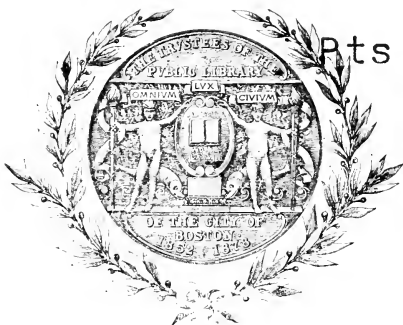




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COMMUNIST METHODS OF INFILTRATION
(ENTERTAINMENT—PART 1)

HEARING
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

—
JANUARY 13 AND 18, 1954
—

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

INCLUDING INDEX



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

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

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

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

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

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

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

(A) Un-American activities.

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

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

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

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83^d CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

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

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COMMUNIST METHODS OF INFILTRATION (ENTERTAINMENT—PART 1)

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 13, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE SESSION ¹

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to notice, at 2:30 p. m., in room 225, Old House Office Building, the Honorable Harold H. Velde (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representative Harold H. Velde (chairman) and Representative Morgan M. Moulder.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel for this hearing; Dolores Anderson, reporter.

TESTIMONY OF ALLAN E. SLOANE, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, SIDNEY V. SMITH

Mr. VELDE. Will you stand and raise your right hand, please?

In the testimony you are about to give, do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SLOANE. I do, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Let the record show that I have appointed a subcommittee, consisting of Mr. Moulder and myself, Mr. Velde, as chairman, for the purposes of this hearing.

Will you proceed, please, Mr. Tavenner?

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

Mr. SLOANE. My name, sir, is Allan E. Sloane.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel, Mr. Sloane?

Mr. SLOANE. I am, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. SMITH. I am Sidney V. Smith, 701 Tower Building, Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Sloane, are you here today in response to a subpoena by this committee?

Mr. SLOANE. No; I am not, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are here as a result of your own voluntary desire to appear as a witness before this committee then?

Mr. SLOANE. That is correct, sir.

¹ Released by the full committee.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this witness is appearing as a result, I understand, of the invitations which have been given by the committee from time to time to persons who have been in any way connected or affiliated with communism to come before it and give the committee such facts as they may have.

MR. VELDE. I might say that I am sure the members of this committee, and I myself, especially, appreciate your willingness to come and give us this information. I am sure the information will be very helpful to this committee in doing its work. Mr. Moulder?

MR. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, I just wanted to refer to the fact that our counsel is referring to the public invitations which have been extended by the committee. You do mean the public announcements, do you not, Mr. Counsel?

MR. TAVENNER. That is true. No member of the staff has endeavored in any way to bring about the appearance of this witness. It is entirely voluntary on his part.

MR. SLOANE, will you state for the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

MR. SLOANE. My formal educational training, sir, consists of the public schools of Paterson, N. J., my hometown; East Side High School, also in Paterson, N. J.; a degree of bachelor of arts from the College of the City of New York, class of 1935; a degree of master of science from Columbia University School of Journalism, 1936. Might I presume upon you, sir, to add to this the reasons I am here?

MR. TAVENNER. Surely.

MR. SLOANE. If you don't mind. I think perhaps you gentlemen will be very, very interested in the fact that I could not any longer wait for what appeared to me to be my own conscience to drive me here, and it was for that reason I asked to appear.

I found out that knowing I had been a Communist and having to go around in my professional life, which is that of a writer for radio and television, and deliberately delude decent people who wanted to hire me, by lying to them about that—I simply found out that I could not continue that any longer and live with myself, so I was literally forced into this decision by my own conscience. I knew that I was a Communist once, and I was going around and saying I was not and never had been. I could not do that any more.

The second reason is because of your appeals and the offer to all those who wanted to come forward and help. I felt if I could contribute in any way to national security by coming down here, I should.

The third thing is my family. I have 2 very, very young boys—1 is 2½ years of age and 1 is 4—and a wonderful wife. I wanted to be a decent person and bring them up properly, and a father who goes around lying about himself is not a very decent person. I wanted to get my story on the record. Thanks to you, it seems I will be able to do this.

I feel there may be a lot of people like myself who have been some time in the past involved in this rotten thing and who may be waiting

and not knowing what to do about it, and it may be somebody will be helped by my actions here. I know I have been helped by the privilege of coming here and telling my story.

I understand that Budd Schulberg appeared before you and I felt if Schulberg could do it, Sloane can also. I feel everyone is obligated to others. I feel if a person has been used by communism, and if he can help another person to come forward and tell his story by doing so himself, he should do so.

Mr. VELDE. I want to say to you now that the Communist Party has been most vicious in trying to prevent people such as you from testifying before our committee and other committees of Congress. A great deal of the good that has been done in fighting communism has been done by people such as you who have undergone the trials and tribulations as you have and who have finally come to realize that it just isn't in accordance with the American way of life and the way that you have been brought up. So again I want to say that the committee certainly does appreciate your coming before it and giving the very valuable testimony which I know you will give.

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

Mr. SLOANE. I was born in New York City, June 24, 1914.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. SLOANE. I now reside at 243 Belltown Road, Stamford, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have stated that your profession is that of radio and screen writing?

Mr. SLOANE. And some television; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And television?

Mr. SLOANE. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what the nature of your employment has been and what experience you have had in your profession, briefly?

Mr. SLOANE. In brief—let me see. The period from 1936 to 1941 I was a newspaperman, reporter, photographer, editor, copy writer and reader. For the year 1941 I was a soldier—a volunteer. From 1942 to 1943 I was a newspaperman again and since 1943 I have been in radio. My work has ranged from soap opera to very large and important solid documentary programs. I have written several films and most recently have been the author of the picture Martin Luther, the documentary picture for the Lutheran Church, about their founder's life, Martin Luther. I have worked for types of organizations, such as the United Nations, the Cerebral Palsy Foundation, American Legion, United States Army, and such organizations. I say proudly that I am the creator of the very famous slogan "Sound off". Anybody who has ever heard the kids walking down the streets saying "Sound off" knows my work.

This should cover the period generally from 1943 to 1947. Since that time I have worked as a free-lance writer. I would be called by the radio station and asked to do this project or that project. They might ask me to do a survey on the conditions of children on the farm, or on the DP camps, or the international refugee organizations, and such things for the radio. The following is a record of my work in radio, television, and films from 1943 to 1953.

RADIO

1943:	Green Valley, U.S.A.-----	CBS
	The Man Behind the Gun-----	CBS
1944:	Calling America-----	CBS
	Transatlantic Call-----	CBS
	Report to the Nation-----	CBS
	School of the Air-----	CBS
1945:	Prudential Family Hour-----	CBS
	Time to Remember-----	CBS
	Radio Readers' Digest-----	CBS
1946-48:	Sound Off-----	All networks
	Warriors of Peace-----	ABC
	The Big Story-----	NBC
1948:	Top Secret-----	NBC
1949-52:	Heroes of Peace-----	U. N.
	Citizens of the World-----	U. N.

NOTE.—The above programs refer to series, i. e., consecutive programs in sequence. The following one-time shows during this period are also worthy of mention:

1. 1946—We Went Back (CBS): The first all-tape-recorded documentary program in radio, 1 hour long, celebrating first anniversary of V-J Day.

2. 1946—Fifty Years on Wheels (CBS): A special documentary salute to the American auto industry.

3. 1945-48—A series of individual one-time programs for the United Jewish Appeal, for DP and Israel fund raising, all networks.

4. 1948—Between the Dark and the Daylight (CBS): A half-hour documentary about the suffering of children of Europe, featuring tape recordings made by me in seven countries, for the U. N.

5. 1948—The Time Is Now (CBS): A half-hour documentary celebrating the second General Assembly of the U. N., translated into seven languages and broadcast all over the world.

6. 1949—The Hard Core (NBC): A half-hour tape-recorded documentary about displaced persons, result of 6 months' duty as radio officer of International Refugee Organization.

7. 1950—The Lady in the Harbor (NBC): A half-hour American Legion program setting forth the keynote of the year.

8. 1950—11 Memory Street (Mutual): An hour-long tape-recorded documentary describing U. N. work in tracing lost children.

Worthy of mention also are innumerable single programs for such organizations and causes as: Cavalcade; CBS Is There; The Land Is Bright; Labor for Victory; Cafe Istanbul; Great Scenes From Great Plays; cancer, heart, diabetes, cerebral palsy, infantile paralysis funds—American Medical Association; Treasury war bond drives, YMCA, YWCA, Visiting Nurse Association.

TELEVISION

1946:	Tales To Remember-----	CBS experimental program
1950:	Treasury Men in Action-----	NBC
	The Big Story-----	NBC
1951-52:	Lamp Unto My Feet-----	CBS religious program
	American Inventory-----	NBC, Sloan Foundation show

FILM

Answer for Anne: A documentary about DP's, for Lutheran World Federation.
The Two Kingdoms: A documentary about Germany for Lutheran World Federation.

Turn in the Road: A documentary on worldwide charity for Lutheran churches.
Faith That Works: A religious film for United States Navy.

Martin Luther: Feature biography for combined Lutheran churches.

OTHER

1951—*Seeds in the Wind*: A live documentary presentation for the Jewish Board of Guardians.

1953—*Winning Men's Minds*: A live dramatization for the annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee.

1953—*Tomorrow for the Taking*: A live dramatization on Christian education for the Presbyterian General Assembly, May 1953.

NOTE.—Awards and commendations include "Best Religious Film of 1948" for *Answer for Anne*, New York Times listing "10 Best Films of 1953" for *Martin Luther*, 4 Peabody awards and 5 Ohio State award citations for various radio programs.

Mr. MOULDER. Were you in the armed services?

Mr. SLOANE. Yes, I was, sir. I volunteered as of January 20, 1941. I was discharged December 25, 1941, the same year.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the period of time in which you worked with the United Nations?

Mr. SLOANE. I was first hired by the U. N.—perhaps the specificity of some of the dates will surprise you, but I have tried to remember the facts as closely as I could. I was first hired December 13, 1947. The reason I remember that date is because I went to Europe for them. I worked for the U. N. consistently between December of 1947 until, let us say, May of 1952, and then I didn't work for them any more, the reason for this being, in all frankness, that the effort to keep Communists out of the U. N. was successful in my case because I could not honestly fill out the form and say I had not been a member of the Communist Party, so I couldn't work for the U. N. any more.

Mr. TAVENNER. What are some of the other professional contributions you have made in your field in the way of writing?

Mr. SLOANE. This is slightly embarrassing—for instance, during the war I wrote *The Man Behind the Gun*, which was a dramatization of the meaning of our battle and why our men were fighting. That was a prize program. My next was *Transatlantic Call*. This was broadcast from the United States 1 week and Britain the next, and its purpose was to let both nations understand what each of the other was doing and why, and bring about a better understanding of each nation and its problems. I also did some work on a program called *This Is the Navy*, which had to do with stories of Navy heroism. I worked, too, on a program called *Green Valley USA*, which was based on directives from the Office of War Information. I would go from State to State, and city to city, from Portland, Oreg., to Portland, Maine, to St. Louis, and so on, telling the stories through this program of the various war needs—for instance, the need for blood donors, and so forth. I also worked on many programs for various appeals like the United Jewish Appeal, various patriotic funds, Catholic charities, the cerebral palsy people, cancer programs, and so forth. I wrote the program for a while for *The Big Story*, about newspaper work. I worked on the program called *Treasury Men in Action*, but I was dropped from the program. I was called upon by an advertising agency in 1946 to plan a program designed to bring enlistments up because, you remember, the draft stopped and we had to take our men by enlistment through recruitment. So it was then that I invented the so-called gimmick *Sound Off*, which became very popular.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, when you first

came under the influence of the Communist Party? What might be said to be the beginning of a Communist influence upon your life?

