALTER. I would like very much to see it.

(Letter submitted to the chairman.)

Mr. WALTER. Raise your right hand.

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

Mr. KRATZ. I do.

Mr. WALTER. Be seated.

TESTIMONY OF ALCIDE THOMAS KRATZ

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. KRATZ. My full name is Alcide Thomas Kratz, and I sometimes go by the name of Al in business and various other activities.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your first name?

Mr. KRATZ. A-I-C-I-D-E.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Kratz?

Mr. KRATZ. I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you desire counsel, to consult counsel at any time during your testimony, you are, of course, at liberty to do so.

Mr. KRATZ. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Kratz?

Mr. KRATZ. I was born in Upland, Ind., November 25, 1902.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee a brief statement of your educational training?

Mr. KRATZ. Because of my father being a glass worker, my education was in various cities. However, my education was completed at St. Mary's Catholic School in Lancaster, Ohio, and I completed the eighth grade there.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your employment since 1935?

Mr. KRATZ. International Harvester Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first become employed by the International Harvester Co.?

Mr. KRATZ. I believe it was in May of 1928.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you have been constantly with the company since that time?

Mr. KRATZ. No; I was laid off during the depression, and I went in business for myself; and then I came back in 1932, and I have been with them ever since, ever since 1932.

Mr. TAVENNER. During what period was it, over what years was it that you were not employed by the Harvester Co.?

Mr. KRATZ. 1930 and 1931, up until July of 1932.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where is your place of employment?

Mr. KRATZ. West Pullman Works, 1015 West One Hundred and Twentieth Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Chicago?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been a member of the local union at that plant, the West Pullman Works?

Mr. KRATZ. Do you mean the one that is now there at the present time?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. KRATZ. I was only a short time. I was expelled from that union.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you expelled?

Mr. KRATZ. I was expelled right after the affiliation with the Farm Equipment, with the United Electric Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the approximate date of your expulsion?

Mr. KRATZ. No; I don't. I wouldn't know that.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had you been a member of that union?

Mr. KRATZ. Since it won the bargaining rights. I think it was in 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the number of the local?

Mr. KRATZ. Local 107.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time hold a position in local 107?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes; I held various positions in 107. I held the job of recording secretary, legislative director—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you fix the approximate dates of those offices, if you can?

Mr. KRATZ. In 1944, I was the recording secretary. In 1945, I was the legislative director. And in 1950, I believe it was, that I was the first vice president.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRATZ. No; I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRATZ. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you become a member?

Mr. KRATZ. In March of 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you issued a Communist Party card?

Mr. KRATZ. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have it?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes; I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to introduce it in evidence, with the understanding that a photostatic copy be taken, and the original returned to the owner.

Mr. WALTER. It will be marked as a part of the record.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask it be marked as "Kratz Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WALTER. It may be so marked.

(The document above referred to, marked "Kratz Exhibit No. 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You have also handed me a card for the year 1945.

Mr. KRATZ. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. So I desire to introduce it in evidence also, and ask it be marked as "Kratz exhibit No. 2."

Mr. WALTER. It will be done.

(The document above referred to, marked "Kratz Exhibit No. 2," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRATZ. I will have to consult this record here that I have, a letter that I sent in to the Communist Party August 21, 1946. I sent them a letter of resignation, registered mail, return receipt requested, through the Roseland post office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you receive the return receipt?

Mr. KRATZ. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Whose name was signed to it?

Mr. KRATZ. Grace Zarniack.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have the return receipt?

Mr. KRATZ. No; I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you let me see your letter of resignation?
(Document handed to Mr. Tavenner.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Is this a copy made by you at the time?

Mr. KRATZ. It is.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to read it into the record:

CHICAGO, ILL., August 21, 1946.

DEAR COMRADE: This is to tender my resignation in the Communist Party, as I do not believe I can fulfill the duties of the party. I am enclosing my dues books also.

I am,

AL KRATZ,

10132 Normal Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

To whom did you mail this document?

Mr. KRATZ. To Grace Zarniack.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did she hold?

Mr. KRATZ. She was secretary of the Roseland branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you receive any reply, other than the return receipt?

Mr. KRATZ. No; I didn't receive any reply.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, let us go back to the time you joined the party. Will you give the committee a picture of the circumstances under which you became a member?

Mr. KRATZ. Well, a month or so prior to that, I had been appointed by the international office executive board as a part-time field representative; that is, I would work in the shop all day, and then organize in the evening.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, of what organization?

Mr. KRATZ. Local 1 of the Farm Equipment Union. And the field representative, Charles Killinger, he asked me, or he gave me several copies of the Worker, and said this was a workers' organization and it would help me a lot in my work, and would I join; and I signed the card at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the person?

Mr. KRATZ. Charles Killinger, K-i-l-l-i-n-g-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you afterward meet in Communist Party meetings with him?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes; we did.

Mr. TAVENNER. What official position did he have in the Communist Party, if any?

Mr. KRATZ. None that I know of. At one time they wanted him to run for a State office, and he refused to run for that office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he occupy at that time an official position in the Farm Equipment Union?

Mr. KRATZ. I was a part-time field representative, and because of the local union ruling that no one on the payroll could have office, I had to resign as recording secretary of local 107 in order to have the part-time field representative job.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, at the time when Killinger gave you a copy of the Daily Worker and asked you to become a member of the Communist Party, did Killinger hold any position within the Farm Equipment Union?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes; he was a field representative, and I was his helper.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was your immediate superior?

Mr. KRATZ. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he endeavored to recruit other members of the union in the Communist Party?

Mr. KRATZ. No; he didn't in my presence at any time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Mr. Killinger is still a member of the Farm Equipment Union, and whether he holds any official position?

Mr. KRATZ. That I don't know. I have lost contact with him for some years now, and the last I heard he was on sick leave, and I don't know how true it is, and I haven't seen him for quite a few years.

Mr. TAVENNER. After becoming a member of the party, were you assigned to a branch or cell?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes; the Roseland branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Roseland branch?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who made up the personnel of the Roseland branch, and was it people in any particular line of employment?

Mr. KRATZ. Well, we were mostly made up from the International Harvester plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many members were there when you became a member?

Mr. KRATZ. Well, the full membership was never disclosed to me, and I never did find out the full membership of it, and there were in the neighborhood of around 15 or 20.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were the meetings held?

Mr. KRATZ. In a hall right off One Hundred and Fourth Street, on Michigan Avenue. I don't know the address there. It is known as the Lithuanian Hall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend meetings there?

Mr. KRATZ. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. How frequently did you attend?

Mr. KRATZ. Once a month, at least, and sometimes oftener.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over how many months did you attend the meetings?

Mr. KRATZ. Well, from the time I joined in March of 1944, until the early part of 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee who were members of this branch, the Roseland branch, with you, as far as you can recall?

Mr. KRATZ. There was George Shanta.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name?

Mr. KRATZ. S-h-a-n-t-a.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, just a moment. Did he hold any official position in the Farm Equipment Union at that time?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes. Yes; he did. He was the president of the local.

Mr. TAVENNER. The president of the local?

Mr. KRATZ. Local 107; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he holds a position in the local or in the Farm Equipment Union at this time?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes; he is the president.

Mr. TAVENNER. President of the local?

Mr. KRATZ. Local 107; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, if you will proceed.

Mr. KRATZ. Andrew Rossi, R-o-s-s-i, was a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he hold any official position in local 107?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes; he was the education and publicity director in local 107.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know that these persons were members of the Roseland cell of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRATZ. Well, I held meetings with them, and whenever there was any money raised in the Communist Party, I went to them and solicited them for money.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a dues collector?

Mr. KRATZ. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. Will you proceed?

Mr. KRATZ. Then there was LeRoy Tribbite.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mr. Tribbite hold any position in local 107?

Mr. KRATZ. Not at that time; no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell his name, please?

Mr. KRATZ. I believe it is T-r-i-b-b-i-t-e.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he hold a position at any later time?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes; he became the recording secretary of the local.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, sir; proceed.

Mr. KRATZ. And Mary Casaro—C-a-s-a-r-o, I think that is the spelling.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did she hold, if any, in the local union?

Mr. KRATZ. She didn't hold any at that time, but later she became the second vice president of local 107.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed?

Mr. KRATZ. Then there was Joe Balsis, B-a-l-s-i-s, and he didn't hold any position at any time.

Then from 161 or 163, I am not sure which local it is, it is the Great Lakes Forge and it was at that time in the Farm Equipment Union, and it was Peter Hansen, H-a-n-s-e-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Peter Hassen, H-a-s-s-e-n, I believe it is.

Mr. KRATZ. That is what it is, H-a-s-s-e-n. He was the treasurer at one time of the local, I mean he was the treasurer of the Roseland branch of the Communist Party; and he was also, he held some office on the executive board of his local there, and I don't know what it is, but it was affiliated with the Farm Equipment Union at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. But a different local from that which you were a member of?

Mr. KRATZ. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time collect dues from him?

Mr. KRATZ. No. He collected them from me.

Mr. TAVENNER. For our purposes, that is just as good.

Do you have any record to substantiate your statement that he collected dues from you?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes; I do. I have a receipt signed by him, and having five Communist Party stamps on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I see that?

(A document was handed to Mr. Tavenner.)

(Representative Morgan M. Moulder left hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. This receipt reads as follows:

October 22—Received of Al Kratz five and no/100 dollars for months June, July, August, September, October, for dues, at \$1.00. P. Hassen—H-a-s-s-e-n.

And on the reverse side will be found five stamps for \$1, each marked "Dues, CP, USA, \$1.00."

What year was it that that receipt was given to you?

Mr. KRATZ. In 1945.

Mr. WALTER. May I see the receipt, please?

(Document was handed to Representative Walter.)

Mr. VELDE. Was not the Communist Party called the Communist Political Association at that time?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes. The cards which he presented there bear that, "Communist Political Association."

Mr. VELDE. This receipt is just marked "CP" for that marking.

Mr. WALTER. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of others whom you can recall, who were members of the Roseland Branch?

Mr. KRATZ. Well, there was Zarniack, and then she had three sisters; one was Jean Erickson, E-r-i-c-k-s-o-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you referring to a receipt?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I see it?

Mr. KRATZ. She was a collector of dues, also.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is this a receipt for dues paid by you and signed by her?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to read it into the record. It is dated March 1945:

Received of Al Kratz, three and no/100 dollars, 2d quarter, April through June, \$3.00.

J. ERICKSON.

What was her first name?

Mr. KRATZ. Jean, J-e-a-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether she was known also by another name, Jean Horn?

Mr. KRATZ. That was her maiden name.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, sir, if you will proceed.

Mr. KRATZ. And then there was another sister by the name of Wilma Persley, and her maiden name, of course, was Horn, but she married Persley.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. KRATZ. P-e-r-s-l-e-y, I believe that is the spelling of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have named two of the sisters, and was there a third?

Mr. KRATZ. Annette Horn was her name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did any of the three sisters occupy a position in any of the locals of the Farm Equipment Union?

Mr. KRATZ. No. They were secretaries, mostly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Secretaries in the offices of what people?

Mr. KRATZ. Well, Grace at one time was in the International Office as a secretary there. I believe she was secretary to Gerald Fielde. I am not sure of that.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean secretary of officials of the union?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes. She was not employed in the shop, and therefore she was not eligible for office in the union. But she was employed in the office as a stenographer.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the office of the union?

Mr. KRATZ. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is as to one sister; and what as to the other two?