MR. SLOANE. It was just after my discharge from the Army. I should explain in all fairness to you, and also to thank you for not going into what must have seemed an obvious fact—that I stayed in the armed services for such a short time. I got a medical discharge. It was honorable, but a medical discharge. I returned to my home in Paterson, N. J., and I was somewhat uncomfortable there, so I came to New York to visit a young friend of mine, Millard Lampell. He had been a friend of mine since 1936, so since I had known him for 5 years I felt free to drop in at 40 Horatio Street to see him. I explained to him that life was uncomfortable in Paterson and that I wanted to work in New York City. I lived there as his roommate and obtained work with the Parade magazine, a Marshall Field publication.

In the months of January and February 1942, and through late August of that year that was my home—40 Horatio Street. I worked in the same room that he did; I would be writing, and he was also free lancing—doing writing—and from time to time we would be talking and he would discuss the fact that I should, as he said, solidify my political tendencies and join outright with the Communist Party, of which he was a member at that time. I am afraid that I did not demur strenuously. I just said, "Oh, yes." and "Sure." I didn't say "Yes," definitely, or "No" courageously. Finally, after several months' prodding, I went with him to a meeting of the Communist Party at the Dome. It was a dancehall on 6th Avenue, between 9th and 10th Streets, and I joined. He was my sponsor at the meeting. I took out a party book and signed my name and paid my dues. I believe I signed the book "Comrade Allan" or "Comrade Allan Sloane," I am not sure which. And so I became a member of the Communist Party. As for becoming subject to the Communist Party influence, which is a little different from joining the party, I don't think I could directly say as to that. For instance, I went to the College of the City of New York, which is alleged to be a hotbed of communism, but I honestly never found it so. There were meetings on the campus and hubbubs—all sorts of exciting things happening—but this would cover my 15 to 19 years of age and during that time I just didn't, to the best of my recollection, join anything which I would consider to be of a political nature. I do remember one time when Mayor LaGuardia, not then mayor, was running for the office in New York on the Fusion ticket, and I became excited about that. I worked on newspaper after newspaper through the years, but I don't remember them as being either rightist or leftist or anything of that sort—I just worked and did my business as a writer.

MR. TAVENNER. Then you would attribute your relationship particularly with Millard Lampell as being the controlling factor in bringing you into the Communist Party?

MR. SLOANE. I would by all means consider it the controlling factor, yes. He was the trigger to my perhaps emotional or humanitarian outlook or attitude. I should like to say, perhaps, a fuzzy-minded attitude, but liberal in the best sense of the word. A liberal bent or tendency in myself which would spring, I would say very honestly, from the period of time in which I found myself.

I was a graduate of City College in New York, which was called the poor man's college, in the year 1935, and I was able to go on with my education only through a scholarship, and then I had to go out and get a job at \$15 per week as an editor. So my contacts were mainly sort of between the capitalist and labor type of persons, and in my mind, I considered myself as labor or as a workingman.

Mr. MOULDER. That was a difficult period.

Mr. SLOANE. That was very well understated, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What Communist Party activities did you observe during the period you were associated with Millard Lampell? I mean as to his activities.

Mr. SLOANE. My observation of his actual strict Communist Party activities was confined to a very small area. There was the introduction and sponsorship of me at the meeting in this particular section, which was called the Village Club. I must say I never saw him at a meeting again. I went to only several meetings after that. I can't actually say how many, but they were very few. I know at the time of our roommateship he was writing book reviews for the New Republic and New Masses under the name of Mike Landon. I don't know if this was a Communist Party activity. At that time he belonged to a great many fronts, but I didn't know about them at the time. Nor did he suggest or request that I join in work with, or for, these fronts. I know of my own knowledge in later years his residence on Grove Street in Greenwich Village was the place of group meetings, called a study group, where you would come and have explained to you the "true" or party meaning of the latest historical event. They would be given assignments from a pamphlet and books to read, and were to study them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were those group meetings held for members of the Communist Party only?

Mr. SLOANE. They were held for those who were on one hand interested in joining the Communist Party or who might want to know what it was all about, and for those who were already members of the Communist Party. This was a form of party discipline to keep up with publications, i. e., the Daily Worker, and so on, and to constantly refresh oneself as a party worker. You see a great many people joined the party on an emotional basis, but I don't think the Communist Party likes people like that. They consider them to be irresponsible romantics and want them to know a lot more of what the party was doing and why. They considered these assignments to be a sort of discipline.

I might, as a matter of fact, introduce an anecdote at this point. At this period I was associated with Millard Lampell and with the Almanac Singers. They were to have been a kind of belt-line mechanism—a kind of cultural arm of the party, where the total party function is to associate with labor and protest various things and such functions as—you remember when the AAA was supposed to have killed a million hogs, so the Almanac Singers worked out a song called Plow the Fourth Man Under. That was deliberately constructed by the Almanac Singers to play upon the public opinion. This was during the period of the so-called imperialist war, when the party line was to oppose United States participation on the side of the Allies. This song, and others, were deliberately composed to influence public opinion in favor of the then party line.

MR. VELDE. You attended these study meetings after you joined the Communist Party?

MR. SLOANE. No. I just say of my own knowledge that I know of study meetings at Mr. Lampell's house.

MR. VELDE. You didn't attend these study meetings?

MR. SLOANE. No; I didn't.

MR. VELDE. Did you have any instruction in communism?

MR. SLOANE. No. I did go with Mr. Lampell to a study meeting at another man's house whose name I don't recollect. I told you, I believe, how in these meetings everything was dull and we were told to read this and that, and they would give us assignments and we were to go home and read chapters 1, 3, and 7 of the history of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. We were told we could buy the books at the Jefferson Bookshop on 16th Street, and it was all very boring.

MR. MOULDER. What was that year?

MR. SLOANE. It was the year 1943.

MR. MOULDER. And then you joined the Communist Party? What year?

MR. SLOANE. In the same year. I fix the date to be around March of 1943 that I joined the Communist Party, and I figure I left it voluntarily, completely severed relations with it, in the summer of 1944. I would say closer to July than to August.

MR. MOULDER. During that period of time, did you pay dues?

MR. SLOANE. I paid dues, and think the Communist Party book had some kind of stamps, one with a little blue dues stamp—25 cents per meeting—and the other was an assessment of a dime, I believe, for the literature fund. I believe I paid dues from between 3 to 6 times.

MR. MOULDER. After severing your membership, were you in any way connected with Communist activities?

MR. SLOANE. Yes; I was. With front activities through the years.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you now return to your description of the Almanac Singers?

MR. SLOANE. In connection with the technique of developing a song to fit situations, I would like to explain that the Almanac Singers, after breaking up their housekeeping group at Tenth Street moved—and it was probably no coincidence that they moved to the Dome where the Communist Party meetings were held. They cooked and slept in the back of the meeting place. They would all work together on the creation of pseudofolksongs. They once received a request for a group of singers to sing at a union meeting during the Sun Oil strike. These young people went out there with their guitars and would sing all the songs they had worked up and written. They would, for instance, take old melodies like Red Wing and write new words to fit it like "There once was a union maid, and she was not afraid."

This may all sound very funny or silly to you gentlemen, but when you stop to see what happened, it makes you realize it wasn't so funny. For instance, I considered myself a writer, and would sit on the outside of a group and say, "Why don't you write such and such a line?" Once I quoted a line and somebody turned to me and said that it was over-intellectualism and proceeded right then and there

to deliver me a lecture on how such things had to be done in a certain way—and I should use my talent for writing in a party functional sort of way instead of trying to write like Beethoven. It was why I began to back out. All this fell under what they considered party discipline. There is even a discipline to the framing of a folksong. The whole thing sounds petty, but there it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any Communist Party member who collaborated with the Almanac Singers in the composition of their material?

Mr. SLOANE. I must say, since I have sworn to tell the truth as I know it, that I do not of my own knowledge know that these people who were Almanac Singers were actually Communist Party members, save myself and young Lampell, and we both used to sing here and there with them. I have in my statement several names of the people in the group that I remember, but if asked to definitely state yes or no if asked if I knew they were Communist Party members, I could not do so.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would prefer that you not mention the names of those of whom you are not certain.

Mr. SLOANE. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Millard Lampell assist you in the composition of material?

Mr. SLOANE. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. In order to clarify the record, I believe I asked you about any Communist activities you had while a member of the Communist Party. Unless the interrogation will clarify that, maybe you would like to state it now.

Mr. SLOANE. Yes, I would like very much to get that on the record. For instance, when I was strictly a member of the party, i. e., carrying a card, my work consisted of the following:

I was given an assignment to sell the Daily Worker on street corners. I rebelled at this because I felt frankly it was beneath me, but it was explained to me that it was all part of the party discipline. It was a comedown for a newspaperman, I thought, but I still had to sell these papers on the street corner.

Then I had to accompany a speaker to a street corner at Eighth Street and McDougall Street, where attempts were made to sell party literature there.

I believe I told you before of attending a party lecture or meeting, where we discussed several things, such as the war situation, Communist theories, and so on. We were given assignments to study and read, like told to read such and such pages and told to purchase books from the Jefferson Bookshop. All this was very boring to me and I didn't do this, just listened to what they had to say and forgot the rest.

I was once elected, or appointed—I don't remember how—as the committeeman, Communist Party committeeman at the October 1943 meeting of the New York City Communist Party. I was a representative of my party area. I think—I am not sure—but I think it was the 10th E. D.—election district. To the best of my recollection this was how it happened. I received a postcard in the mail, which said generally—“Dear Comrade Sloane: You have been appointed as representative of this election district to the central Manhattan

committee meeting to be held the coming Sunday at 10 o'clock at such and such a place." I went, and there were quite a few people there, a few cut and dried resolutions were passed, and a small collection was taken for party literature and coffee and doughnuts served. I walked out in the course of the meeting and went home. I don't even remember all the procedures that took place.

Once I was involved also in an invitation, by whom I don't recollect, for a meeting which I now recognize was a meeting of the cultural committee of the Communist Party. This meeting was held in the office of a dentist in Steinway Hall in the year 1944. Early in the year. Once again it was a meeting at which the responsibilities of an artist in the Soviet Union were discussed, that is, the necessity of his using his skills in social ways, and so forth.

Mr. MOULDER. You are referring now to a period of time in which you were an actual member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SLOANE. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. What was the position you held at this time?

Mr. SLOANE. It was as picture director with Parade magazine, on which I was a picture editor, so-called. The previous activities might be called Communist membership activities. The next ones I take up will be fellow-traveler activities. I don't remember anybody who was at this cultural meeting, but I do remember being very bored and by this time, more than a little ashamed of myself to realize that here I, a writer, an independent kind of person, was involved in the kind of thing where I had to be told my function as a writer and an artist. I was still a newspaperman and nobody tries to tell a newspaperman what to write and that his job is a political one, and I was told that as a writer I was of political importance and had to use my skills in that way. By then I was beginning to be ashamed of myself and had gotten to a funny stage—to explain it, it was like there were two of me, and one was sitting outside and looking in and saying, "What are you doing here? You know you shouldn't be here." Further activities within the framework of the party I can't recall. There may have been others, but if so, they were very, very few.