Mr. KRATZ. This was Grace. And the other, Annette, was connected with the packing house in some way, and I don't know how, and I didn't have very much contact with them as to their work, other than being a member of the Roseland Branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of any other persons who were members of the Roseland branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRATZ. No; I don't believe I can.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned the name of Gerald Fielde a moment ago as being the person in whose office Grace Zarniack was employed.

Mr. KRATZ. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you personally acquainted with Mr. Fielde?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes; I have met with him on various occasions; being an officer of the union, naturally we would meet quite often with the international.

Mr. TAVENNER. What office did he hold in the union?

Mr. KRATZ. Well, at that time he was the secretary-treasurer, financial secretary-treasurer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of your own knowledge whether he was a member of the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. KRATZ. No. I never met at any Communist meeting with Jerry Fielde.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period that you were a member of the Roseland branch of the party, what official positions in the Communist Party did you hold, if any?

Mr. KRATZ. That was the only one, the dues collector; that was the only time I held that office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was your branch of the party visited by members of the Communist Party on a higher level?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes. There was a man by the name of John Schmies, I couldn't spell his name, and he came there on various occasions; especially when we were having any labor trouble he would come in.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his position in the Communist Party, if you know?

Mr. KRATZ. They told me that he was the field organizer, and, now, whether he was or not, I had no official recognition of that.

(Representative Harold H. Velde left hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he was affiliated with any union, or not?

Mr. KRATZ. No.

(Representative Morgan M. Moulder returned to hearing room.)

Mr. KRATZ. He was working quite a bit in steel, they told me, but, however, being affiliated with a union, I wouldn't know that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of others on a higher level who visited your branch?

Mr. KRATZ. No. Any time that there was any meetings that were on a higher scale, they were usually joint, all of the branches were called in.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many branches of the Communist Party were organized within the Farm Equipment Union that you were acquainted with?

Mr. KRATZ. Well, this is the only one that I was acquainted with, because we never visited the other branches of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You never attended a fraction meeting of representatives from the various branches?

Mr. KRATZ. No. There was only one meeting of that nature that was held while I was a member of the party, and that was a fellow by the name of Peterson, and Charles Lawson, who came from 101, and held a meeting with us one night. It was a meeting of about an hour's duration.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the first name of Peterson?

Mr. KRATZ. No; I can't. He was on the executive board of 101, that I know, but we always called him Peterson.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us any further descriptive information about him that may help us to identify the one that you are speaking of?

Mr. KRATZ. He was a short, stocky fellow.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know in what shop he was employed?

Mr. KRATZ. He was at the Tractor Works.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the Tractor Works?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where he lived?

Mr. KRATZ. No; I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, on the occasion of this meeting, how many representatives from different locals were present?

Mr. KRATZ. There was just the two from 101, and they came down there to meet with the members of the party from 107.

(Representative Harold H. Velde returned to hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you spoke of one person as a member of the Roseland Branch who was a member of either 163 or 164.

Mr. KRATZ. That is the man who signed that dues thing, Hassen. There were two members that I knew of in this local. I don't recall the other man's name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Communist Party cells were organized within any of the locals in addition to 101 and 163 or 164, and your own local of 107?

Mr. KRATZ. No. I helped organize three or four plants there on the South Side, and there was no attempt made to organize any of the Communist cells in that.

Mr. TAVENNER. As you have stated, you did not attend fraction meetings, and it is possible that cells had been organized in other locals without your knowledge, isn't that true?

Mr. KRATZ. That could have been very easily true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did your club at any time receive a request or a direction from the Communist Party on higher levels to cause the union to contribute funds for any project that the Communist Party was interested in, that you can recall?

Mr. KRATZ. Not directly; no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, was it done indirectly?

Mr. KRATZ. Well, to this degree: That if it was beneficial to labor, naturally it was presented on the floor of membership, and member-

ship would grant it. And, now, those in the party would know that the party was back of it. However, if the program was such that it would be presented to the membership that it was beneficial to labor, they would contribute and it would be perfectly legal, but as far as any under-the-table contributions, we made none.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any occasions when the Communist Party endeavored to dictate to you how you should perform your duties as a union official?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes. Whether this man was sent by the Communist Party or not, I don't know. However, he was a member of the Communist Party, a man by the name of Clemmons, and he was not in the Roseland cell.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know his first name?

Mr. KRATZ. He came before the executive board one evening.

Mr. TAVENNER. The executive board of what?

Mr. KRATZ. Local 107. And he had a copy of the Daily Worker, and he stated at that time that this was the paper—he had the paper, and he pounded on the table, and he said, "This is the policy we should adopt in this union." And he said we should take this paper and go down at the next membership meeting and notify the membership that from that time on, from the time of the meeting, that that would be the policy of the union, what was in that paper.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that paper was the Daily Worker?

Mr. KRATZ. I informed him at that time that the people had joined Local 107 of the Farm Equipment Union, and that they did not join the Communist Party, and if he went to try to shove the Communist Party down their throats, that I was afraid he was going to run into trouble.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. You recognized that the Daily Worker was the medium through which the Communist Party passed on its directives—

Mr. KRATZ. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which in turn had received from higher authorities, to the rank and file members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRATZ. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. That has been very definitely shown in testimony before this committee, even to the extent of directives originating in foreign countries.

All right, now, will you proceed?

Mr. KRATZ. I was running for president of the local, and I was opposed by a man by the name of George Jerita, and Grace Zarniack; and Joe Van Norstrand, who at that time was a field representative of the Farm Equipment Workers Union, came to me and told me that I had to run Clemmons as vice president, and he said he was colored, and that he would be quite an asset to the union to have a colored man on the executive board in that position.

I told them that I refused, not on the basis of his color, but on the basis he wasn't qualified to hold the job. They informed me at that time—

Mr. TAVENNER. Who do you mean by "they"?

Mr. KRATZ. Joe Van Norstrand and Grace Zarniack informed me at that time that if I didn't carry Clemmons along with me on my slate, that the party would not support me. And I told them that that

was definitely out: that I believed if a man was capable of doing the job he should get the job, but I didn't feel he was capable. So I lost the election by 30 votes. And some of the fellows in the party that I have mentioned here, that I went out and worked for them on every election, they wouldn't even go out and work for me at all, or put in a word one way or the other, and wouldn't even take my slates and distribute my slates. So I lost the election by 30 votes.

Mr. TAVENNER. So when you refused to comply with the Communist Party attitude on the subject, you lost their support?

Mr. KRATZ. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. When the individual appeared before your executive board with the Daily Worker and insisted that the Daily Worker lay down the policy for the union, how many of the members of the executive board who were present at that meeting were known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRATZ. Three.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were they?

Mr. KRATZ. There was George Shanta, Andy Rossi, and myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there other members present at the time who were known to you not to be members of the party?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many persons were present?

Mr. KRATZ. Well, George Shanta at that time was the vice president, and the board normally consisted of nine. And Earl Jessup was on an errand down to the international office, and so there were five others beside us.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any vote taken at the time?

Mr. KRATZ. No; there wasn't. There was no vote, and after I had made the statement as I did, that closed it, and he picked up his papers and went out.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for your leaving the Communist Party?

Mr. KRATZ. Well, I stated that. It was because they wanted to dictate to me who I was to carry along with me in the election there, and that was one of the reasons; and then I found out the real reason of the Communist Party, and it was contrary to my principles and belief.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has anyone approached you since sending in your resignation, with a view of having you rejoin the Communist Party?

Mr. KRATZ. Yes. Joe Van Norstrand came up to me and he told me just to forget all about it, and come on back in.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. KRATZ. It was a short time after I had resigned.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WALTER. Any further questions?

Mr. MOULDER. I have no questions.

Mr. FRAZIER. I have no questions.

Mr. VELDE. I have no questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Was the fact generally known by the other workers in your union that the officers you have named here today were in fact officials at the same time in Communist Party cell organizations?

Mr. KRATZ. Well, I don't think that there was any doubt as to their knowing that I was, because I had so stated before the executive board that I was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. JACKSON. Did that knowledge also extend to the other officials whom you have named as being members?

Mr. KRATZ. They have been accused of it, but I don't know, as a fact, that they really know it. I think they more or less pass it off, because it is merely stated as a "red herring," and they leave it go at that.

Mr. JACKSON. Previous to the election that you lost by 30 votes, had you won election to that office before that?

Mr. KRATZ. No.

Mr. JACKSON. This was the first time you had run?

Mr. KRATZ. For the president; yes.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no further questions.

Mr. VELDE. I have one question, and I forget whether this subject was covered or not, but did you ever sign a non-Communist affidavit to comply with the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. KRATZ. My office didn't require it.

Mr. TAVENNER. His membership was prior to the period of enforcement of the act.

Mr. JACKSON. What was your understanding as to the total number of Communist branches, or membership is a thing that is always of interest to anyone in an organization, and what was your best understanding of the total Communist membership in the city of Chicago during that period?

Mr. KRATZ. Well, I didn't have any idea what it was.

Mr. JACKSON. Or as to the number of branches or cells?

Mr. KRATZ. No; I had attended meetings in various places, but in some cases I brought other people there, not interested in Communist activity, necessarily, but just brought them to the meeting, so it would be pretty hard to estimate.

Mr. WALTER. Any further questions, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WALTER. The witness is discharged, with the thanks of the committee.

We will now recess to 2:30.

(Whereupon, at 12:50 p. m., a recess was taken until 2:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:45 p. m., Representatives John S. Wood, Francis E. Walter, Morgan M. Moulder, James B. Frazier, Jr., Harold H. Velde, and Donald L. Jackson being present.)

Mr. WOOD. The hearing will be in order.

Who do you call? What is the problem?

Mr. ROTHSTEIN. This morning, as a result of some discussion, I was advised for the first time, for me at any rate, that this committee is not averse to extending the date of return of a subpoena, if the persons thus subpoenaed are heavily engaged in whatever their normal run of activities are, and as a result of the discussion I then requested that the subpoenas to Mr. Grant Oakes, Mr. Gerald Fielde, and Mr. DeWitt Gilpin be extended because those three individuals are pres-

ently engaged in attempting to negotiate a contract, with others, of course, with the International Harvester Co. and their appearance here is necessarily delaying the progress of those negotiations, or will have that effect. I made the request at the request of the persons subpoenaed, and in aid of the request I offer the following statement from a letter which has just been handed to me which purports to have been sent out to employees by the International Harvester Co.:

If UE stated that a number of the union leaders have been summoned to appear before the Un-American Activities Committee in Chicago here this week, and the committee of the House of Representatives specializes in investigations of subversive activities, particularly communism and Communists in the United States. It seems likely that the absence of FE-UE officials for these hearings may cause some delay in negotiations of this week.

The negotiations ought to be concluded, if it is possible to conclude them, because there are 26,000 men on strike. The reason I now make the motion is that I thought that the chairman pro tem of the committee this morning, and Mr. Tavenner, agreed that I might interrupt the proceedings long enough to make the motion or request, I guess is a more graceful way to put it.

Mr. WOOD. The matter was discussed in executive session just prior to opening this session, and it was determined by the committee that in keeping with the previous policy of the committee that we will not retain here those witnesses who are actually engaged in this negotiation work.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the case where there is a strike pending, as I understand it.

Mr. WOOD. That is what I am talking about. But since they are here, counsel does desire, I believe, to ask them one question, and the answer to which might determine the question of whether we would want them further or not. So with that understanding you may proceed, Mr. Counsel, and as soon as you have interrogated them with one or two questions, I will ask that we excuse them from further attendance at this hearing.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think it would save time if we would call all three at the same time.

Mr. Grant Oakes, Mr. Gerald Fielde, and Mr. DeWitt Gilpin.

Mr. WOOD. I will ask you gentlemen to please, each of you, raise your right hand. You and each of you solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. OAKES. I do.

Mr. FIELDE. I do.

Mr. GILPIN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF GRANT W. OAKES, GERALD FIELDE, AND DeWITT GILPIN, ACCOMPANIED BY THEIR COUNSEL, DAVID B. ROTHSTEIN

Mr. TAVENNER. Which is Mr. Grant Oakes? Mr. Oakes, do you feel that your presence here would deter you in your official duties in connection with the strike which is pending?

Mr. OAKES. As the chairman of the Harvester Farm Equipment Council, my duties should be attempting to conclude the negotiations as quickly as possible, and that certainly is my desire.

MR. TAVENNER. Is it your opinion that it is necessary that you leave here for that purpose?

MR. OAKES. I am quite sure, sir.

MR. TAVENNER. Which is Mr. Gerald Fielde? I want to ask you the same question.

MR. FIELDE. I am the chief spokesman and have been for a period of years in the negotiations with the International Harvester Co. This trip I am again chief spokesman, and of course the negotiations are much more difficult, inasmuch as this trip the International Harvester Co. is attempting to cut wages in our new contract. I state that because it complicates the matters further, and you have to have consistency of relationship with the company so that you might be in a better position to expedite negotiations and thereby settle the strike.

MR. TAVENNER. Now, you haven't answered my question.

MR. FIELDE. Yes I did. I said "Yes," to begin with, I believe.

MR. TAVENNER. You consider it necessary and important in the performance of your duties to leave?

MR. FIELDE. I will say yes, as a member of conciliation, Mr. J. Olliver, from the United States Conciliation Service—Commissioner J. Olliver—begged and pleaded with me last Friday to attend the negotiations, and I told him he would have to discuss that with the House of Representatives or at least its subcommittee.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. DeWitt Gilpin, I desire to ask you the same question. Do you consider it is necessary in the performance of your duties that you leave for that purpose?

MR. GILPIN. I do, but I feel that my personal opinion about that matter was strengthened yesterday by the Harvester Council, elected delegates, negotiating with the company, who met and discussed this question and considered the \$26 million annually in wage cuts that the company is trying to impose upon them, and voted unanimously to request that the three of us seek from this committee permission to get into the negotiations, undeterred by this committee, and try to effect a settlement.

MR. TAVENNER. All right, sir.

Then I want to ask you, each of you, one further question: Mr. Oakes, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. OAKES. I decline to answer, asserting the fifth-amendment privilege.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Fielde, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. FIELDE. I decline, and claim my privilege under the fifth amendment.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Gilpin, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. GILPIN. I decline, asserting my privilege under the fifth amendment.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, in light of the answers, we would desire to question them further at another time.

MR. WOOD. Will you give them further notice, or do you want to now fix the time?

MR. TAVENNER. I believe it would be better to extend the present subpoenas in accordance with the request you made.

MR. WOOD. And not fix a time now?

Mr. TAVENNER. I think we should extend it a definite period, and if it is necessary to change it we can change it later.

Mr. WOOD. What date do you suggest?

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me confer with counsel a moment.

(Mr. Tavenner and Mr. Rothstein conferred.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I suggest 30 days, and I don't know what day of the week that would be.

Mr. Chairman, I would suggest the 16th day of October, in Washington.

Mr. WOOD. Very well, the subpoenas will be extended until that date, and in the event there is any change in the program of the committee you will be amply notified in advance. You gentlemen are excused until that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. John Cooke.

Mr. WOOD. Are you Mr. Cooke?

Mr. COOKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Hold up your right hand. Do you solemnly swear the evidence you shall give in this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. COOKE. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Cooke, are you represented by counsel?

Mr. COOKE. No.

Mr. WOOD. At any time you find you want to confer with counsel, please let me know.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN EDWARD COOKE

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name?

Mr. COOKE. John Edward Cooke.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. COOKE. Chicago, Ill.; February 25, 1917.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now reside in Chicago?

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Chicago?

Mr. COOKE. Thirty-five years.

Mr. TAVENNER. All your life?

Mr. COOKE. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee briefly what your educational training has been?

Mr. COOKE. Grammar school, high school, and intermittently college, but never to complete any time.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present employment?

Mr. COOKE. International Harvester Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that a full-time employment?

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of any union which has a contract with that company?

Mr. COOKE. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you held that position?

Mr. COOKE. Approximately a year and a half.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time how were you employed?

Mr. COOKE. I was an assembler in the shop. Prior to that, you mean?

Mr. TAVENNER. Suppose you tell us what your record of employment has been back, say, to 1935.

Mr. COOKE. Well, from the year 1935 to 1937 I was clerk in a liquor store in Hyde Park area. In 1937 I was hired at the Harvester Co. and, excluding lay-offs, I have been working for Harvester ever since.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, when you first became employed in the Harvester Co., were you a member of any union?

Mr. COOKE. I was a member of what they call Employees' Mutual, which I think subsequently was disbanded by the National Labor Relations Board.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you subsequently join any other union?

Mr. COOKE. Yes; in 1942 I joined the Farm Equipment Workers' Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Farm Equipment Workers.

Mr. COOKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What local of the Farm Equipment Workers?

Mr. COOKE. Local 108.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long were you a member of local 108?

Mr. COOKE. Up until 1951, it would be somewhere around February.

Mr. TAVENNER. With what national labor union was local 108 affiliated or by what organization was it administered?

Mr. COOKE. The Farm Equipment Workers of America, CIO, at that time, up until I imagine it was 1948 or 1949, I am not sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any office in your local union, local 108?

Mr. COOKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What offices have you held in that local?

Mr. COOKE. From about 1943 to 1945, I was a chief steward in the malleable foundry of the plant, and from the beginning of 1945 until approximately February of 1947 I was chairman of the bargaining committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Any other positions?

Mr. COOKE. That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. In a general way, what were your duties as a chief steward?

Mr. COOKE. To handle grievances within a given department and upon nonsettlement refer them to the next step, the grievance committee, and along with that, at that particular time, there was no check-off in the shops and the responsibility of collecting union dues became the chief steward's responsibility as well.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were your duties as chairman of the bargaining committee?

Mr. COOKE. Both to coordinate activities of the grievance committee and to handle the grievances of problems within the plant, participate in the contract negotiations, and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held any other position as an employee of the union?

Mr. COOKE. None whatsoever.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did local 108 have an executive board?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever a member of the executive board?

Mr. COOKE. Well, according to the local's constitution and bylaws, at that time I was to sit in on all board meetings with voice but no vote, and you can call that a member if you want to.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many persons composed the executive board of your local?

Mr. COOKE. I would say between 7 and 8, I am not sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. I am not now, but I have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. In 1945, somewhere around the early part of 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you leave the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. Some time in the early part of 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you were chief steward of your local?

Mr. COOKE. No; I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member at any time while you were chairman of the bargaining committee?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

(Representative Harold H. Velde left the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. And therefore you were a member during part of the time that you sat in executive meetings of your local?

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who invited you to become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. I would say I had several invitations. Do you mean who finally signed me up?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you just explain to the committee all of the circumstances under which you were recruited into the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. Well, that would go back to 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you speak a little louder, please?

Mr. COOKE. I say that would go back to 1944, and approximately June of 1944 I attended as a representative of local 108, what was known as Farm Equipment Workers, CIO, trade-union school, supposedly to keep people from individual shops, to train them in union procedures, grievances, economics, a little psychology, and public speaking. That was held at the Bon Country Club, in Waukegan, Ill., I think it was about a 4-week session of school. At that time the curriculum at the school was in my estimation rather straitlaced with union procedures and so forth, but between sessions of the classes, various students more or less approached you to the extent of direct line of thinking, that it was in the Communist manner.

Now, it has been some time ago and I doubt if I could remember names other than other students that went with me. Following that, there was a local union election held later on that year, I say approximately December of 1944, at which time I ran for grievance committeeman, and I won the election and subsequently was elected by the grievance committee as their chairman. Directly following that I was approached and propositioned again to join the Communist Party, and I was told there was no way to get ahead in the labor movement unless you were a member of the Communist Party. Of

course, I guess maybe it is a matter of being foolish, but being ambitious as well, I yielded to the plea, and I signed up.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was it that told you that it would develop to your advantage in the union work if you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. For one, it was Pope Huff, who at that time was an executive board member at large, I think, of the international union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Pope Huff, H-u-f-f?

Mr. COOKE. I think so. P-o-p-e H-u-f-f.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did any other individual make a similar statement to you as an inducement for you to join the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. Well, I will say Bruno Bartnick, B-r-u-n-o B-a-r-t-n-i-c-k, or it might be "n-i-k."

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of what was said to you, what did you do about joining the party?

Mr. COOKE. Well, I joined.

Mr. TAVENNER. And where were you assigned?

Mr. COOKE. Well, interestingly enough it wasn't the Communist Party at that time, as I recall. It was the Communist Political Association, and at that time I was assigned to what, if I recall exactly, was known as Washington Park Club. It was considered a neighborhood club.

Mr. TAVENNER. At that particular time, during the period of the Communist Political Association, the cells of the party were not organized in the branches in the various factories and shops?

Mr. COOKE. My recollection is that that came just a little later.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, tell us about that, about what you know about the coming on of this a little later.

Mr. COOKE. Well, as I recall, some time in, I would say it was mid-1945, I would say somewhere around June or July, some leading Communist in France by the name of Duclos made some sort of a press statement that the Communist Party of the United States was toward the reactionary side as party vernacular, as I understand it, that is the sort of language that would be used. It was meek and submissive, and Browder was hobnobbing with Wall Street, and so on.

That called for some sort of reorganization, as I understand it, coming direct from the top level. As a result of that, and I wasn't a delegate, but there was some sort of convention held by the Communist Party and a complete reorganization took place, in which I think William Foster took over the complete reins, and Earl Browder was out. Also as a result of that, Gil Green was assigned to the Chicago region, and including Chicago, Indiana, and this area, and I don't know just the composition of it. Then at that time shop units, or as you prefer to call them cells, were set up and I was assigned to McCormack shop unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many persons were members of the Communist cell or branch which you first united with?

Mr. COOKE. Well, you see, as to that, again I couldn't give you the exact number because I never had access to any files, and so forth, but I could say anywhere from 10 to 30.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that branch or cell of the party made up of representatives from various locals and various areas of the community?

Mr. COOKE. I would say a combination of both.

Mr. TAVENNER. But when you were assigned to a shop unit, you were assigned to the unit in which you worked?

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were other persons from this community branch assigned to the same unit with you?

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were they?

Mr. COOKE. This Pope Huff, and Beatrice Huff, his wife, Joseph Pentecost, Charles Lassiter. That is some of them, and I can't remember all of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who actually signed you in the party?

Mr. COOKE. Beatrice Huff.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you speak a little louder?

Mr. COOKE. Beatrice Huff.

(Representative Harold H. Velde returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she the wife of Pope Huff?

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of having been chairman of the bargaining committee of local 108. Were any members of that committee other than yourself members of the Communist Party? To your knowledge?