Oh yes, I beg your pardon—there is another thing I think of now. I was assigned an area in my own neighborhood, 23 Barrow Street where I lived, to sell war bonds. We were told we had to sell them from door to door to help the war effort, and had to ring each doorbell. It was the period of time in which the party was more or less open and you were allowed to say you were a member of the Communist Party—in fact, were instructed to do that. I didn't sell any bonds that I recall, but bought one myself.

Late in the summer of 1944, as I say, I was thoroughly disgusted with my membership in the Communist Party. The thing that really disgusted me at that time was that the party had done a complete flip-flop. There had been a meeting in May or June of 1944 in which the Communist Party had decided that it should be called the Communist Political Association, and that it should not work within the realm of politics and nominate candidates, and so forth, but should work within the ASP. This was the Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, a front group. They should work for the Democratic Party through this ASP group. The Communist Party was feeling its way, I believe, endeavoring to become an infiltrating organization

rather than a nominating organization. That, I believe, was when the war was nearing its end and it looked as though capitalism and socialism were about to dissolve their partnership and now each should go its own way. Earl Browder was very, very proud of the fact that what he was leading was the American Communist Party, not one from outside America.

This, of course, is my own interpretation. I don't recall if history will bear me out, but I believe it will. As a matter of fact, in this morning's newspaper Browder has a piece in which he says about the same thing. Communism had been respectable, and all of a sudden here it became this insidious, hidden sort of thing. This was sufficient for me to say to my wife, "I have had it—I cannot stand any more of the flip-flops."

Shortly after this I was visited by William Browder, who at first upbraided me for not being faithful in my membership with the Communist Party. I had not showed up for months at the meetings, because I had a job by then, the Transatlantic Call job which carried me to all parts of the country, and when I was home I didn't want to be going to meetings.

Mr. VELDE. This was late in 1944?

Mr. SLOANE. In 1944.

Mr. VELDE. Can you place the month?

Mr. SLOANE. Around July of 1944, and perhaps closer to August. Anyhow, Mr. Browder upbraided me and suggested that I resume regularity of attendance at the party meetings. He told me of the usual concept of communism and said the Communist had to be much better than the average person—he has to be faithful, and so forth, and by this time I think my anger had been aroused and I told him I wished he would leave and that I would not be at any more meetings. I didn't feel that I was in a conspiracy because at that time it just didn't appear to be that but it just wasn't on logical grounds. I didn't want any part of this kind of thing. I was feeling my oats, so to speak, and established as a radio writer and I think I was then beginning to grow up. Mr. Browder initially accepted my resignation, then changed his story and said, "Well, you are a very important person—you writers are very important people—we need those who are as well known and can interpret things like you writers can, so you would not have to be a member of the party—you don't have to attend the meetings or have any formal alinement because your importance to the general cause transcends your specific membership." This, I must say, is not exactly the direct conversation, but in a general way what he said, the essence of his speech to me. At any rate, it was the sum and substance.

In other words, what was being offered to me was that I should be a crypto-Communist—someone who has no formal alinement with the party but is just as good where he is for the party's work.

I turned that down, too. I recollected the supreme insult of having to sell the Daily Worker on the street corners, and I told him to go peddle his papers somewhere else. That was my last connection with the Communist Party.

During the period of my first marriage I had very little contact with young Lampell because his wife and my wife couldn't get along. Every so often we would meet and then I saw him less and less.

That covers the area of my activities during the period of my membership in the Communist Party.

If you would like, I will now run down the activities outside the party as a fellow traveler. The following are activities of mine and associations which, in the light of a very long and somewhat difficult self-introspection, I have discovered to be within the realm of the fellow-traveling person.

They are as follows: During the middle period of the war, I would say in 1944, there was organized an outfit called the Music War Committee—and I bring this up to show how it ties in with the cultural aspects of communism. Once again I am afraid the same names crop up. The Music War Committee was a group of very responsible and very well-known musicians—a group consisting of many very well-known and some unknown musicians. One, for instance, was Oscar Hammerstein, who was chairman of the MWC. Millard Lampell was also very active in this outfit. The way it would work was this: The MWC would be called by the WAC's and they would say something like, "We need a good marching song for the WAC's and would you boys write one?" So they would take it up and assign 1 or 2 musicians there to the job—good writing men—to the duty of writing a song for the WAC's. To be an artist you had to support the war effort, so I was brought down there by Millard Lampell and by this means activated into this kind of work, by means of suggestion. He would stand up and say he thought we should do this and do a radio program. That was why I was brought down because we were supposed to invent a program that would have the backing of such people as Hammerstein and Rodgers. They would get a good producer to back it, the networks would like it, and it would be a well-written thing and in line with the war effort. One thing we tried was where the subject was to be a couple of old vaudevillians who wanted to get behind the war effort, so they would sing songs and tell stories of the old days. Projects like that were constantly before it.

Incidentally, I do not believe that Mr. Hammerstein could possibly have been aware that the activities of this little organization, which I think is a comparatively unknown front group, were being mostly carried on by members of the Communist Party, such as Millard Lampell, with me at his elbow as a second member.

Mr. VELDE. And the same would be true of Mr. Rodgers?

Mr. SLOANE. The same would be true of Mr. Rodgers.

Mr. MOULDER. I understood that at that time you were not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. SLOANE. This was during the war. It was a very good catch you made there, because to remember all these things I have had to think and think. The fact remains that I was still friends with Lampell and we were working together.

Mr. MOULDER. You were still working together and were friends but was that association as a Communist or because of your former association?

Mr. SLOANE. Well, my association with young Lampell was for a long time a personal association and was also political. We were friendly and we were comrades. I say that advisedly.

Mr. MOULDER. I understood you to say that after William Browder visited you and you referred to it as a formal separation and you made

the statement you were washing your hands of any connection with the Communist Party, as such, and even in spite of this he asked you to be associated with it—not being a member but by still associating yourself with its cause. I understood your position was you had nothing to do with that idea and in no form, or phase, or whatever.

Mr. SLOANE. You have caught me, sir, in a contradiction, which I will admit. By way of explanation, however, I should like to state that my severance of actual party membership did not end my association with Lampell. It seemed natural and proper at the time to be working with him in the MWC outside the framework of the actual party. I did not regard such activity at that time as front work, though I am, of course, only too aware now of the true nature of such activities, to say nothing of my having been used in connection with them.

Mr. MOULDER. Now, you make reference to sitting at his elbow.

Mr. SLOANE. I was there as a fellow traveler or a co-sympathizer. Whether I was actually a member at that time, I don't know. I can't pinpoint the date, but I do know I felt this was a good thing for the war effort and young Lampell was doing the right thing.

Mr. MOULDER. That was the way all people felt at that time as far as winning the war was concerned.

Mr. SLOANE. I accept, sir, a contradiction inherent in my own testimony. Now, looking back, how could I have? In truth, retrospect is much wiser than foresight. It was at another of those meetings that I met another young fellow and I would like to explain to you, sir, a slightly humorous aspect of comradeship is involved. It involves the use of Aesopian language. When, for instance, in this particular meeting of the MWC, Lampell introduced me to the lyric writer, he described him as a terrific guy. When a Communist introduces somebody to you as a terrific guy it means you are being introduced to somebody who is a fellow Communist. When he is called a good guy it means you are being introduced to somebody who is known to be a fellow traveler, or not unsympathetic to your being a Communist. When you refer to somebody or ask about him and are told he is a bastard that does not mean he is of illegitimate parentage but an active anti-Communist and to watch your step. Therefore, I say I was introduced at one of these meetings to this lyric writer who was described to me as a terrific guy, which meant a green light for an all-out discussion of things of a dialectic materialism viewpoint. In other words, this is a brother Communist.

Mr. VELDE. Was this usage of words you have just referred to common in your own group or in all groups?

Mr. SLOANE. This was common in the circles we people moved in—the writers of radio and TV material. Any fellow writer was also in our social circle. If you would go to a party, you would meet somebody. You would tell somebody you met that person and he would say "He is a terrific guy." He meant, specifically, a Communist, and it was a sort of signal. When you hear somebody in a conversation use the word "terrific" you can sense that that person is almost sending out signals. You have heard when a male butterfly sends out vibrations the females hear them. The same way if you heard the words "terrific guy" come out and if the conversation was

political, you would bet your last dollar that person referred to was a Communist.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you learn that by observation?

Mr. SLOANE. Observation and absorption. Until finally you would yourself describe people as being "terrific" or "good" or as a "bastard." Another little phrase which was used was, "He has got the correct slant." That meant that 1 and 1 equaled 2 and that it coincided correctly, specifically or closely to the party line. This sort of phrase is still used today. For instance, Mr. Beria had an "incorrect attitude."

At any rate, I was introduced to this young man and he was a songwriter. I should like to furnish his name off the record. He wrote a good many songs, popular ones, and collaborated with Duke Ellington on very, very popular songs. He, if not a Communist, followed closer to it than anybody could by outright joining the party. It was with him I went into my next area, which was called the Divide and Conquer thing. I wrote, with another person, a little pamphlet called Divide and Conquer. This is where the ASP begins to come in, or the Committee for the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. This committee was organized during the war to channel the efforts of artists and writers and actors and public figures of the arts and sciences. They got behind the third election, the campaign for the third term, and it also became a war-effort thing. For instance, I received a call from the ASP. They had heard of my work, and that I was in town, and someone wanted them to furnish a speech, on giving blood, for Olivia de Haviland to use while she was there to help the war effort. They asked would I write the speech, so I wrote it and Olivia de Haviland made the speech. That is the way she gave her services for the war effort and the way I made mine. I also gave blood. Then another time they called, and this time they said "We would like a little playlet suitable for presentation by the school children," so another person and I sat down and figured out this Divide and Conquer thing. It told how a lot of children were to be on a stage playing marbles, and along came a big bully who said "Let me play," and the children said "No." So he called one of the children aside and said "You can't play with them because you are a Negro." So they chased the Negro away. Then he said "You can't play with him because he is a Jew." So they chased the Jew away. Then before long there was no one there left to play. He divided them all. Then they all came out and chased him away. He was supposed to be Hitler, and so the person I am speaking of and I combined our talents and figured out the playlet in this manner.

This almost perfectly shows the cultural aspects of the Communist Party. Here was this person, a lyric writer who had been made known to me as a "terrific guy." He was a lyric writer of great importance in the commercial world, and here am I, a radio writer of some skill and some experience, and there was joined to us by this time one Lan Adomian.

Mr. VELDE. Will you repeat more specifically about what date all this took place?

Mr. SLOANE. This would be the wartime period—in 1944—because I was still living with my first wife. Adomian had introduced himself to me at a rehearsal and he said he had heard of me and wanted

to meet me. I believe this is an instance in which he said, "I have heard you are a terrific guy." This, of course, was to me a signal that here was a Communist talking to me. Sure enough, he revealed himself to me with some pride with a great deal of astonishment on my part as a veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. He wanted to meet me because he felt I could help him get work. I tried to help him but was unsuccessful, except in a later instance when I got a little more important and could choose my own composers. He wanted us to do something together and I thought we should, too.

Here, you see, was a composer who wanted to use his music as a political weapon, and here was a writer who had been partly indoctrinated and who felt he should use his words as a medium of propaganda, and here was a lyric writer who felt he could write words to the composer's music. So we met, sometimes in my home, sometimes in Adomian's. We would get ideas and work on them and toss them back and forth.