Mr. COOKE. Offhand I would say none. I am trying to think of the composition of the committee; you know one year we had a change-over. None.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether any members of the executive committee of local 108 were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. Two that I know of, that I can recall offhand. One was Clarence Stoecker.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell that?

Mr. COOKE. I think it is S-t-o-e-c-k-e-r, and one other was Tony Matussek. Anthony I think would be the correct name. At one time there was also Bruno Bartnick, I gave the name previously, and Joseph Pentecost.

Mr. TAVENNER. They were all members of the executive committee?

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And also members of the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, did these individuals or any of them who were members of the executive committee also hold other positions in local 108?

Mr. COOKE. In what manner, I mean I don't quite follow you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, they were on the executive committee, you said.

Mr. COOKE. That means they were officers, they were union officers, president, vice president, and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; I understand.

Mr. COOKE. I think Bruno Bartnick was legislative director, and Joseph Pentecost was the publicity and educational director, and Clarence Stoecker was financial secretary, and Anthony Matussek was recording secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, from the knowledge acquired by you, while you were a member of the Communist Party, what other shop units

were there which had Communist Party branches located within them?

Mr. COOKE. Well, I would say now, not having any factual evidence but from hearsay, I would say there was a shop unit at Tractor Works and there was a shop unit at West Pullman and there was one at McCormack. Now, I could go a little further into that on my exodus from the party, that is to say how I went out and the reasons why I went out, would tend to bring that particular point out.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will not ask you anything further about that at the moment.

How many persons were members of your shop unit, No. 108, in local 108?

Mr. COOKE. I think somewhere between 15 and 25, somewhere, in that vicinity.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names at this time of any members of your shop unit of the Communist Party whose names you have not already given us?

Mr. COOKE. I gave you Pope Huff and Beatrice Huff. Hazel Gray. That is all I can recall offhand. It is hard, it has been about 6 years ago, or 7 years ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; I recognize the difficulty of it.

Do you recall—

Mr. COOKE. Booker White.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did either of these persons, Hazel Gray or Booker White, hold any position within the union? That is, the local union?

Mr. COOKE. I think Booker White was a chief steward, but Hazel Gray did not work in the shop. Hazel Gray worked in the union office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any occasions on which representatives of the Communist Party or you may say the high levels of the Communist Party visited your meetings?

Mr. COOKE. At all meetings there was someone present.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of higher level Communists who assisted you in your work?

Mr. COOKE. There were Vickie Kramer, Fred Fine.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what positions these people held?

Mr. COOKE. All I know is they were members of the central committee, and that is it. Fred Fine, I think I heard somewhere that Fred Fine had been assigned to the labor division of the party, or something. Almost everything that is done is hearsay; it is word of mouth, and you don't get anything written to cover anything of that type. But there was an additional one, Ed Star. Those were the two.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where Star was from?

Mr. COOKE. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who presided at the meetings that were held in your shop unit?

Mr. COOKE. Clarence Stoecker was chairman of the shop unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know or recall to whom you paid your dues?

Mr. COOKE. Beatrice Huff.

Mr. TAVENNER. How much dues did you pay?

Mr. COOKE. That I can't remember, it might have been \$1 a month, and I can't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any special assessments made for special purposes?

Mr. COOKE. One time, once.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that?

Mr. COOKE. Well, that was a special assessment to send one member of the plant cell or plant unit to some sort of special school for 2 weeks, and it was more or less on a donation basis, all members were contacted and asked to donate as much as they could to supplement his salary, so that he could go to this 2-week school.

Mr. TAVENNER. What kind of a school was this?

Mr. COOKE. Not having attended, I don't know, but from what I heard from the steward it was a school dealing with party policy and party teachings and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. But it was a Communist Party member who was taking up the collection?

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. To send a person to a Communist Party school?

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And they said the money was to supplement the person's salary?

Mr. COOKE. Well, to make up for his salary he wouldn't get because he wouldn't be at work.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the person selected for the school?

Mr. COOKE. Joseph Pentecost.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where the school was located?

Mr. COOKE. The exact location, I am not sure of, it was somewhere in Des Plaines.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he attend the school to your knowledge?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend Communist Party meetings where representatives were present from other locals?

Mr. COOKE. None that I could recall, not offhand. There were a couple of early Sunday meetings held at Turner Hall on Roosevelt Road somewhere around Western Avenue, but it was never definitely understood that these were all party people at this meeting, and so I couldn't tell, but at these meetings there would be representatives from other locals, but not being able to nail it down as definitely a Communist Party meeting. It was mostly to map strategy for the local unions, and the lake district, the district of Farm Equipment Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever selected to attend a Communist Party school after you became a member of the party?

Mr. COOKE. No, I wasn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with any of the following people: Edwin Schoenfeld?

Mr. COOKE. When you say acquainted with, that means do I know them now or have I known them?

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever known him?

Mr. COOKE. Edwin Schoenfeld, yes, at the time I think he was educational director for Farm Equipment Workers of America, CIO. He was also the director of this trade school that I attended in 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. Not definitely, I would say that the higher level officials in Farm Equipment kept that actual knowledge of their membership away from the lower shop units, and so forth. Now, we suspected, I suspected, but it isn't a matter of proof.

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't want what you suspect about it. I have a list here of six names and I am going to ask you to look at them, and state whether or not any of them were known to you to be members of the Communist Party, rather than to call their names.

(Document was handed to witness.)

Mr. COOKE. Should I check them?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; just tell the committee if there is any person on the list known to you to be a member of the Communist Party, state the name to the committee and identify them as far as you can.

Mr. COOKE. Well, this Edwin Schoenfeld, it goes back to the question you said you didn't want to go into that at that time, but it goes back to the question that I posed to my party cell when I left, and it is questionable, because I didn't receive an answer to whether or not he is a party member or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, all right, will you proceed with the others?

Mr. COOKE. The second one, Rachael Carter, at this school that was held in Des Plaines, I know she attended.

Mr. WALTER. Was it Carter?

Mr. COOKE. Rachael Carter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do not call out the name unless you can identify them.

Mr. COOKE. That is what I identified it, to that extent.

Fred Moore was a member of the shop unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what unit would that be?

Mr. COOKE. McCormack.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would that be local 108?

Mr. COOKE. That is right.

Alvin Frisbie was a member of the shop unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that mean local 108?

Mr. COOKE. That is right.

And Booker White was a member of the shop unit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether any of those that you have named have withdrawn from the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. That I have named from there?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. COOKE. Well, you see, the point is, I wouldn't know, because I went out in the early 1946's, as I pointed out, and so I wouldn't know what has happened from 1946 on.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, they were members at the time that you left the party?

Mr. COOKE. That is when I am speaking of.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of the existence of what was known as the farm equipment commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. Well, that is the question that I proposed, the night that I went out.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let us hear about it now.

Mr. COOKE. I did not receive an answer. Actually, and I can't think of the exact date, but it was sometime early in 1946, I had been somewhat at odds with the method of the conduct of McCormack cell meet-

ings, and I had been at odds with representatives present there from the central committee, and it had just rolled itself up to a big snowball, where I had definitely decided to take a position. This particular meeting that was held on the 18th in Racine, I posed three questions to the party group, and also the chairman of the party, that I wanted clarification on, or else I could no longer continue as a member of that unit.

One of them was: Was there a farm equipment commission set up by the Communist Party to administer policy to the Harvester plants? I had heard that there was, and I posed it out in the unit.

MR. TAVENNER. When you speak of "commission," you mean a commission of Communist Party members?

MR. COOKE. That is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. Which would determine the policies to be followed by the rank and file of the union?

MR. COOKE. That is correct.

I also asked what was its composition. And, secondly, what was the resident committee.

You see, this commission had been set up, as I understood it, and as I heard, to cover all of the Harvester plants FE represented, and there were supposed to be people from each plant chosen for this particular farm-equipment commission.

Then, besides that, they had gathered together and appointed what they called a resident committee, and that committee was supposed to carry policy between meetings of the entire commission.

MR. TAVENNER. Now, a resident committee of the Communist Party?

MR. COOKE. Of the Communist Party, of the farm-equipment plants.

The composition, as I recall, of the resident committee was Ed Schoenfeld and Clarence Stoeker, and one other, and there were three members, and I can't recall the third one. But I posed these questions at this meeting, and I wanted to know.

Well, I didn't get an answer, obviously, because the cell members weren't supposed to know about things like that.

Secondly, I proposed another question, that I disagreed with the conduct of the meetings, inasmuch as when shop questions were discussed or shop problems were discussed in the meeting, instead of getting a direct discussion on the immediate shop problem, there was always a drift to try to tie it in with the Iranian situation or some international situation, to tie it in as cause and effect of this particular individual shop situation. I couldn't quite agree with that line of thinking.

MR. TAVENNER. Just a moment. In that connection, did that also mean that the Communist Party was endeavoring to get the unions to take positions on international complicated problems?

MR. COOKE. That is right.

MR. TAVENNER. Problems with which the labor union, as such, was not concerned?

MR. COOKE. That is correct. And that was a disagreement that I had.

The third one was a question of lip service to minority groups. In my observation of the Farm Equipment Union, and also the party conduct within the union, that there was actual more or less lip service given to minority-group questions, and not any relative forward action.

The only forward action was maybe to take, and I take this, to take an individual Negro and put him on the executive board, and whether he was qualified or whether he was capable and whether he could do the job or not, that was immaterial. We have to make the show, and so we put this individual in here. It was more or less sort of a created position, and you might as well shut the individual off in an office and leave him there, compared to what he could accomplish or what he could do as far as making a showing on a minority question was concerned. And I questioned that approach, and I questioned it on the basis of a situation that I had noticed at a roller-skating rink called White City, wherein there was a question of permitting Negroes to skate in a public roller-skating rink. The place had been picketed by some group that was fighting the minority question.

I posed it to the cell, and I said, "Now, you are always giving lip service to this minority question. Why isn't any demonstrative action being taken in regard to the situation out here at this particular roller-skating rink?" I wanted an answer to my question, that "You give lip service, but what sort of action, actual action, have you taken on the basis of the minority groups, and so forth?" I couldn't get an answer to that.

Following that, I walked out of the meeting, and I said I could no longer participate in the affairs of the shop unit, as long as my questions remained unanswered.

And subsequently, I was notified that I was being put on trial by the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't know as you have made it plain as to whom you directed the questions.

Mr. COOKE. Well, at that meeting there was present—I directed the question to the chair, and that was Clarence Stoecker, and I directed it directly to the chair, because I knew or I had heard that he was a member of this resident committee of this Farm Equipment Commission, and I directed them directly to him, knowing that he knew the answer by virtue of being a member of this resident committee of the commission. I directed the questions directly to the chair, and to the members present there.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said you received no answer?

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he just ignore your question, or evade it?

Mr. COOKE. Actually, I posed my questions in a one, two, three fashion; and I posed one, and then I hesitated and I asked the chair, "Can I get an answer to this question?" And on receiving no answer, or no beating around the bush but just flat, and I think it was stark consternation, or something of that type, I went into the second question, and I asked for an answer, and there was no answer. And I went into the third question, and I asked for an answer. There was no answer. And when I received no answer on the third question, I said, "Well, until such time as my questions can be answered, I can see no need in my participating any further in the business or in the shop unit here," and I walked out of the meeting. The meeting continued after I left.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever received an answer to any of those questions?

Mr. COOKE. No; I have not.

MR. TAVENNER. Now, can you give us any more information relating to the functioning of the Communist commission of which you have spoken, the Farm Equipment Commission of the Communist Party?

MR. COOKE. That is all I got on it, because immediately when I got the news that it had been set up, the next meeting is when I posed this point, and then walked out; and from then on, my relations were practically severed with the party, outside of the notification I was being put on trial and notification that I was expelled from the Communist Party.

MR. TAVENNER. Why were you expelled from the Communist Party?

MR. COOKE. Well, as I understand it, and with this party vernacular I can't quite recall the terminology used in the specific charges, but there were three charges leveled against me. The outstanding one that I can recall is "rank opportunism," and the second and third I can't recall the exact verbiage or vernacular that was used.

MR. TAVENNER. I thought possibly you had become "politically unreliable," as we heard yesterday in several instances.

MR. COOKE. Possibly, but it was used in more of a party approach on party language, and they leveled three charges, and the first, I recall definitely, was "rank opportunism."

MR. TAVENNER. Are there any occasions that you can describe to the committee when the Communist Party, either through something originating with this Farm Equipment Commission or elsewhere within the Communist Party, endeavored to decide in advance of union meetings what action the union meeting would take with regard to, say, the election of officers, or the taking of a position on any issue or matter of policy?

(Representative James B. Frazier, Jr., left hearing room.)

MR. COOKE. Offhand, there is one incident I can recall, but it had nothing to do with locals, it had something to do with the international, and that was in 1946, in August, at the convention held in Milwaukee. Gil Green—

MR. TAVENNER. Convention of what organization?

MR. COOKE. Convention of the Farm Equipment Union-CIO, the international union.

Gil Green was present at that convention, and he occupied a room on the same floor as the convention.

MR. TAVENNER. Who is that?

MR. COOKE. Gilbert Green, I guess it is, and all I know is "Gil Green."

MR. TAVENNER. Well, had you had any conference with Green prior to the actual holding of the convention regarding the matter which you are about to tell us of?

MR. COOKE. Yes; and I had other ones with him before that, too, one other I can recall.

MR. TAVENNER. All right, proceed.

MR. COOKE. Where do you want me to proceed?

MR. TAVENNER. I think you should begin at the first point of contact with Green regarding the election of yourself as a delegate to that convention.

MR. COOKE. Well, it goes back to charges being filed against me in the party, along the three points that I brought up, and the question of not holding a trial.

One day, Gil Green was by the union hall, and this was just prior or about a month before the convention, and I said, I told Gil Green, I said, "Why don't you do your dirty work and get it over with? If you are going to kick me out, go ahead and kick me out. But what are you trying to do, let me go up to the convention with charges hanging over my head, party charges?" And I said, "At least clear the slate; whatever you are going to do with me, do it."

And he said, "Oh, that won't be hanging over your head at the convention, Cookie. I think that you should forget all about that."

So I said, "Now, I am warning you, I don't want to see it take place at the convention."

So, of course, I got up to the convention, and I got the frost treatment from all of the delegates, because they knew that back in my party cell I had charges over my head, and I was pending trial in my party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wait a minute. You were pending trial in the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you got a cold shoulder in the convention of the Farm Equipment Workers Union?

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Because of the difficulties you had in the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, this man Green, who was there at the time of the convention, was he a member of the Farm Equipment Union?

Mr. COOKE. No. Gil Green was whatever you call him, the chairman of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the Communist Party, but he followed your convention on to Milwaukee?

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What part did Green play in the Milwaukee convention of the Farm Equipment Union?

(Representative Morgan M. Moulder returned to hearing room.)

Mr. COOKE. That is what I was getting to.

Approximately the day before the last day of the convention, I think it was the day before the last day of the convention, I am not sure, the question came up about the election of Negroes to the executive board of the convention. There had been resentment among the Negro delegates as to the performance of the previous Negro member of the executive board, and there had been questions about possibilities of electing a new Negro to the executive board, that is, two executive board jobs. It would possibly be open, and it was a question of not reelecting this fellow, and electing two more.

(Representative Donald L. Jackson left hearing room.)

Mr. COOKE. Over this question a discussion took place in a hotel room, attended by the Negro delegates at that convention, and also, Gil Green. And the question arose there as to certain people's actions during the convention, or something, as to the qualifications of the individuals for the job, or something like that. And anyhow, in the course of it, I can't recall the direct conversation, but in the course of it Gil Green pointed an accusing finger at me as one who had charges filed against me by the party back home in my local cell.

And when that finger was pointed at me, I immediately wanted to grab Gil Green, because I would probably have thrown him out of the hotel, that was the way I felt, after being told that that would not follow me to Milwaukee.

Following that, I was more or less told off in this meeting, when I quieted down. And subsequently, Pope Huff was reelected, and a fellow named A. J. Martin from East Moline.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just what type of a meeting was this, which was attended by Green?

Mr. COOKE. Well, I will tell you, it was a meeting of the Negro delegates at the convention, and Gil Green sat in on it, and we were trying to decide what Negroes would be elected to the executive board of the Farm Equipment Workers International.

Mr. TAVENNER. Therefore, the Communist Party had done more than just try to control your union on the lower levels; it was endeavoring to assert its influence and control over your national convention?

Mr. COOKE. I would say it had asserted it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall any occasion when a slate of delegates was chosen by the Communist Party at a secret Communist Party meeting before the slate was presented to a convention or meeting for adoption?

Mr. COOKE. I would say this: They weren't that naive. They utilized a different approach. It was more or less to this extent: Let the people go ahead and nominate who they want; and then we will get together with a committee of 100 and through this committee of 100 we will decide on who we will support, as long as we dominate this committee of 100, and that is the way it was done. It was a little round-about fashion.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you stated that you saw Green at the party hall?

Mr. COOKE. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the union hall, I meant to say at the union hall.

Mr. COOKE. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his business at the union hall?

Mr. COOKE. I have no idea. I was in and out of the shop, and I came out there one day and he was out there, and that is when I cornered him and laid it out to him, and I don't know what he was doing there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you seen him more than once at the union hall?

Mr. COOKE. I would say two or three occasions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what his business was there on any of those occasions?

Mr. COOKE. No; I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Green, or any other high-level member of the Communist Party, ever appear before any union meeting at your union, to your knowledge, or your executive board?

Mr. COOKE. I would say, offhand, no. Now, I remember once that Arthur Howard addressed the steward body, or something of that sort, in regard to his book; but high-level party officials, I would say no.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you returned from the national convention of your union, were you approached by any member of the Communist Party with regard to the action taken by the union with regard to the delegates?

Mr. COOKE. I was approached by Booker White, who was on the trial committee of the party, and I was told by him that they were going to hold my trial now, and that I could attend the hearing, and more or less indicated that they were willing to forget and let bygones be bygones. And, of course, I stated in no uncertain terms that I wanted no part of their trial. They could do as they pleased, and that was it.

Then following that, I was notified by Booker White that I had been expelled from the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any effort ever made at a later date to have you come back into the party?

Mr. COOKE. No. I guess I must have made a pretty bad name for myself.

(Representative Donald L. Jackson returned to hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. In the testimony this morning, a witness here testified that he had been a member of local 107 and had been a member of the Communist Party, and further testified that there was a person who appeared at the Roseland Branch of the Communist Party from local 101, and that his name was Peterson. Do you know a person by the name of Peterson who was a member of local 101?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his first name?

Mr. COOKE. I don't know his first name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know him when you see him?

Mr. COOKE. Definitely.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you see him here this morning?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he here now?

Mr. COOKE. I don't see him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you get up and walk over here and see if you can identify him when you see him?

Mr. COOKE. No; I don't see him.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did see him this morning?

Mr. COOKE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WALTER. I have no questions.

Mr. MOULDER. I have no questions.

Mr. VELDE. Did I understand you to say you were acquainted with a man named A. J. Martin?

Mr. COOKE. I say he was the other board member elected at the 1946 convention.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know anything more about him?

Mr. COOKE. Other than that he was former union representative at Caterpillar Works, and subsequently he went into the international union as an executive board member; that is about all.

Mr. VELDE. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. That I can't say, offhand, because I only had association with my direct party unit.

Mr. VELDE. This convention that you were talking about, was that attended by others than Communist Party members?

Mr. COOKE. I assume they were, and, in fact, I couldn't say they were all Communist Party members, and they were elected delegates from each local union, and they were elected on a per capita figure, so many

for so many dues-paying members, and they were elected by the local union, in the local union election, and I couldn't definitely say they were all party members, and I doubt it.

Mr. VELDE. Did you know Leland Baker, also from Caterpillar?

Mr. COOKE. Yes; I remember; I recall him; yes.

Mr. VELDE. That was at the convention; he was present?

Mr. COOKE. That is right.

Mr. VELDE. Arthur Hendle?

Mr. COOKE. No; I don't recall him.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Cook, you said there were charges brought against you to put you out of the Communist Party, and they charged you with "rank opportunism"?

Mr. COOKE. I think that is party vernacular.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know what is meant by that term by the Communists, and how you took it?

Mr. COOKE. I have a rough idea.

Mr. VELDE. Could you explain that to us?

Mr. COOKE. I would like to quote Shakespeare when he talked to Julius Caesar—if he was ambitious; if so, it was a grievous fault; and if so, he had the answer.

Mr. VELDE. Do you think there is anything wrong with being an opportunist?

Mr. COOKE. Definitely no; and I think what would our American picture be today if we weren't opportunists.

Mr. VELDE. That is all that I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. You took the opportunity to ask questions, and that is rank heresy, isn't it, to the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. That seems to be it. But yet, still in party vernacular, they have what they call "democratic centralism," which, as I understood it, was supposed to be anything that was put into practice had to be dropped down below and bounced back up like a rubber ball, and that was the technicality that I threw this farm equipment commission into their faces: that this hadn't been tested under this democratic centralism approach. "Therefore, how can you say that you are a true Communist when you are not even practicing it?" And, you see, that gave me the reason for posing that question, on the basis of democratic centralism, "and here you have done something completely under cover that nobody knows about, and where are you going, and how do you get this approach? This isn't even what you teach."

Mr. JACKSON. Your testimony has been extremely interesting, in that it has borne out the testimony of many other Negro witnesses we have had before the committee, and especially your reference to the role of the Communist Party when related to minority problems.

As I understand your testimony, when minority problems conflicted with Communist doctrine, that the minority problem quickly went overboard in favor of the party position.

Mr. COOKE. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you say that that was also true of labor problems when they conflicted?

Mr. COOKE. Definitely.

Mr. JACKSON. When there was a conflict between Communist doctrine and anything else, Communist doctrine was the thing that, in the final analysis, was given the attention?

Mr. COOKE. That is right, even to this extent: That at one time, sometime in 1945 or 1946, a question came up about this Chicago Star newspaper which was supposed to be the start of the Chicago Daily Worker, but it was going to be called the Chicago Star. We were asked to drop everything, grievances and everything, and try to get as many subscriptions as we could to the Chicago Star. I mean, as you point out, that is where you ignore labor problems in order to put forth party policy, or whatever the party wants to do.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, your testimony is very interesting, Mr. Cooke, and I want to thank you as an individual member of the committee. You will unquestionably, as have so many witnesses who have been before the committee and cooperated with the Congress, be called a stool pigeon, and in that connection it might be well to point out that nobody ever stool-pigeoned on the Boy Scouts, or on the YWCA, and you have to stool pigeon on something of a criminal nature; and I just wanted to get that into the record, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. COOKE. I probably have been called worse names than that.

Mr. JACKSON. So has every member of the committee, and so we have that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have one more question.