We got an idea for an opera for children and wanted to call it *The Enchanted Village*. To this enchanted village would come children from all nations—a little Russian boy named Ivan, a little American boy named John, a French boy named Jacques, and a little Polish boy named Jan, and many others, and they would find as children that all children everywhere want the same things. There was to be a mayor who would show them the good things of life in this enchanted village, and the mayor was to be Paul Robeson, because he had this marvelous singing voice and also was a Soviet artistic hero.

We worked on this opera and had some very lovely ideas. An idea, for instance, of an airplane which would take the children where the geography was instead of teaching them in a classroom. None would hurt each other. And at the end they would all get on this merry-go-round and reach for the ring, and it would be the "freedom" ring.

You see, these are all concepts which are lovely and fine but which should not be allowed to become the exclusive property of Communists because people should learn you can work for international harmony or amities through your church and can do things within organized and decent boundaries of our American life, such as the charities. You don't have to join the Communist Party to do it.

This is a discourse I meant to stay off.

MR. MOULDER. Did you have the feeling at that time that you were doing this work for the Communist Party?

MR. SLOANE. No; we were not doing it for the Communist Party with headquarters as such, but we were doing it as Communists.

MR. MOULDER. You mean a philosophy you were following?

MR. SLOANE. Yes; the fact that I as a responsible citizen in the world, whose work was in the arts, and who was contributing what skill and imagination and talent I had toward the furtherance of ideas, rather than in merely earning a living. As we discussed it before, perhaps you would like to ask me some questions in order to bring this out more clearly.

MR. VELDE. Is it your opinion that Adomian was also acting for the Communist cause at that time?

MR. SLOANE. Yes; I know he was and he knew that I was.

MR. VELDE. But you didn't definitely know he was an actual member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SLOANE. I have known through the years, those of friendship with him, that he was a member of the Communist Party and at one time or another he said in letters to me, "You know I don't even know if I am a member or not any more." That Lan Adomian, whom I considered a friend of mine—he is a fine composer and very—this is very difficult.

After being a Communist and fellow traveler and member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—Russian born, but a Communist for over 25 years—he, too, had his stomach turned, and gave up, after 25 years of being a real Communist.

Mr. VELDE. We will now call a 5-minute recess in this hearing.

(Whereupon, at 4 p. m., the executive hearing recessed for 5 minutes, and Mr. Velde and Mr. Moulder left the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you resume your testimony, please?

Mr. SLOANE. We three—each one knew the other to be a Communist—were working heart and soul on the project because we felt it was something very important and we believed in it. We knew it was not commercial—that it wouldn't go over—wouldn't make money, but it was something we felt we should be doing.

This was why. The person I spoke of was earning his living writing lyrics for popular songs, such as Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition. Mr. Adomian was earning his living by writing theme music in radio—those little bridges of 10 seconds of music, when he really wanted to write symphonies and patriotic marches. Shostakovich was commissioned by the Soviet Union to write seven symphonies. What he couldn't see was why Shostakovich could do this and he couldn't. He felt he had to contribute something to the cultural development of the country. I was earning my living in radio and doing public-service programs, i. e., Transatlantic Call. But it wasn't like being on the firing line. I wasn't really reporting the war. We were all under what might be called a kind of superimposed guilt complex—not by orders from above but by a universal atmosphere in which you could not think otherwise. You had been made to feel that as an artist you belonged in the ranks of the workers and your art should not be devoted to so-called art for art's sake, but to the causes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you didn't have to have V. J. Jerome, the cultural head of the Communist Party, to direct you as to what to do?

Mr. SLOANE. No, and that, I feel, is one of the tragedies of my situation. The situation of people like me because we don't need the taskmaster with the whip, or the subtle influence of the adviser. You already feel you have to do it and so you do it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You didn't feel you had to do it?

Mr. SLOANE. No. Why? Well, there was the "you have it good" philosophy. "You are not on the firing line with the enemy in front of you." "You are not out in the shipyards, breaking your back on the swing shift." "You are just a writer or an artist." But with that comes the upbuilding when you are told you are just as important as the soldier. Your words are weapons—your brushes are bullets—what you create is important provided you use it properly. You are taught in the Soviet Union that what you create not only serves the state, but is approved by the state. The strange part of it was—and

this is the downright truth—an Adomian or a Sloane could not have lasted 10 minutes as an artist in the Soviet Union. Each of us would have earnest artistic arguments with the other, which we knew in our hearts, or should have known, we could not have done and existed in the Soviet Union. That is a contradiction which I have not been able to solve yet.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do I understand that you take the position that the indoctrination which you received in your experience in the party over a period of years finally developed you to the psychological point that you felt that unless you did the things you have spoken of, you were not measuring up to your share of the responsibilities as the person on the firing line and as the man in the steel factories, etc.?

Mr. SLOANE. That is perfectly put. You are made to feel happier when you are considered of social value than if you were merely creating for creation's sake alone. I think in the Communist theory the propagandist is rated higher than the artist because art should be propaganda or else it is not valuable.

For the record I would like to explain that this is not so much a production of indoctrination as it is a kind of prostitution of good and decent artistic impulses because I don't think there is an artist worth his salt, whether he works in a garret or a studio, who does not feel what he is doing is just a little more than earning a living. This is a natural characteristic of an artist, but that this natural characteristic should be so distorted and used to make him feel guilty if he or his work doesn't serve the state—if it doesn't comport with "social realism" wherein you only treat of things as they are—and not indulge in flights of fancy—that lies beyond my realm and I am lost.

This is the vicious thing about communism, capturing an artist. I would also say there is no such thing as a Communist artist, because communism involves slavery and art involves freedom and you can't have an enslaved free man.

You can't have both. It is like a cow with wings. Where there is a vacuum—nature abhors a vacuum—where there is a social vacuum, that is, where somebody doesn't do something about something that should be done, the Communist will rush into that vacuum and exploit it.

I was stupid back in those days. I didn't realize I could have found a church that wanted to do something about these various things. I could have found a responsible organization that wanted to do something about international brotherhood. I could have found a foundation that wanted to help with this sort of thing. But Communists were there saying "We are the ones who care about Negroes, civil rights, and the war effort." But I think that where a church, and I say this very honestly—where a church concerns itself with that aspect of man's inhumanity to man, and it can be cured by man, there is no place for a Communist. I believe that very strongly, sir, and that is one of the reasons I am down here.

Mr. TAVENNER. It might be well at this time to bring in a point you mentioned this morning about the importance of the feeling of being ridden by guilt—I believe that is the way you put it. In that connection did you say that?

Mr. SLOANE. The true artist who is under the Communist influence is merely a sick man, because ridden on the one hand by this guilt

complex, feeling that he is of no worth in the world unless he works within the boundaries set by the party discipline, and on the other hand, if he is a true artist he knows truthfully what he is—that he is a prostitute and a schizophrenic and cannot possibly be well or happy under these circumstances. If he is ridden by the carefully fostered guilt of the Communist discipline, or his own personal guilt, but does not have the guts to say, "I want no part of this," he cannot be a happy man.

I should have come down to you, sir, long ago. I should have come 3 years ago, should I not? I was afraid. There is a fear, as well as guilt. A Communist artist in the Soviet Union fears for his actual artistic life if he rebels. He knows if he doesn't write what comports with the party discipline he is not allowed to be an artist.

Nobody in my experience as a writer has ever told me what to write—never—so how could I have sold myself as a responsible artist to a discipline which automatically expects certain things of you. I have been hired by newspapers and covered strikes and accidents and political events and my writing has always been accepted by the city desk. I have worked for all kinds of newspapers, little ones and big ones. In connection with this—this is a story which I feel should go on record because it is part of my record—I should like to tell you about something which happened.

I referred before to my having been hired by Parade magazine as picture editor. My function was to go to a location and line up a series of pictures which would make a story. During the month of July 1944, I was assigned by Parade to go to Harlan, Ky., to do the story of a coal miner. I had always heard it referred to as "bloody" Harlan and this time we did a very good story on the life of a coal miner. From morn till dusk Mr. Pat Coffey, the photographer, and I worked on this project. At the end of our 10 days' stay I was in my hotel room and there was a maid in the room washing a window blind. Suddenly there was a terrible crash and I said "What was that?" and grabbed my camera. She told me it was a big fire. There was a pillar of smoke in the sky. I ran to the bank of the Closplint River and saw it was a huge oil tank which had caught fire and caused the explosion. There was a woman standing outside her house and the house was on fire, and she was standing there screaming. I pulled her away and jumped into the water with her. We looked for her husband but could not find him. I went around to the other side and was standing there taking pictures and said, "It is a beautiful fire." It appears like that on my record and I want to set the record clear on it. Within 5 minutes after having said that, I felt someone at my back and I heard a voice say, "You had better come with me, boy." I said, "What's going on?" It was a man with a 45 pistol at my back. I said again, "What is the trouble?" He took me to the jail and I was locked up. I was visited by an officer and accused of sabotage and having set that fire. At first I laughed and protested and told him I was there as a photographer and had no reason to do such a thing. He said to me, "Did you or did you not say 'that is a beautiful fire'?" I said yes, of course I said it, but I made the remark as a reporter, meaning it in a news sense. I kept yelling for the FBI and they brought the State police and I kept telling the same story to him. Finally the FBI man came and brought me a cup of coffee. I told him the story. I told him to call Parade maga-

zine and they could tell him I was a responsible person. It was the Fourth of July, however, and the office was closed. So I thought of Miss Lois Burney of the White House staff and told him to call her and she would vouch for me. He said, "You'd better not be kidding." He came back and said she had vouched for me. That night a party was given by the local country club, as if in apology for this horrible mistake. The next day it appeared in the newspaper, a long story, how a New York photographer had rescued a woman from the blaze, etc. However, the arrest for sabotage appears on my record and from time to time I have been queried about it, and I always laugh and say how the story got started.

I told you this because you probably have this story in your records and you might wonder what I was doing setting fire to a place.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there any other statement or information that you desire to give the committee?

Mr. SLOANE. Yes, there is, sir. There exists some difficulty in regard to my original name, which was Allan Silverman. The name Sloane I adopted as a pen name for newspaper work and used it interchangeably with Silverman. Practically everyone at home knew I was Allan Silverman and I had used the name Sloane when I got my first job, gotten my social security card under Allan Sloane and in 1949 I changed it legally to Sloane. It has been brought to my attention through official sources that there is an Allan Silverman who has been connected with News Scope as art editor. This magazine is of suspicious nature. I want to get it on record that this Allan Silverman is not myself. I never was an art editor with News Scope.

There is another thing I should like to introduce to show just how far the Communist conspiracy can go. I should say bluntly and flatly in the beginning that I, in collaboration with Millard Lampell, wrote the acceptance speech for Mr. Henry Wallace of the Progressive Party. I doubt if he knew that himself, but the circumstances are as follows:

In 1948 I was called again by ASP and asked to write this speech. Before I go on I wish to say there were two aspects of my involvement in the Wallace campaign. One was the fact that I was invited by ASP to a cocktail party at the home of Jo Davidson, the sculptor. I was told a great many important people were to be there—Mr. Wallace, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and various other people. I was, of course, very flattered and said I would attend. So I went to the party and at that party it was announced that Mr. Wallace was going to run for the presidency and a party would be organized and it would be made up of those who believed in the New Deal thinking, and so forth, and who supported it. There was a Mr. Strauss there, who I was told was the Mr. Strauss of Macy's. I remember I contributed \$500 to the preliminary war chest of the Progressive Party.

Several weeks later, as the party progressed and the campaign got under way, I was called again by the ASP and told that Mr. Wallace had written a speech—an acceptance speech for the convention—that he knew he was going to be nominated—and the speech was terrible—that it spoke of a dedicated man of Gideon, and that sort of thing. They asked if I would hop on down to headquarters and help them write another speech, and I said "Yes, I would." I was honored to think that a man could start out as a \$15-a-week newspaperman and

end up writing speeches for a candidate for the Presidency. I thought this was the essence of the American system. So I went down to the headquarters of the Progressive Party at 39th Street. There I found Millard Lampell when I went upstairs. He said to me, "Have you read the speech?" and I said, "Not yet." He said it was a "dog." So, once again, without there being a word spoken about "let us see that this adheres properly and correctly to a preconceived party line" there was an understanding existing in that room. This was in 1948, after I left the party. Here was Mr. Lampell, who from time to time had involved me in things which had become distasteful to me, but we were working together again. We wrote a really very beautiful and moving acceptance speech, which I remember was a very fine speech. About halfway through the evening, Mr. Lampell excused himself and had to go home, so I wrote the speech. It was a speech in which Mr. Wallace pledged himself to ameliorate the international tensions which had already begun the cold war. I believe in 1948 the Berlin blockade had started. There was a line there which said—I have a recording of the speech, sir, if you would like it—"the lives of our children and our children's children are far too precious to be entrusted to the hot tempers of junior lieutenants where border meets border." That such a line sticks in my memory is not the point of the story, but the point is, through the ASP, a front organization, so cited and listed, and surely the reasons are known to you, I, known to them as a fellow traveler if not an outright Communist, was enlisted with another fellow traveler, because I cannot vouch for him at that particular time as being a Communist, to channel the convention's speeches, their major speeches. That same night I also wrote the nominating address, as well as the acceptance speech. Or rather, I should say, I wrote both the acceptance speech of the nominee and the keynote speech for the convention. I might add also, the Almanac Singers sang there. A Mr. Charles P. Howard, of Iowa, a Negro, gave the keynote speech. The first sentence had the words "The very fact that I am the party's nominee defines the kind of party that would nominate a Negro."

This, I think, if there is a tragedy about my story, shows that somewhere along the line I got off the mainstream of American life and aided the alien life with what was not American to achieve what I felt to be American.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has heard a great deal of evidence regarding the activities of Communist-front organizations, and especially the ASP.

Mr. SLOANE. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there any other phase of those activities other than the ones you have described which you feel had any effect upon your particular experience in the Communist Party, or in your association with its members after leaving the party?

Mr. SLOANE. Yes, there is, sir. There is one anecdote or incident I should like to relate for what it is worth—not only how these seemingly innocent organizations had very powerful people drawn into their activities. Here you have an organization which calls a writer to contribute something of his talent and services to legitimate war efforts and objectives, such as arousing public opinion to the importance of issues, like giving blood, and so forth.

Here is something which happened, of my own knowledge, which I think bears out the fact that the ASP was used for this purpose. One day my phone rang and it was the ASP calling and saying, "Hello, Allan, something has come up and we thought you would like to be in on this." This is, in effect, what was said, not a direct report of the conversation. "A very important Government official is passing through New York and has graciously consented to meet with some people and brief them on something which is coming up, and I think you would like to be one of the group." They said I should come down to the Astor Hotel at 8 o'clock to a place on the eighth floor, so I went down there. This was 4 days before the opening of the Bretton Woods conference. There I was introduced to a short, moustached man and his name was Harry Dexter White, and everything was perfectly open and above board, it seemed. He said, generally, "Some of you perhaps know that a great international meeting is coming up in Bretton Woods and I would like to brief you people on its significance, because I understand some of you from time to time are called to work upon documentary material for the radio and you may need to interpret it to the American people." He further said that we all knew about the international balance of trade and we hoped to eradicate the evils inherent in this by establishing an international bank. At this point it lost its intrigue to me and became complicated because I don't understand international trade and the balance of trade, and so forth. I sat there wishing it would be over soon because it was very dull. I went home and I never had to use the inside information I got because there was no way in which it could be used in the way of program material for the type of work I was doing, but it was a briefing of people who were considered by the ASP to be responsible and trustworthy molders of public opinion. This story I related to you for whatever it was worth—whatever conclusion you perhaps can draw.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall where that meeting was held?

Mr. SLOANE. Yes; the meeting at Bretton Woods was to open on a Monday. We can check the newspapers to find the date. It was before the end of the war in 1945. Bretton Woods was about 1945, I think. The meeting was on a Friday before. He was on his way up.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was the meeting held?

Mr. SLOANE. At the Astor Hotel, on the eighth floor, in the ASP offices. They had their offices there at that time. A name source you can check for this information—more specific information on this—is Miss Hannah Dorn, who was the girl who used to call me. I do not mean to imply this person was known to me to be subversive, but she was the one who always called me. Sometimes she would call and say, "Allan, something has come up and would you like to do a piece for the Teachers' Union?" I would say "No" always to that particular request.

Mr. TAVENNER. What officials, if any, of the ASP, were present at the meeting at which White appeared?

Mr. SLOANE. The person who had called me on the phone and introduced Mr. White to the group was Miss Hannah Dorn, or perhaps the name was Dorner, I am not certain which is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you learn from Hannah Dorn how arrangements were made for Harry Dexter White to appear at this meeting?

Mr. SLOANE. No, I didn't, sir. The phrase, as I remember it, was "an important Government official."

Mr. TAVENNER. Did other Government officials accompany Mr. White or appear at that meeting?

Mr. SLOANE. No; I do not know of any sir. Just Mr. White in a gray suit.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of other occasions when you were requested by a representative of the ASP to make contributions of your talent in one form or another.

Mr. SLOANE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was that person?

Mr. SLOANE. That person was always Hannah Dorn. I believe she was the person who, in that particular organization, as in many organizations, knew various people. She knew, for instance, that Allan Sloane was a radio writer who could be had and she knew that So-and-So was an actor who would cooperate, and So-and-So a director. She knew people all over. You find girls like that in many organizations who always seem to know whom to call and where they can be found and things like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many persons attended the meeting addressed by Mr. White?

Mr. SLOANE. I would say two dozen. It was a small room, about the size of this one, and the chairs around the room were pretty full.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of any other persons present?

Mr. SLOANE. Yes, sir; I can. Mr. Peter Lyon, a radio writer—who has recently taken refuge in the fifth amendment. There was a young poetess, Miss Eve Merriam. Also another radio writer. I don't know any of the others, or don't remember any of the others. I remember greeting them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any of those present personally known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. SLOANE. No, sir. But of my own knowledge I do know the following: That during my roommateship with Millard Lampell, he would visit Mr. Peter Lyon with frequency, if not regularity, to discuss with him the work he was doing. The work at the time consisted of a cantata based on the life of Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether the Peter Lyon to whom you are referring is the same Peter Lyon who, as a witness before the Internal Security Committee, refused to answer material questions on the ground that to do so might tend to incriminate himself?

Mr. SLOANE. Yes, I do, sir. I do know him to be the same Peter Lyon through years of professional association.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Millard Lampell a visitor in your home from time to time?

Mr. SLOANE. In my home, during my first marriage, only from time to time. In my home, during my second marriage, only once.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the occasion for that visit during your second marriage?

Mr. SLOANE. The occasion was, I believe, in connection with the fact that my name had turned up in Red Channels, a compilation of people who are listed in connection with various front activities. I had, subsequent to its publication, been discharged from a job I held in radio

and television. I had consulted with Lampell of my own accord to see if he had been similarly affected by the book, because he too was in Red Channels. He was the person who was described in my citation as my coauthor of the drama "Horror Bomb vs. Humanity." The coauthor was Lampell. So I wanted to know if there had been any effect on his employment from this particular publication, so he dropped up to the house so we could talk about it. He said he was in the neighborhood and thought it would be a good time to stop by. That was the only time he ever visited our house.

I should like to add this. While in Europe working for the UN, my wife and I made the acquaintance of a young Estonian anti-Soviet, whose father, mother, brother, and younger sister had been deported to Russia from Estonia, and had escaped by walking 220 kilometers and made his way back to Estonia, his native country, and hid underground so he could later get out. We met him in a DP camp and liked him very much and knowing we could bring DP persons into the United States by assuring the proper authorities they would not become public charges and being responsible for their keep, we gave him and his family such assurance. So, at the time Mr. Lampell visited at our home at 17 East 97th Street, Reinnarma, his wife Kiisu and his baby were sharing our small apartment. I introduced him to Lampell, knowing perhaps that Lampell would not react pleasantly, but feeling that he might see some humanity here. I told him Reinnarma's story, and when Reinnarma left the room Lampell turned to me and said, "How can you bring people like this into your country? What kind of thing is this for you to do? A man like this will take up arms against the Soviet Union!" So I asked him to leave my house and not to come back again.

MR. TAVENNER. When did this occur?

MR. SLOANE. This occurred—I can place the time when Reinnarma arrived from Europe with his wife as the day before Christmas in 1949, and it was just about—I think in—wait a minute—this was in the fall of 1950. And that was that.

MR. TAVENNER. If there is anything else you desire to state for the record, we will be glad to hear it.

MR. SLOANE. Yes. I should like to state the following: I am grateful for the opportunity, sir, of stating—one is in reference to my own professional work. I have written literally millions of words, literally thousands of individual programs and pieces, and only once, to my knowledge, have I ever used my work to do anything but tell the story I was assigned to tell. This was rather a humorous incident. It involves once again the basic ideology that you must continually try to use what you do to do something. You must make the story bear a little burden of propaganda. As my roommate used to say—trying to get across some point or another—"maybe here is a little place to give them a little freedom."

I was assigned by the program Cavalcade of America, sponsored by Du Pont, to write about the merchant marine. Here was an opportunity to show the type of men who manned our ships were made up of all kinds and classes. Some had American, some had foreign, and some had Jewish names. Some were old, and some were young. So I tried to make this program a simple report and bring out that the men were not only young men, but there were older men on the



job. So I named one of the characters on the ship Pop Silverman, partly because I thought it would please my father to hear his name on a program like that, and partly because I wanted to show it took all kinds of men to man the merchant marine. Surprisingly enough, as small a thing as this was caught, and the director, in pointing out several changes to be made, said of this "that old Communist line" and "everybody has to have a Jewish name in the script, or an Italian name—why do you have to do that?—fix that." So I did.

That was the only time I have ever tried to do anything like that. All other times I have always written what I believed myself—not what anybody ever told me to say.

I should also like to relate for the record the simple historical fact that in 1943, I, although a member of the Communist Party, registered with the American Labor Party. I do not remember whether this was partly because of an understanding that the Communist should disguise himself as the American Labor Party or whether there was a particular issue involved where an American Labor Party candidate was running that I wanted to support. This is just a fact I wanted to set forth for the record.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Sloane—

Mr. SLOANE. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you received propaganda material from front organizations or from Communist sources in recent years?

Mr. SLOANE. Yes, I have, sir. At my home in Connecticut where I have lived for the last—or almost the last 3 years—I have received propaganda material of foreign origin, both domestic and foreign. One is a little pamphlet which comes from the Connecticut Peace Center of Hartford, which plugged the Rosenberg affair when that was going on. I am not connected with the Connecticut Peace Center. I know how they got my name, however.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was that?