Did you become acquainted with William L. Patterson?

Mr. COOKE. Yes; at one of the neighborhood branch meetings, that is, this Washington Park Club, I got into a pretty hot argument with him, and he was sent out to lecture the party people there, and he had something in mind bordering on the Negro as a national group, that the Negro should be considered as a national group, and comparable to setting up a forty-ninth State for the Negro. And I disagreed with his reasoning completely, and I so stated, and in fact, we got into a serious debate there during the meeting, and I had to be cut off because I opposed him so strongly, and he was supposed to be such an outstanding figure that I was too little to be opposing him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, if the Communist Party was trying to sell its members on the theory that the Negro people should be set aside and constitute a forty-ninth State, would that be in conflict with all that you had stood for with regard to equal rights on the part of the Negro people?

Mr. COOKE. That is right, and that was part of my background for speaking of this lip service to minority questions, "and then you turn around and you want to start segregation, and here we talk about integration and you talk about segregation, and how can you talk out of both sides of your mouth at the same time?"

Mr. TAVENNER. Of course, that has been explained to the committee in testimony before, as having been one of the pieces of propaganda used by international communism to stir up distrust on the part of Negro people in this country.

What was your observation about the manner in which the Communist Party endeavored to treat the Negro race?

Mr. COOKE. Well, my analysis of it was this: That, first of all, the Communist Party, I mean as far as the labor movement was concerned, was not interested in putting qualified Negroes in effective positions in their international unions, and so forth. They wanted more or less figureheads. That is to say, people that couldn't see both sides of the question; people that couldn't make up their minds, their

own minds; and people that could be easily led, was the type of people that they sponsored. And I am speaking of my knowledge of Farm Equipment, and they were the type of people that they sponsored for higher offices.

Now, that was an observation of mine that I noticed over a period of the 3 or 4 years I was in the labor game, the people they put on their international executive board; and the minute, it appeared to me—and this is another approach to the party vernacular—the minute a person started reasoning for himself and started standing up on given rights, and so forth, he got a job done on him, and that is union slang. But that was a job, he got a job done on him, and there was no question about it.

I will have to say this: That the Communist Party is very efficient in doing a job on an individual who is trying to run for office, and I quote that from experience.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time learn of your own knowledge that William L. Patterson was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. I would say it was my understanding.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I don't want you to state just what you suspect.

Mr. COOKE. If you ask me a question like that, no; I did not see his party card, and people that I tell you would belong to the shop unit, I didn't see their card. I assumed they were party members because they attended these party meetings, and these party meetings were supposed to be exclusively for party members. And I say Bill Patterson was one, too, because he talked at our neighborhood meeting, and it was strictly for party people, and that is the reason I go on. But as far as seeing party cards, no; I didn't see anybody's.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever have an occasion to visit the Communist Party headquarters in Chicago?

Mr. COOKE. Yes; once.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose of your visit?

Mr. COOKE. Well, I had had a few run-ins with what was known as the district president of the Farm Equipment international, named Charles Lawson, and I had had quite a few run-ins as to how he was administering policy, that is, union policy, in the lake district office. Because I had had these run-ins, it got back to the party that Lawson and I weren't clicking off together, and so we were both called down to Communist Party headquarters somewhere on the lake, and I guess it would be Wells Street. And at that meeting, I went in, and there was present Gil Green, Vickie Kramer, and I can't think of the others, there were three or four other people present. And when we went in, I was pretty hot and perturbed under the collar, because I was extremely outspoken, and I started blasting; and somebody held their hand up, "Quiet." A note was passed around that the room was wired, "Don't say anything," that we would meet across the street.

Subsequently we left there and went over to the Steak House across the street, and got a booth, and the discussion took place as to the differences between I and Charley Lawson and why we were at odds, and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Lawson a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COOKE. You can draw your own conclusions. We were called down to the party headquarters, and I didn't see his party card.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the group have a name, that you were directed to report to in Communist headquarters?

(Representative Donald L. Jackson left hearing room.)

Mr. COOKE. I think it was the central committee, and I wouldn't say it had a direct name or anything like that. It is my opinion that it was members of the central committee that I reported to. I never knew the actual composition of the central committee, or anything like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused from further attendance?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. I join the other members of the committee in expressing my personal appreciation and that of the committee for the information you have given the committee and this testimony, and with our sincere thanks you may be excused.

Mr. COOKE. Thank you.

Mr. WOOD. We will take about a 10-minute recess.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. WOOD. Let us have order.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to recall Mr. Cook a moment.

With the chairman's permission, I would like for the record to show instead of excusing Mr. Cook as a witness, that he be continued under subpoena until such time as he may be released by the chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Very well, it is so ordered.

Whom do you call next, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Donald O. Spencer, will you come forward, please?

Mr. WOOD. Will you raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear the evidence you shall give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SPENCER. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. SPENCER. No.

Mr. WOOD. If you determine during the progress of the hearing that you need a counsel, please let it be known.

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Donald O. Spencer?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF DONALD O. SPENCER

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Spencer?

Mr. SPENCER. Stanwood, Iowa, February 6, 1903.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational training?

Mr. SPENCER. I graduated from high school in 1920, and that is about all of the schooling I had.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your record of employment in the past, say, since 1935?

Mr. SPENCER. I started at John Deere Plow Works in 1928.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you are still employed there?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. During that period of time, have you been affiliated with the Farm Equipment Workers?

Mr. SPENCER. I was until I was expelled from the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you expelled?

Mr. SPENCER. I was expelled in April, sometime during April of 1949. I was a member from February 3, 1943, until that time, that is when we organized the plant, under FE-CIO.

Mr. VELDE. What was that date again?

Mr. SPENCER. February 3, 1943, that is when we received, you know, our bargaining rights, under the FE-CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, is that the time of your expulsion from the union, was it in 1949 that you were expelled from the union?

Mr. SPENCER. In 1949 I was expelled from the union, in April.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that about the time that the FE and the UE left the CIO or were expelled from the CIO?

Mr. SPENCER. No; that is the spring before that happened, they were expelled that November of the same year.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the reason for your expulsion?

Mr. SPENCER. I worked with the UAW because I felt as a good many others did that the FE was going to get expelled from the CIO, and I wanted to remain within the CIO, and I also wanted to see my plant going up with other plants of the Deere chain with the UAW, because they represent most of the Deere workers, and I thought we would have a solidier and better union.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period that you were a member of the Farm Equipment Workers, did you become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you become a member?

Mr. SPENCER. In 1943, in October.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. Well, my dues were paid until the 1st of January 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who recruited you into the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. Walter Rumsey encouraged me into the party, with the endorsement and full knowledge of John Watkins.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that John Watkins?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, sir. He was district vice president of the FE at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did Mr. Rumsey hold in the FE at that time?

Mr. SPENCER. He was chairman of my local, 150, FE-CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were recruited into the party, were you assigned to a group or cell of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. No; not at that time. There was just one group in the district at that time to my knowledge, and that was the Quad City group of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any position within your Communist Party group?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that?

Mr. SPENCER. I was chairman of the industrial group, but not the first year, that was later, when they organized into industrial groups.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were your duties as chairman of the industrial group?

Mr. SPENCER. To encourage membership within the shops, and to organize them along, so they would cooperate one group with the other.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were groups organized in various shops?

Mr. SPENCER. There was an attempt made to organize them, but not too successfully.

Mr. TAVENNER. Explain to us just what the Communist Party set-up was within FE, as far as you are able to describe it.

Mr. SPENCER. Well, the group there was an industrial group that we tried to organize, we had a few members in some of the shops and we tried to expand on that. The industrial group was to represent the shop workers, the industrial workers within the various shops in the Quad Cities.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many groups or branches of the Communist Party were formed to your knowledge within that area?

Mr. SPENCER. Well, within the industrial group, they just remained one large group because there were a few in one shop and a few in another, and others.

Mr. TAVENNER. But all members of one branch or group of the Party?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes; industrial group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that group have a name?

Mr. SPENCER. Nothing other than the industrial group of the Communist Party, Quad City area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the members confined to any particular local?

Mr. SPENCER. Well, the majority of them were within my own local.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your local?

Mr. SPENCER. Local 150, FE-CIO, at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the performance of your duties as chairman of the Industrial Group, did you do any recruiting or attempt to do any recruiting of members?

Mr. SPENCER. Well, no, I didn't; I tried to hold what we had and get together with them and have discussions, because I was pretty busy myself because I was a union officer at the time, you see.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you recruit any new members yourself?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were they?

Mr. SPENCER. Hazel Jones was one, and Bill Gardner; they both worked within the shop.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Harriet Leuth?

Mr. SPENCER. She was a member of our executive board. That is L-e-u-t-h. She was recording secretary of local 150.

Mr. TAVENNER. What positions in the union were held by members of your branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. Well, I was vice chairman of the local, and chairman of the grievance committee, and Walter Rumsey was chairman of the local, and Gus Gustofson was secretary-treasurer of the local, and Hazel Jones was the steward in the local, the steward of the tractor drivers, and I believe those are the only executive positions within the local that were held by members of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that virtually assure Communist control of the activities of the union?

Mr. SPENCER. A good share of it. I wouldn't say absolute control, but quite a bit of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Ray Teeple?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold in the Communist Party, if any?

Mr. SPENCER. He was secretary at the time I joined, and he is the one that signed me up at his house, in Bettendorf, Iowa.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was he employed at that time?

Mr. SPENCER. He was working at the tank arsenal in Bettendorf, and he was chairman of the local tank-arsenal unit in Bettendorf.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said "chairman," I believe.

Mr. SPENCER. Maybe I should have said "president" of the local.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Joe Stern?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes; I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold in the union, if any.

Mr. SPENCER. He did not hold any officer's job; he was an active member for a short while of the Farmall local, previous to their strike in 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you serve on any committee with Ray Teeple and Joe Stern?

Mr. SPENCER. Ray Teeple and Joe Stern and myself were the—I think you would call it—the top committee of the Quad City area.

Mr. TAVENNER. Committee of what; in what organization?

Mr. SPENCER. The Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Therefore Joe Stern was a fellow Communist Party member?

Mr. SPENCER. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Olaf Leddel?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, sir; I was. And he was a member of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was he employed, do you know?

Mr. SPENCER. He was a watchmaker and a watch repairer.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was not affiliated with your union?

Mr. SPENCER. No; he had a shop in his own home, where he repaired watches.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Theo Kruse?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, I have known her, and I knew her at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. She was in one of the city branches, the Rock Island and Moline city group, they called it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you have mentioned, I believe, that you were recruited into the party by Ray Teeple?

Mr. SPENCER. I was signed up in Ray Teeple's home, and I was recruited by Walter Rumsey, who was president of our local at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what connection did you mention John Wilson?

Mr. SPENCER. I haven't mentioned John Wilson yet.

Mr. TAVENNER. I thought in your testimony at the time you were recruited you mentioned a person by the name of Wilson.

Mr. SPENCER. John Watkins; he approved my recruitment before I was admitted.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend meetings in the home of John Watkins; Communist Party meetings?

Mr. SPENCER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Catherine Hall, the wife of John Watkins?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes; she wasn't the wife of John Watkins at that time, though. She was working in the office, the district office of FE-CIO, in Rock Island, at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. Well, she attended the meetings, and I never saw her card, but she would have had to have been or she couldn't attend the meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with John Wilson, and I mentioned the name a few moments ago.

Mr. SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was he employed; do you know?