Mr. SLOANE. I was once a subscriber to the newspaper the National Guardian. The circumstances of my having subscribed are very interesting. I was at Mr. Lampell's house where Mr. Lampell and Mr. Rosten, Norman Rosten, and I met to discuss the Horror-Bomb playlet. Mr. Rosten was trying to get his quota of subscribers and I said, "O. K. I will take one," and he paid the \$2 for the subscription himself. About a year and a half ago I asked them to take my name off the list. However, I noticed the same addressograph plate had been used that appeared on the Guardian each week. The same code number, code 23432, or whatever it was, appeared on the Connecticut Peace Foundation material, so I know that is where they got my name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very interesting.

Mr. SLOANE. Regarding the foreign propaganda from front organizations, I have received over a period of some 10 to 12 months the following: One from Prague, Czechoslovakia, which is a pamphlet entitled "Shall Brothers Be * * *." It purports to be an account written by the American and British prisoners of war regarding their treatment at the hands of the Chinese People's Volunteers and Korean People's Army in POW camps in Korea—published by the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression, Peking, 1952. This arrived in the United States mails from Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where they got your name?

Mr. SLOANE. No, that I do not know. However, it is fair to point out that the newspaper the National Guardian, during the period when no other press association had any information as to who were prisoners or who were not, did receive the weekly list of prisoners from China.

The second item which arrived early last year, around February, I believe, is a sample copy of a magazine entitled People's China which came to me from Hong Kong. It also included, as a supplemental report, one entitled "Report of the International Scientific Commission for the Investigation of the Facts Concerning Bacterial Warfare in Korea and China."

The latest arrival, I believe 3 months ago, was a copy of a magazine called Inter Camp Olympics, 1952, Pyuktong, D. P. R. K. Inside it says, "A souvenir of the Inter Camp Olympics 1952, held at Pyuktong, D. P. R. K."

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe for the record some more facts regarding the report of the International Scientific Commission for the investigation of the facts concerning bacterial warfare in Korea and China?

Mr. SLOANE. Referring to the report of the International Scientific Commission for the investigation of the facts concerning bacterial warfare in Korea and China, it was sent as a supplement to the magazine People's China and so arrived at my home, but I have also in my possession a copy of the same report, word for word, exactly the same and with the same illustrations and charts, issued by the UN Public Information Department.

To the best of my knowledge, from newspaper information, the so-called report of the International Scientific Commission was put out by a group of scientists, later exposed to have been fellow travelers as well as scientists.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the nature of the document referred to by you as having been received by you and entitled "Inter Camp Olympics"?

Mr. SLOANE. This is, I confess, the thing that got me the maddest about these arrivals in the mail. It says on an inside page "Souvenir of Memories"—and it shows GI prisoners of war of all the nations participating on our side in the Korean war racing and playing football and high jumping. It is very well put together—lots of pictures, cheer leaders, referees, and everything. The reason I brought this along with me was that it arrived in the mail just about the same time as we were getting the stories of what really went on in the prisoner of war camps. This was obviously an attempt to influence what might be called the molders of public opinion.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did it give you the impression that it was sent to you to counteract stories of Korean brutalities to American prisoners and atrocities committed against the prisoners?

Mr. SLOANE. Most definitely. And it also gave me the impression, which I must confess is somewhat frightening, and can only describe as follows: As an American Communist, you never do really see yourself as one aspect of an international conspiracy, but when your home in Stamford, Conn., is invaded by something from Hong Kong, China, and something from Prague, Czechoslovakia, and something from

England—something you didn't send for—forgive me, sir, your heart begins to pound. You begin to realize more what it is all about.

I don't want this stuff, and I went to the postmaster and asked him if he could stop it, and he said no, that it entered through customs and he had no way of stopping it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, this document entitled "Inter Camp Olympics" is identical with a document introduced by a former prisoner of war who testified in executive session before this committee. In describing this document the witness said: "This document gives a very accurate picture of the tactics of Communists, in that it shows the extreme that they would turn to to create an artificial setup so different from the actual daily life in the prison camps." It is a propaganda stunt and completely divorced from the normal routine of daily life in the camp. This was the first and only such intercamp organization, and it was the only time the officers had ever been allowed to get together with enlisted men at all. So to say this presents an actual picture of the prisoners' life—it merely presents a picture of one exhibit created by the Chinese propagandists. It presents no picture of the prisoners' life as it really existed.

Another prisoner of war testified regarding this document in the following language: "This was a lot of malarky, because they can rig up those pictures the way they want to rig them up."

Mr. SLOANE, would you care to leave these documents with us?

Mr. SLOANE. Yes, I brought them down for that purpose.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer these documents in evidence and ask that they be marked "Sloane Exhibits 1, 2, and 3," respectively.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, they will be so admitted into evidence as marked.

Mr. SLOANE. There is one thing more I would like to tell you for the record. At one time, conferring with Lampell about my involvement in the Red Channels, I was assured by him that perhaps opinion might be enlisted on my side through the efforts of a little group of people he was meeting with at that time—people like Dick Lauterbach, George Tabori, Cliff Odets, and Joseph Barnes.

May I make a further statement for the record, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. You may.

Mr. SLOANE. I would like to express formally, for the record, my personal gratitude for this opportunity and my general good feeling that such an opportunity exists for a human being to talk about his mistakes and have such mistakes listened to and, I believe, understood. I am thankful to you, sir, and to the committee for allowing me to come down and do this.

Mr. TAVENNER. Thank you, Mr. Sloane. I have no further questions, Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder?

Mr. MOULDER. I would like to say this. Mr. Sloane, I have been greatly impressed by your forthrightness in explaining to the committee your former membership and activities in the Communist Party. I commend you for the decision you have made to sever all ties with the Communist Party. Having corrected your mistake, I sincerely hope that society will afford you every reasonable opportunity in the future to use your great talents in the field of your choice.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Sloane, it is encouraging to note that intelligent persons such as yourself are availing themselves of the invitation extended by this committee to appear before it and furnish facts relating to the Communist activities within the United States. You did not appear here today under any compulsion, directly or indirectly initiated or executed by the committee, but on the contrary, as you stated, you have appeared before the committee under the compulsion of your own conscience. You have made a substantial contribution to the sum total of knowledge of the committee on the character of activities in which the Communist Party is engaged. It is noted from your statement that you are no longer affiliated in any manner with the Communist Party and that there is no likelihood of repetition of this mistake by you.

Thank you for your appearance.

(Whereupon the executive session adjourned, 5:30 p. m., January 13, 1954, subject to call of the Chair.)

COMMUNIST METHODS OF INFILTRATION
(Entertainment—Part 1)

MONDAY, JANUARY 18, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to notice, at 10:40 a. m., in the caucus room, 362 Old House Office Building, Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde, chairman (appearance noted in transcript), Kit Clardy, Morgan M. Moulder (appearance noted in transcript), and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel, and W. Jackson Jones, investigator.

Mr. CLARDY. The committee will be in session.

Are you ready, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Call your first witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Howard Bay, will you come forward, please?

Mr. CLARDY. May the record show that the chairman has appointed a subcommittee to conduct the hearing, consisting of Mr. Doyle, of California, and Mr. Clardy, of Michigan, and I should add the name of Mr. Moulder.

Will you stand and be sworn?

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. BAY. I do.

Mr. CLARDY. You may be seated.

TESTIMONY OF HOWARD BAY, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
EPHRAIM LONDON

Mr. BAY. Mr. Chairman, I would like not to have—

Mr. CLARDY. You can be seated when you address us.

Mr. BAY. I would like not to have television, or movie or press cameras during the proceedings.

Mr. CLARDY. We have made no rules with respect to the taking of press pictures, and I guess they can be taken now.

As to television, I will direct the cameras not to pick you up at any time during the progress of this hearing. The cameramen, I trust, understand that.

Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. BAY. I am.

Mr. CLARDY. Will Counsel identify himself for the record?

Mr. LONDON. Ephraim London.

Mr. CLARDY. I take it, Counsel, you are familiar with the rules of the committee?

Mr. LONDON. I am.

Mr. CLARDY. You have a printed copy of the document we put out covering that?

Mr. LONDON. I am afraid not, Mr. Chairman, but I think I am familiar with them.

Mr. CLARDY. Has the witness been given a copy of the printed rules? Does counsel have a copy we may hand him?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Will one of the staff obtain a copy of the rules so that we may give it to counsel during the progress of the hearing.

They state in substance what I am sure you already know with respect to the right of counsel to advise a witness at all times on his constitutional rights.

Are you ready, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Proceed.

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

Mr. BAY. I was born in Centralia, in the State of Washington, May 3, 1912.

(Representative Morgan M. Moulder entered the hearing room at this point.)

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

Mr. BAY. I had elementary schools in the States of Washington, Colorado, Nebraska, and California. I attended college, the University of Washington and the University of Colorado, Westminster College, Marshall College, and Carnegie Institute of Technology.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you complete your formal educational training?

Mr. BAY. In the year 1932.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your profession or occupation?

Mr. BAY. I am a designer of scenery for stage, film, and television; and a certain amount of commercial designing.

(Representative Clyde Doyle left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been engaged in that work?

Mr. BAY. Approximately 22 to 23 years.

(Representative Harold H. Velde entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside?

Mr. BAY. In New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee briefly, please, where and how you have been employed in your occupation since 1935?

Mr. BAY. As a stage designer the normal procedure is employment as a free-lance artist for the design and the supervision and the exe-

cution of scenery properties and lighting. I have designed some 75 Broadway productions, several motion pictures for which I was hired directly by the studio, and designed several television programs.

Mr. VELDE. At this point we will let the record show that I am acting as chairman of the committee and have reconstituted the subcommittee for the purposes of this hearing consisting of Messrs. Clardy, Moulder, and myself, as chairman of the subcommittee.

Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state where you performed the work that you have described, beginning with 1935?

Mr. BAY. Mainly in the city of New York; 2 years in the picture studios in Hollywood, plus short stints at summer stock theaters, etc.

Mr. TAVENNER. What are some of the principal pictures or productions in Hollywood in which you took part?

Mr. BAY. I designed only two complete released motion pictures in Hollywood—Up in Central Park, and Doug Fairbanks, Jr.'s, The Exile.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you go to Hollywood from New York?

Mr. BAY. The spring of 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain there?

Mr. BAY. I had a straight 2-year contract which was terminated early in 1948, and I returned to New York at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has your work required you to return to Hollywood since the spring of 1948?

Mr. BAY. I was hired by the Los Angeles Civic Light Opera Association for a production that they did the summer before last called Jolly Anna, and I went out and supervised that production. I believe that is the only time I have been back.

Mr. TAVENNER. That would be in the year 1952?

Mr. BAY. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you in Hollywood on that occasion?

Mr. BAY. Approximately 3 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bay, as you probably know, this committee has been engaged for a considerable period of time in the investigation of the character, extent, and objects of Communist activities in the entertainment field in general and the moving-picture industry in Hollywood in particular. The committee has information indicating that you are in a position to give it the benefit of some knowledge that you may have on the subject of the inquiry. For that reason you have been subpoenaed here as a witness to tell the committee what you know, if anything, regarding Communist activities in Hollywood during the period that you were there, which appears to be from the spring of 1946 to early in 1948.

Will you tell the committee, please, whether or not you were aware during that period of time of the existence of organized groups of the Communist Party within the entertainment field in Hollywood?

Mr. BAY. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment, that it might tend to incriminate me, although no inference should be drawn as to any guilt.

Mr. VELDE. I am sorry. I didn't hear the last part of that answer.

Mr. BAY. No inference need be drawn as to any guilt.

Mr. CLARDY. Of course, we cannot prevent the drawing of inferences by many people, and it is drawn in many cases, and in many cases quite properly.

I didn't hear that question clearly. Will you repeat it again for me, because I think it is one the witness should be directed to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. My question was this: As to whether or not the witness was aware during the period that he was in Hollywood, between the spring of 1946 and early in 1948, of the existence of any organized groups of the Communist Party within the field of entertainment?

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I don't think the application of the fifth amendment is proper. I ask that he be directed in that instance to answer the question.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly if you are a patriotic, loyal citizen and want no inferences to be drawn from your failure to answer, you will give this committee the information at least as to whether you had any knowledge of the existence of Communist Party activities out in Hollywood. So therefore I concur with the gentleman from Michigan and direct you to answer the question.

(At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. BAY. I don't consider it a question that I want to answer on any other basis than that I refuse to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment, in that it might tend to incriminate me, although no inferences should be drawn necessarily of guilt.

Mr. CLARDY. If I understand the question correctly, and I think I do, it carries no implication that you have any criminal knowledge. It is merely as to whether you have knowledge. It has no implication as to whether you participated in any criminal conspiracy, or anything of the sort. That's why I asked the chairman, and he has directed you to answer it. I think you should reconsider and tell us whether you had any knowledge whatever about it. That is all the question covers.

Am I correct, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly you can't say that the fifth amendment covers crimes committed by others than yourself.

Mr. MOULDER. I don't recall the question being proposed along the line as to whether or not he had knowledge. Could you read the question as originally given? I understood counsel to make a statement concerning the period of time he was there and pleading with him to give the benefit of any information he had concerning such Communist activities in the entertainment field, and it was not a direct question as to whether or not he had knowledge of it.

Mr. VELDE. Perhaps we should have the reporter read the original question back and not as repeated by the counsel.

(Whereupon the question referred to as phrased by Mr. Tavenner was read by the reporter.)

Mr. CLARDY. It isn't the exact meaning. It used the word "knowledge," but it meant, Mr. Moulder, what we have said.

Mr. MOULDER. That's right.

Mr. VELDE. In other words, if the witness has knowledge of the Communist Party cells operating in Hollywood during that time, even though he considers that belonging to the Communist Party is a crime, it isn't his own crime, and the fifth amendment certainly was not meant to protect anybody else than the individual himself against self-incrimination. So, therefore, it seems to me that it is incumbent upon the witness to answer.

However, since he has been directed to answer the question, and he has again refused and pleaded the fifth amendment, I think we should proceed. Mr. Counsel, with further questions.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a further question at that point?

Mr. VELDE. Yes, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, so that there will be no misunderstanding on the record or in your mind, while you were in Hollywood, did any information come to your attention in any way concerning the existence of a Communist Party cell, or a Communist movement in Hollywood?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you understand my question to carry no implication of any criminal activity whatsoever on your part? You so understood it, I am sure, didn't you?

(At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. BAY. In my replies I have to be the judge of possible self-incrimination, and I refuse to answer that question again.

Mr. CLARDY. We play a small part in that, too.

Mr. BAY. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. But, at any rate, you refuse to answer any questions, I take it, regarding whether or not there was any Communist activity brought to your attention? No matter how I phrase it, you refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment?

Mr. BAY. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bay, while in Hollywood, did you become acquainted with a person by the name of Leo Townsend?

Mr. BAY. I know a writer by the name of Leo Townsend in Hollywood; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time visit in his home?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I don't see how visiting in somebody's home can incriminate somebody. I ask that you direct him to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was a Communist Party meeting.

Mr. CLARDY. If it was a Communist Party meeting, that is a different story.

Mr. VELDE. Will you withdraw your request?

Mr. CLARDY. Obviously, if he attended a Communist Party meeting and he admits it, it wouldn't be incriminating, but he is entitled to raise the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE. I disagree with the gentleman. It might be incriminating if he conspired at the meeting.

Mr. CLARDY. That's right. But I said mere attendance wouldn't.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Tavenner, pardon me for interrupting your line of questions; but in the course of the questions asked in the beginning about your knowledge of any Communist activities in the Hollywood area or in the entertainment field, would you give the committee or testify as to any information of Communist activities in the entertainment field which in your opinion would not tend to incriminate you, if you have such knowledge?

(At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. BAY. It is a highly hypothetical question.

Mr. MOULDER. My question is. Do you have any information or knowledge concerning Communist activities in the entertainment field in the Hollywood area during that period of time which would not tend to incriminate you?

Mr. BAY. It is such a general and hypothetical question that I wouldn't know properly how to answer it.

Mr. CLARDY. There is nothing hypothetical about it. He is merely asking you if you have any information.

Mr. MOULDER. I am asking him if he has any knowledge concerning Communist activities which in his judgment and opinion wouldn't tend to incriminate him under the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. That is what I understood. It is a plain and simple question that he can answer "yes" or "no."

Mr. VELDE. And you still decline to answer the question?

Mr. BAY. On the grounds of the fifth amendment. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Do I gather, Witness, you will decline to answer any question that has the word "Communist" in it anywhere?

(At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. CLARDY. You are not allowed to address the committee.

Witness, will you answer my question?

Mr. VELDE. Come to the rostrum.

(Mr. London approaches the rostrum and there is a discussion off the record.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bay, the person to whom I referred, Leo Townsend, testified before this committee in Los Angeles on September 18, 1951. He told the committee that he was a radio writer from 1938 until 1941, when he entered the motion-picture field, and that he joined the Communist Party in 1943, and severed all connection with the Communist Party in 1948.

He told the committee that after his return from service in the Army in 1945 he was a member of three different branches or groups of the Communist Party. That is, from 1945 until 1948, when he severed his connections with the Communist Party.

In an executive statement he advised the committee during that period of time between 1945 and 1948 he was unable to determine just which branch or group of the Communist Party various persons were members of. But he identified a number of persons who were known to him to be members of the Communist Party, and that from time to time they attended Communist Party meetings with him, though he was unable to identify the specific branch as to the specific individual.

He stated:

Ruth Bay and her husband Howard Bay came into my branch I would say in 1945 or 1946. I was told they had been transferred from a Communist Party branch in New York. They were in Hollywood, it seems to me, rather a short time. I recall seeing them only possibly at 3 or 4 meetings. Howard Bay was a New York stage set designer. I recall at least one of those meetings having taken place at my own home on Wonderland Avenue in Hollywood.

Is there any detail of that statement made by Mr. Townsend untrue?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you unite with or become affiliated with any branch of the Communist Party while you were in Hollywood between the spring of 1946 and early 1948?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, some people have complained of claiming certain charges have been made against people who do not have an opportunity to appear before the committee and deny it. As I understand it, you are neither denying nor affirming any part of the testimony you have heard?

Mr. BAY. That is correct. I am appealing to the fifth amendment for possible self-incrimination, although the inference should not be drawn of guilt.

Mr. CLARDY. That is your wish and hope, but the Congressman is right. You have no desire here to explain away or to give any other version than that already on the record, as I understand it?

Mr. BAY. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. The reason he said it and the reason why I amplify it is that we have extended this invitation to a great many people to come in—people who have been named before this committee—and thus far I have been unable to find a single one who would avail himself of the opportunity to clear his name, as they call it.

I am getting a little tired of Communists saying we are smearing good people, when those whose names are mentioned refuse to come forward.

You have an opportunity—a golden opportunity—to contradict here what has been said. I don't think you should be at all surprised if I drew the conclusion that your refusal does exactly what you say you don't want us to do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever in the home of Mr. Leo Townsend on Wonderland Avenue in Hollywood?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party prior to your going to Hollywood in the spring of 1946?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bay, the committee has received evidence from time to time that members of the Communist Party were urged by the functionaries of the party to assist in Communist Party work by joining certain mass organizations which are commonly referred to as Communist Party front organizations.

Our investigation discloses that you were affiliated with or engaged in the work of a number of such mass organizations. I would like to ask you regarding some of them for the purpose of determining to what extent the Communist Party may have played any part in your joining in that work, if it did.

I have before me a photostatic copy of the September 3, 1940, issue of the Daily Worker, which carries a listing of the officers of the American Peace Mobilization. This article carries the statement:

The following were elected to the national council of the American Peace Mobilization.

Your name is the second name on the list, "Howard Bay."

Mr. CLARDY. In what capacity is he named, Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. As a member of the national council.

Now, will you examine the document, please, and state whether or not you were a member of the national council of the American Peace Mobilization at the time of the publication of that list?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what knowledge you have, if any, of Communist efforts to infiltrate, or to organize and control that organization?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the American Peace Mobilization was cited by Attorney General Tom Clark on December 4, 1947, and again on September 21, 1948. It was also cited by Attorney General Francis Biddle on September 24, 1942.

In the citation by Attorney General Francis Biddle it is stated:

Formed in the summer of 1940 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. * * * The most conspicuous activity of American Peace Mobilization was the picketing of the White House, which began in April 1941, in protest against lend-lease and the entire national defense program * * * on the afternoon of June 21, 1941, he [Frederick V. Field, national secretary] suddenly called off the picket line around the White House.

Mr. VELDE. Am I correct, Mr. Counsel, in my belief that the American Peace Mobilization was abandoned shortly after June 21, 1941, and another name given to the organization, "The People's Mobilization"?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. That is correct.

Mr. VELDE. Were you a member of the American People's Mobilization?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I might state, Mr. Chairman, that among the new Communist fronts that sprang up when the Soviet Union and the United States were allies in the war against fascism, was the Artists' Front To Win the War, which began October 16, 1942, and has been cited by the Attorney General and by this committee.

Examination of a pamphlet entitled "Artists' Front To Win the War" shows the listing of certain sponsors, and Mr. Bay, your name, the name of Howard Bay, appears as one of those sponsors.

Is it correct that you were a sponsor of the Artists' Front To Win the War?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE. Did you want to win the war?

Mr. BAY. I will answer that question: Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. There were a lot of American citizens, and in fact every loyal American citizen certainly wanted to win the war. Is there anything wrong with your participation in this particular group? In other words, did they have a title that they wanted or which would indicate the organization wanted to win the war, and actually they did not want to win the war?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE (addressing counsel to the witness.) You may confer with your witness at any time, if you so desire.

Mr. BAY. Mr. Chairman, when Mr. Clardy was chairman before your entrance, I requested there be no television or movie cameras.

Mr. CLARDY. Yes; I told you you would not be televised, but members of the committee do not object to being recorded.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Bay, it seems to me that you have been asked some questions that you could have answered without being incriminated in any way: For instance, this American Peace Mobilization, which has been cited, of course, as a Communist-front group by the Attorney General and this committee and others. The American People's Mobilization, which was an organization created to replace the American Peace Mobilization. You have been asked about your membership in those groups particularly.

It seems to me that if you have any desire whatsoever to cooperate with your Congress in our efforts to rid this country of Communist influences and Communist conspiracy, you would think your conscience would dictate to you to assist this committee by answering the questions that have been propounded to you.

So again I ask you whether any of the questions that have been asked of you concerning your connections with Communist Party activities and Communist-front group activities are questions that you care now to answer and give the committee the benefit of your information?

Mr. BAY. Excuse me, Mr. Chairman.

(At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. BAY. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman. I have recourse to the fifth amendment in answer to that.

Mr. VELDE. And you do decline to answer that question? Will you proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a question at that juncture?

Mr. VELDE. All right, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. As I recall it, you were subpoenaed to appear at another place sometime ago, and this is a postponed date, isn't it? In the interval since you were first subpoenaed, have you issued any public statements denying membership in the Communist Party or saying anything at all about the Communist Party?