Mr. SPENCER. The Red Jacket Pump Co. in Davenport at that time in 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of your union?

Mr. SPENCER. No; I think the A. F. of L. represented them, and I am not sure, but I believe they represented the Red Jacket Pump Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of your particular branch or cell?

Mr. SPENCER. No; he was a member of the Davenport branch, the Iowa side of the river.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with his wife, Mabel Wilson?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did she hold?

Mr. SPENCER. She was the secretary-treasurer, I believe, because she collected dues for a while, in 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dues in what organization?

Mr. SPENCER. The Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. For what area did she cover in the collection of dues?

Mr. SPENCER. At that time, the whole Quad City area, because that was the only organization within the Quad City area at that time. It was the Quad City branch or the Quad City group of the Iowa branch. You see, the tri-cities were taken in under the Iowa group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Murray Levine?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was he employed?

Mr. SPENCER. I am not sure, but I believe he was employed at the Birtman Electric.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the basis of your statement that he was a member?

Mr. SPENCER. Because he attended all of the meetings, and he wouldn't have been allowed to attend unless he was a paid-up member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with his wife, Sarah?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she a member of the party?

Mr. SPENCER. She attended meetings, too, as a paid-up member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Rex Wheelock?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was he employed?

Mr. SPENCER. He was the district representative of the UE in the Quad City district, representing the Minneapolis Moline Power Implement Co., an electrical concern there in Moline, and Eagle Signal Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Dorothy Hillyer?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. She was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Arthur Handele?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPENCER. What was his position, if you know?

Mr. SPENCER. He was the secretary of the Illinois district, was the understanding I had. He took care of the dues.

Mr. TAVENNER. The district of what?

Mr. SPENCER. Of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Jerry McHale?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was he employed?

Mr. SPENCER. He was employed as a representative of the FE district area in Rockyland, union representative and organizer, FE-CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. I have never seen his membership card, but he spoke on party lines and attended party meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. John Milkovitch. What is the correct spelling of the name?

Mr. SPENCER. I think it is Milkovich. I think it is M-i-l, I am not sure, k-o-v-i-t-c-h, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was he employed?

Mr. SPENCER. I believe he worked for the East Moline Harvester, the Harvester group of the IHC, with a factory in East Moline.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Donald Tieglund.

Mr. SPENCER. Yes; he has attended meetings of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify him further as to his occupation, or any position that he held?

Mr. SPENCER. He worked in the East Moline works of Harvester and I believe he still works there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he at any time during his party membership hold any political position?

Mr. SPENCER. He was State representative and I don't know just what term it was, it was during the war there, and he was elected to one term in the house of representatives at Springfield.

Mr. TAVENNER. Harold Fisher.

Mr. SPENCER. I knew him, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the Communist Party to your knowledge?

Mr. SPENCER. He was; he attended the meetings and I have never seen his card, or anything of that kind, but he attended closed meetings of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. A Gus Gustafson.

Mr. SPENCER. Yes; he was a member, and he was a member of our local, and he was the secretary-treasurer of local 150.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what union?

Mr. SPENCER. FE-CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any meetings of the Communist Party outside of your own shop?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes; I attended other meetings, and I have attended meetings in Des Moines, and I was there as a delegate to the convention.

Mr. TAVENNER. What year was that?

Mr. SPENCER. That was the spring of 1945, I believe, either 1944 or the spring of 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was that convention held?

Mr. SPENCER. In Des Moines, Iowa.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether that was the convention at which action was taken regarding the reactivation of the Communist Party from the political association to the Communist Party proper?

Mr. SPENCER. No, I don't believe it was; I think that was too early, because as I understand it they returned to the Communist Party about midyear of 1945. I think this was prior to that reshuffling of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall anything of particular importance that happened at that convention?

Mr. SPENCER. No; just the regular business of the election of people for their respective terms and I don't think there were any outstanding events there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting at the Sherman Hotel?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Chicago?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of the meeting?

Mr. SPENCER. Well, it was a meeting to sort of iron out the difficulties between various labor unions and it was a sort of a let-your-hair-down and criticize the methods and sort of picking out the best arrangements in conducting strikes and bargaining.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date of that meeting?

Mr. SPENCER. That was during—sometime during the winter of 1944, or the spring of 1945, and I am not certain as to the date of the meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know the purpose of the meeting before you went there?

Mr. SPENCER. No; I didn't even know about the meeting until about 5 minutes before the meeting took place. You see, we were in before the War Labor Board, Walter Rumsey and myself, on contract issues, until about noon, and we had to meet with the War Labor Board at 10 o'clock that morning, and when we returned to the international office on Randolph Street we were told of the meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you say the purpose of this meeting was to straighten out certain difficulties between the unions?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes; there were some mistakes that, as I gathered, had been made and it was a sort of a criticism, constructive criticism, effort on the part of the various people there, you know, to try to iron out some of the hard feelings that had been generated from the mistakes made.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it also the purpose of the meeting to adopt policies for the future conduct of the unions with respect to the things that had caused the trouble?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes; there was a discussion pro and con as to certain actions that had taken place by people present there, and I believe there was a little feud going on between a couple of those present and there was a certain amount of debate on each side pro and con and then there was an attempt to pacify and bring both in line.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not going to ask you the nature of any difficulties that might have cropped up between unions, or within the unions. I am not interested in the labor problems, as such, as far as this hearing is concerned, but I do want to know to what extent, if any, the Communist Party was brought into the settling of any of those disputes.

Mr. SPENCER. Well, John Schmies was chairing the meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was that?

Mr. SPENCER. John Schmies. I don't know that he held any job in the union, he didn't to my knowledge, at least.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was not a union member but he was chairman of this meeting?

Mr. SPENCER. He chaired the meeting; yes, sir. And Robert Travis was there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment, do you know whether or not that individual was a full-time employed Communist Party functionary?

Mr. SPENCER. I don't know as to that, I have never seen his membership or credentials, and Robert Travis was there, and he was not a union member to my knowledge, at least.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. I do not know positively, and I never saw his membership card, but I feel certain he would not have been at that meeting if he had not been, because they were very careful who attended.

Mr. MOULDER. How did they identify themselves? You say they were very careful, and how did they check on them?

Mr. SPENCER. You didn't get in unless somebody that knew you very well, and recommended you to the group.

Mr. MOULDER. You mean at the door?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Did they have a doorman?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, there was a man at the door, and also they were told that they could attend, and I was told about 5 minutes before the meeting.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you have to identify yourself with a Communist card of some method in order to be admitted?

Mr. SPENCER. No; they just said he is a good fellow, we can let him in on this meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you name other persons who were present and took part in that meeting?

Mr. SPENCER. Grant Oakes was present and Jerry Fielde, and John Watkins.

Mr. TAVENNER. You saw Jerry Fielde here in this hearing room this afternoon?

Mr. SPENCER. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. And he was one of the three who refused to answer as to whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. That is the same person.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, sir.

Mr. VELDE. The same is true of Grant Oakes? You saw him?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes; I saw him. And Walter Rumsey and Morrie Childs.

Mr. VELDE. Is that Morris Childs?

Mr. SPENCER. It might be; they call him Morrie. They called him Morrie at the meeting.

Mr. VELDE. It is a matter of public knowledge, Mr. Chairman, that Morris Childs was organizational director for the Communist Party of the State of Illinois. Did he belong to any union that was represented at that meeting?

Mr. SPENCER. I don't know as he did, and I didn't know him as a union member, I will put it that way.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, will you proceed? Do you recall whether Arthur Hendle was present?

Mr. SPENCER. I am almost sure he was there, and I would not say positively but I am almost sure he was there, and that has been some time ago, and it is pretty hard to remember all of those things.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me see if you can recall the names of any others.

Mr. SPENCER. Well, I was told that a man by the name of Sorensen was there, and Ernie DeMaio.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ernest DeMaio?

Mr. SPENCER. They were identified as such to me, and I don't know them, I don't know the men personally.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether John Watkins was there?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes; I named him as being there.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did name him?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Those are all that you can recall?

Mr. SPENCER. Right at the present time, that is all that I can recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did all of the persons present participate in the discussion?

Mr. SPENCER. No; a good share of them were there as observers and to learn, and I was told that possibly I might learn by attending that meeting, and they were permitting me to be there for that purpose.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether John Schmies, who was the chairman of the meeting, took part in the discussion?

Mr. SPENCER. No; he summed up the arguments after the debating had gone to a certain length, and then he pointed out the good parts of each man's argument and pointed out the flaws in each man's argument, and recommended a policy to be held to in the future.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that policy adopted by the group?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, I believe everybody concurred in it, and left there with a feeling that that was the thing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then actually it was the Communist Party functionary, the chairman, who analyzed the situation and picked out what he thought was the good?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, he had the final word on it.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that was adopted?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, there was no arguments or rebuttals to his final statement before the meeting broke up.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the specific result of the meeting?

Mr. SPENCER. Well, it was rather remote for me, it was a mistake, and Ernie DeMaio had received some criticism and he had been a little bit rash, I believe in some of his strike actions or something, and one of the other men present there had criticized him for it and they had gotten into an argument and to preserve unity I guess that was the purpose of the meeting, they thought they should get together and discuss it and try to iron it out.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, Ernest DeMaio was an organizer within the UE.

Mr. SPENCER. I believe he was at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the unions represented, all unions within the UE, or were they unions that were also in the FE?

Mr. TAVENNER. There were various individuals from different unions, and I don't know where Sorensen came from and there were a few there from FE, the ones that I mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Herbert March in attendance?

Mr. SPENCE. Yes, and I don't believe I mentioned him, and I was told he was present.

Mr. TAVENNER. He represented the Packing-House Workers, did he not?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, he was, I was told, he was identified to me as being present and I don't know the man.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any other meetings at the Sherman Hotel?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, I was called into Chicago to attend a meeting at the Sherman Hotel in 1944, in the fall, and Walter Rumsey was called too, but he didn't make the trip, and I was told to be at the Sherman Hotel.

Mr. VELDE. You say you were told to come to the Sherman Hotel. Who issued the call and who told you to go there, and how did it come to your knowledge?

Mr. SPENCER. Well, Walter Rumsey asked me to make the trip and it turned out that he couldn't make it, and we were both to go, and I don't really know who issued the call.

Mr. VELDE. You do not know how Walter Rumsey got his notification of it?

Mr. SPENCER. Not for positive, no.

Mr. VELDE. I am talking about the second meeting now, and was the same thing true of the first meeting? The first meeting that you had at Sherman Hotel here, do you recall how you were notified of that meeting?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, Walter Rumsey told me that we were supposed to go to that meeting, about 5 minutes before it took place.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know how he found out that you were supposed to go to it?

Mr. SPENCER. Not absolutely, I had my own opinion on that, but I can't positively say because I know who Walter Rumsey was working for at that time, and he was working out of the district office of the FE.

Mr. VELDE. What is your opinion of how he was notified?

Mr. SPENCER. I think John Watkins approved of us being there or we wouldn't have been there.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should state that Mr. Rumsey, Mr. Walter Rumsey, has been before the committee in executive session, and has fully cooperated with the committee, but he could not be here today because of a serious operation which he has undergone. He has fully cooperated with the committee.

Who were present at this meeting?

Mr. SPENCER. Well, this was a very small meeting, and I was called in there and told to report to Sherman Hotel, and when I got there at the desk I was told to go up to a room on the eighth floor. I went up there, and there were only three people present at that meeting and it was Kate Hall, John Watkins, and Jerry Fielde.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose of the meeting?

Mr. SPENCER. Well, it seemed that there was some criticism of the disruptive actions, so-called disruptive actions of Joe Stern at that time and I was given to understand I was called in to testify against him and I don't really know myself what the real purpose of the meeting was, except for the words I have just mentioned, but I asked if Joe Stern were present and he wasn't, and so I refused to testify, and I said if he were there, then I would discuss the man but not with him absent.

Mr. TAVENNER. What kind of meeting was this? What was the purpose of your testifying?

Mr. SPENCER. It seems that he was causing some embarrassment to the farm equipment workers of the district, and that is the way I understood it and that there must be something done to get him moved out of that territory. It seems that he was too militant and as a Communist within the farm equipment local at that time, and there was fear of repercussions among the membership, that they might possibly lose the local because it was stirring up some antagonism among the local members at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, if the local members had known of the true Communist membership of Joe Stern—

Mr. SPENCER. They did know about it, that was the trouble, you see.

Mr. TAVENNER. They learned about it?

Mr. SPENCER. He was very much in the open, and very militant about it, and he urged them to buy the Daily Worker, and the Sunday Worker, and urged membership within the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then the purpose of this meeting was to get Communist action?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. To remove Joe Stern?

Mr. SPENCER. To get him transferred to another district so there would be no further embarrassment caused.

Mr. TAVENNER. His identity had become disclosed to the public, and it was no longer possible for the Communist Party to accomplish its objectives.

Mr. SPENCER. That is right, I gather that a great number of the members of local 108, Farmall works, possibly put the pressure on the district office to get him out of the territory and they felt that some step must be taken to alleviate the situation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, do you consider from your experience in the party, that if the rank and file membership of the union were fully informed about the Communist Party membership of their leaders, and officers, that they would remove those people from office, or at least not return them to office if they knew the facts?

Mr. SPENCER. Well, I don't know, I believe if they knew what the Communist Party stood for they would. I served as an officer in our local for better than 2 years with my identity known, and I made no bones about it, and I admitted I was a Communist at the time, and I was respected for it because the membership will check up on you and see if you are working to their interest or the other fellow's. I believe as they became better informed, though, I don't believe a person would sail under those colors very long. He might get through one term but he would never get to the second one, if the membership was fully aware of the facts.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why did you withdraw from the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. You see, when I went into the Communist Party, it was in 1943, they were still the Communist Party then, but before I had time to get acquainted with them they went over into the Communist Political Association, and I was told at that time that I could become a more efficient union officer and they had something to help union officers, the guiding influence that would help with your bargaining on your contracts, and I was chairman of the bargaining committee and vice chairman of the local, and as we had a new local and a union was new to me and as a new union officer I didn't want to miss any bets on helping to make our local strong and preserve it that way. I really felt that possibly I might be able to serve the membership best by getting all of the information I could. But as time went on, I didn't think I got wise to what was going on until after they dropped the Communist Political Association, and when the war ended then there was no more of this "cooperate for full production," and that stuff, and it went back to the party line. To bring it more at home, though, our local had taken a strike vote and we had an issue there of a nickel an hour that the company refused to honor the decision of the War Labor Board on, and they awarded us a nickel an hour back pay, and the company ignored that for a period of about 15 months. So we took a strike vote under the Smith-Connally Act in June of that year, and that was 1945 and that is about the time they swung out of the Communist Political Association back into the Communist Party, you see. And they carried better than 90 percent of

them at the time, and our time expired under the 60-day provision and we couldn't get any satisfaction out of the company at all, and they just sat back and they wouldn't talk a nickel at all, and it wasn't even considered. So we held a meeting that night, and we decided that we would strike the next morning, and our 60 days were up today, but tomorrow morning we strike, and we go into the plant and we get our work clothes and take them home and launder them and the strike is officially on.

Well, the membership had just finished voting unanimously for the timing of the strike, and Kate Hall burst into our union hall and told us that we couldn't do that. We had already taken action, the membership had acted unanimously for settling the time of the strike after we had waited out our legal period. We went on the street next day, and we were called on the carpet, Walter Rumsey and myself, night after night, until 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, and told that we had to take our membership back into the plant, and that International Harvester would set a pattern and they were going to strike in January. And we could ride on their coattails. We argued that we had one issue there, that was that 5 cents an hour and the membership wanted it bad enough to strike for it and we were going to stay out until we got it.

Well, that kept up, with lost sleep and trying to direct a strike for about, I would say a month, and we went on strike in September, maybe a little longer than a month, and we finally got disgusted and we told them that as long as the party was not going to work along with the people, working people, they were supposed to be the working people's friend, and they led us to believe it and if they were going to work against the efforts of the people we represented, that our responsibility to our membership in our minds and the people we worked with over a period of years, was much greater than our obligations to the Communist Party, and they could do as they pleased about other situations, and we would handle this one.

That was along in the latter part of October, or the first part of November, I believe, some time in there, and that was our split with the Communist Party, Walter Rumsey and myself. My dues were paid until the first of the year, 1946, but that was the finish, as far as I was concerned, with the Communist Party.

I couldn't see that, selling out people, and I had already worked in that plant better than 15 years then, and it didn't go with me, because they had always said that the Communist Party was the champion of the working people. How can you be the champion of some people that have voted unanimously they want something that the Government has awarded them and have somebody come along and say, "You get back like a bunch of rats into your respective machines, and we will take care of the thing for you"?

We had already made our decision, and we won our strike, too, and we were on the street until December 10, but we got the nickel, and a few other things.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, it was the effort of the Communist Party to attempt to use your union for its own purposes?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, to demonstrate their power. It wasn't just members of the Farm Equipment Workers' Union that contacted us and upbraided us. We were on the carpet in the regional office, and we were on the carpet in Davenport and in Moline, and they even cor-

nered us in taverns and read the riot act to us until we got desperate—you can't conduct a strike and be up until 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning—and we told them where they could go to, and made it stick.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you have a meeting at one time in a hotel in Davenport?

Mr. SPENCER. That was a meeting between the Farm Equipment Workers' and Farmers' Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the Communist Party endeavor to exercise any control or influence over that meeting?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes; Gil Green was there, and he was the chairman of the Illinois branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes; and Warren Batterson, whose offices were in Omaha, and he was head of the Iowa branch of the Communist Party, and he was present.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the way in which the Communist Party endeavored to influence your meeting?

Mr. SPENCER. Well, there were talks, and I understand there were officers of the Farmers' Union of Iowa, and I believe there were some members from Illinois, and there were talks there on cooperation between the industrial unions and the farmers' unions for the betterment of both groups.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the names of any of the persons present at that meeting who were not members of the organizations involved but who were members of the Communist Party, besides Gil Green?

Mr. SPENCER. Well, there was Joe Stern, Gil Green, and Warren Batterson, who were not members of either organization at that time, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Warren Batterson—do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SPENCER. His name is on my—

Mr. TAVENNER. His name is signed to your Communist Party card?

Mr. SPENCER. That is his name there; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you look at this and identify that card as your Communist Party card?

Mr. SPENCER. That is my Communist membership for the last two quarters of 1945, and it is signed by Warren Batterson, November 6, 1945, on the back.

Mr. TAVENNER. What official positions are under his signature?

Mr. SPENCER. I never paid any attention to that, and I just knew him as an officer of the Communist Party. The signature of the State chairman—that is what it says, of the Communist Party, because the Communist stamp is there, too.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please read, or I will read into the record the number. It is 61,797, issued in the name of Donald Spencer.

Mr. WALTER. Would that indicate that there were 61,797 members in this particular area?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; I think that that is nationally. Those cards are issued on a national basis, and I suppose my card happened to be that one from the top, and that wouldn't be any indication how many members there might be in the country, because there must be several more bundles sent out after those were used up, you see.

MR. JACKSON. What was your understanding of the membership?

MR. SPENCER. I understood it was about 75,000 at the time I was a member; in the country, I mean, not in this area.

MR. JACKSON. In the country, about 75,000. And what about the Chicago area?

MR. SPENCER. I don't know anything about the Chicago area.

MR. JACKSON. You had no information on the membership figures there?

MR. SPENCER. No.

(Representative Harold H. Velde left hearing room.)

MR. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of Everri, E-v-e-r-r-i?

MR. SPENCER. I don't believe I know the man. It seems I have heard that name, but I can't identify it with any particular place or person.

(Representative Francis E. Walter left the hearing room.)

MR. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

MR. MOULDER. I have a question.

While you have referred to it, your testimony is you have not been able to identify these people as Communists, as you did not see their card, but by their attendance at these meetings?

MR. SPENCER. They were closed meetings.

MR. MOULDER. They were closed meetings?

MR. SPENCER. Yes, sir.

MR. MOULDER. And you further identify them as being Communists as a result of their active participation in the proceedings that were had at the meetings on Communist affairs?

MR. SPENCER. Yes, because I knew the Communist Party line well enough to know that that was the discussion.

MR. FRAZIER. I have no questions.

MR. VELDE. Well, how do you draw your conclusion that it was probably a Communist Party meeting, and I am referring to the one at the Sherman Hotel here in 1944?

MR. SPENCER. Well, because I know that I couldn't have gotten into that meeting if I hadn't been a member of the party, and I believe the other fellows wouldn't have been there, either, because there is no discrimination—what I mean is, all are treated the same in that respect. You either are or you don't get in, because problems of that nature are not taken up with outsiders.

MR. VELDE. And you take for granted that someone either recognized you or Walter Rumsey when you came into the door, and someone recognized you as comrades or as Communists, and you were able to get in?

MR. SPENCER. Yes, sir, because there were enough there from the international office of the Farm Equipment Workers right here in Chicago that knew us, you see.

MR. VELDE. What is your opinion with reference to Grant Oakes at that time: That he was or was not a member of the Communist Party?

MR. SPENCER. Well, I will say the same about him as I said about the rest of them: I never saw his membership card, but I know he wouldn't have been there and he wouldn't have been allowed to have been there unless he was.

Mr. VELDE. You say Arthur Hendle was at that meeting?

Mr. SPENCER. Yes, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Where did he live at the time that he was district organizer?

Mr. SPENCER. I believe he was at Peoria at that time.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. SPENCER. No; I don't. The last contact I had with Arthur Hendle was in 1946, in the spring, and he came down there and tried to get me back into the party again.

Mr. VELDE. What did he say to you on that occasion; do you recall?

Mr. SPENCER. He said I didn't need to worry about belonging to the party; there were no records being kept, and he kept the records himself.

Mr. VELDE. We certainly appreciate your testimony and your contribution to this committee.

Mr. SPENCER. Thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. I have nothing more, except to join with Mr. Velde in expressing my thanks and appreciation to the witness.

Mr. WOOD. I voice that same sentiment, and I am sure I speak for every member of the committee, for the contribution you have made to the investigation here, and to the people as a whole in this country.

Is there any reason why we should not excuse the witness from the subpoena?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Thank you, and you are excused.

The committee will stand in recess until tomorrow morning at 10:30 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 5:15 p. m., a recess was taken until 10:30 a. m. Thursday, September 4, 1952.)



(NOTE.—The chairman and each member of the committee and the committee staff expresses appreciation and sincere thanks for the courteous cooperation extended to the committee in its work in Chicago by the Chicago Police Department, the radio, and the newspapers.

Gratitude and appreciation are also expressed to the officials and employees of the Federal Building in Chicago for their courtesies and assistance during these hearings.)

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