Mr. BAY. No.

Mr. CLARDY. You made no statements at all?

Mr. BAY. No.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. I don't believe a direct question has been asked him as to whether or not he is now or whether or not you are now a member of the Communist Party, and I will ask you that question. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BAY. I am not now a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you ever been?

Mr. BAY. I would like to say this—

Mr. CLARDY. No. Just answer "Yes" or "No," and then give your explanation if you have one.

Mr. BAY. I do not intend to answer any questions prior to 1952. I would like to state that I am not and haven't been a member of the Communist Party in 1952, in 1953, and in the current year.

Mr. CLARDY. Of course, that leaves the direct implication that you were prior to 1952, meaning December 31, 1951, you were a member of the party. Is that what you want us to think?

Mr. BAY. That inference should not be drawn.

Mr. CLARDY. Why?

Mr. BAY. Because I am using the fifth amendment in refusing to answer any questions prior to 1952.

Mr. CLARDY. I will ask you were you a member of the Communist Party on December 31, 1951?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. You leave me no alternative then than to conclude you were, when you say that, because you have been free to talk about it since then. Why won't you cooperate with the committee and tell us? Is there something that you really genuinely fear of a criminal nature and that you will be involved in a prosecution?

Mr. BAY. I don't think I am called upon to answer the questions.

Mr. CLARDY. I wouldn't have asked the question if you weren't.

Mr. BAY. I am not called upon to answer why I use the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. I think you are, but you are declining to answer, as I understand it. Is that correct?

Mr. BAY. That is correct.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. You have stated that you are not now a member of the Communist Party. Have you changed your beliefs or philosophy concerning the purposes and objectives of the Communist Party, or of communism, to be more direct? Or is it the same now as it always was prior to the date—what was the date?

Mr. CLARDY. The 1st of January 1952.

Mr. MOULDER. The 1st of January 1952.

Mr. BAY. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment, Mr. Moulder.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Bay, can you name anyone who has ever been incriminated before by this committee, or through this committee hearings, when they have come before this committee and answered the questions propounded to them truthfully? We have had a great many witnesses who have come before this committee and admitted that they had been members of the Communist Party up until very recently. None of those have ever been incriminated.

Do you think it is reasonable to assume that you will be in some way incriminated if you answer questions before this committee?

Mr. BAY. That is the assumption that I am proceeding on, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. Of course, you make me think you have something to hide when you take that position, and I think any reasonable person will reach that conclusion.

Mr. MOULDER. The point that I want to clarify and understand from

you is whether or not your opinions of the philosophy and the objectives of communism are the same now as they were prior to the 1st day of January 1952? You have stated that you are not now a member of the Communist Party, but is your philosophy and opinion concerning communism the same now as it was then, prior to January 1, 1952?

Mr. BAY. I don't think I am called upon to give answers to questions of opinions, but generally I will have to answer that question that I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. You what?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer the question as far as the record goes on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you have any knowledge of what the Communist Party stands for?

(At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. BAY. Obviously I have a certain knowledge of the Communist Party, as all citizens, through the press, and so forth.

Mr. CLARDY. You approve of the things then that you know of it?

Mr. BAY. That is a question of opinion. I don't feel called upon to answer that.

Mr. CLARDY. I was not quite sure, to start with. Are you both a writer and a producer, or just one of them?

Mr. BAY. I am neither a writer nor a producer, Mr. Clardy. I just design scenery.

Mr. CLARDY. You design scenery? The answers and the questions were both a little bit low pitched when we started off and I didn't catch it.

You are a designer solely of scenery?

Mr. BAY. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you witnessed any plays, or motion-picture productions, in which you recognized Communist propaganda?

Mr. BAY. It is such a general question of opinion I wouldn't know how to answer that question seriously, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. You are refusing to answer?

Mr. BAY. I guess so. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bay, were you aware of the change of the Communist Party line from the time of the American Peace Mobilization in June of 1941 and the adoption of the effort to win the war as shown by the Artists' Front activity in the spring of 1942?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has from time to time heard evidence of benefit parties, or benefit exhibits which were given for the support of Communist organs such as the Daily Worker and New Masses.

I have before me a photostatic copy of the April 15, 1941, issue of New Masses, which carries a large advertisement stating, "New Masses, Second Annual Art Auction." Among the artists represented is the name of Howard Bay. Will you examine the document, please, and tell the committee what the nature of that auction was? That is, what its purpose was?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. The records of the committee reflect that you were a member of the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder in 1942.

Mr. BAY. Excuse me.

(At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. BAY. Could we retract to this a second?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. BAY. Is there anything beyond what is right here in the photostat? Does the question go to anything beyond what is the mere facts presented here of an art auction?

Mr. TAVENNER. I may have other questions to ask you regarding it, depending on the nature of your answer.

Mr. BAY. All right. My answer stands then on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean if I would not ask you any more questions that you would answer the question?

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, Mr. Counsel. You have a right to confer. (At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. BAY. No. I am sorry. I am sorry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have anything to add?

Mr. BAY. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your answer?

Mr. BAY. On the grounds of the fifth amendment I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I asked you if you were a member of the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder, as indicated by the appearance of your name on a list published by that organization, as being one of a number of persons who had addressed an appeal to the President for justice in the Browder case.

I am asking you if you were a member of the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder.

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Citizens Committee For Harry Bridges, between 1941 and 1944?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. Counsel, may I ask you a question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. In regard to those last two questions, has his name appeared on some printed documents as a member of the groups you were referring to?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Then, Mr. Chairman, I think he should be directed to answer it, if it is a matter of public record.

Mr. TAVENNER. I may add, Mr. Chairman, that with regard to the Citizens Committee For Harry Bridges, the name of Howard Bay appears as one of a committee of members and sponsors for the Citizens Committee For Harry Bridges, as shown by a publication issued under the letterhead of that group on September 11, 1941.

The same is true as to June 8, 1943, and January 10, 1944.

Mr. VELDE. Did the witness refuse to answer as to whether or not that statement was true and correct, or did you ask him whether—

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir. His answer was he refused to answer on the ground that to do so might tend to incriminate him or others.

Mr. CLARDY. He was asked whether he was a member of the group, and since it is a matter of public record I think he should be directed to answer counsel's question.

Counsel, will you again exhibit the document to him and ask him if that is a correct listing?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bay, I hand you the three documents which I read from, constituting the letters on the letterhead of the Citizens Committee For Harry Bridges, dated September 11, 1941, June 8, 1943, and January 10, 1944, on the back of each of which appears your name; that is, the name "Howard Bay, Scenic Designer, New York City," as a committee member and sponsor, which documents I offer in evidence and ask that they be marked "Bay Exhibits 1, 2, and 3," respectively.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, they will be so admitted.

(Letters on the letterhead of the Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges dated September 11, 1941, June 8, 1943 and January 10, 1944, were so marked "Bay Exhibits Nos. 1, 2, and 3," respectively, and received in evidence.)¹

Mr. TAVENNER. And I ask you whether or not your name appears on each of those documents.

Mr. BAY. It seems to be a fact that my name appears on these two documents.

Mr. TAVENNER. On the three documents?

Mr. BAY. On the three documents. You asked me whether I was a member of these three committees, and I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE. If you are incorrectly listed on those documents, wouldn't you like to have that error removed from the record, or are you correctly listed on those documents?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. In other words, you won't avail yourself of the opportunity to clear your name, if your name is beclouded by that. That is your attitude?

Mr. BAY. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. Let us hear no more then from anybody that they are not given an opportunity.

Mr. VELDE. I concur with you on that.

Mr. CLARDY. I am sick and tired of having it appear to the contrary.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of a page from the December 22, 1943, issue of the New York Times, in which there is a picture and a list of signers of a declaration, the title of which is, "The Fire That Has Been Burning for 10 Years," and put out under the auspices of the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee, Paul Robeson, chairman. Among the signers of this declaration appears the name Howard Bay.

Will you examine it and state whether or not it shows that you were one of the signers and whether your name appears there?

(At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. BAY. Might I ask a question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

¹ Retained in committee files.

Mr. BAY. Is this committee on the Attorney General's list and on your list of subversive organizations?

Mr. TAVENNER. This organization was cited as a Communist front formed in December 1943 by prominent Communists and Communist sympathizers to honor Georgi Dimitrov, former head of the Communist International.

(At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. BAY. In that case—

Mr. TAVENNER. By the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report of March 29, 1944.

Mr. BAY. On that basis then I would decline on the basis of the fifth amendment to answer that question.

Mr. CLARDY. I can't hear that answer.

Mr. BAY. I decline to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask it be marked "Bay Exhibit 4."

(Photostatic copy of a page from the December 22, 1943, issue of the New York Times was marked "Bay Exhibit No. 4" for identification and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Since January 1, 1952, have you resigned from any of these organizations that have been named?

(At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. BAY. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. Are you a member of any of those organizations today?

Mr. BAY. No.

Mr. CLARDY. Why won't you tell me then when you resigned or whether you resigned?

Mr. BAY. The inference of the question is something that requires me to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. No. It does not require you at all. That is your own choosing.

Mr. BAY. I choose to, then.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a document entitled, "Urgent Summons to a Congress on Civil Rights To Be Held in Detroit April 27 and 28, 1946," on the back of which appears a partial list of sponsors. Will you examine the document, please, and refer to the printed list on the back where your name appears—the name Howard Bay. Do you see it there?

Mr. BAY. I will answer that as I answered before. It is obviously a fact my name appears on this, but—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read your title that appears after your name?

Mr. BAY. President of the United Scenic Artists, Local 829.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was that local? Was that in Hollywood or was it in New York?

Mr. BAY. It is in New York. It is a union of the designers and scenic artists in the theater and motion picture on the east coast, and the theater generally. It is affiliated with the Brotherhood of Painters and Paperhangers of the A. F. of L., probably one of the most conservative unions in America.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the time you were president of the United Scenic Artists Local, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you president of the east coast local at the time you were in Hollywood?

Mr. BAY. I maintained my membership, if that is the question.

(At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. BAY. Was I president? No. Of course not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Without any reference to yourself, will you tell the committee whether or not there were any persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party who were officials of that local in 1946?

(At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. BAY. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wouldn't it be very unfair for that local for you to take that position unless you had knowledge that there were no persons in the official family of that local who were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BAY. Actually that question does not disturb me because it happens to be before, during, and after my tenure of presidency to be one of the most conservative apolitical organizations in the A. F. of L. So that I am not afraid of any repercussions of my answer to that question.

Mr. CLARDY. Then why don't you answer it?

Mr. BAY. I decline to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. Of course, that isn't answering it.

Mr. VELDE. Was the local of this particular union ever cited by anyone as ever being subversive?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir. I don't want the record of this hearing to indicate that the committee has any such information.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly, the Chair concurs with the gentleman from Michigan in that respect, and you are directed to answer the question.

I think maybe we had better repeat that question again. Will the reporter read the original question back relative to the membership in the local union of the A. F. of L.?

Mr. CLARDY. And also read back that part in which he said he had no fear of answering the question.

Mr. VELDE. Read the original question.

(Whereupon the question referred to was read by the reporter.)

Mr. BAY. Insofar as the question assumes I would have such knowledge, I decline to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE. Then, Mr. Witness, you are directed to answer the question.

Mr. BAY. I decline on the basis of the fifth amendment, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bay, I have before me a statement signed by certain individuals. It is a pamphlet entitled "A Statement Calling for the Peaceful Settlement of U. S.-U. S. S. R. Differences," which was published by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Your name is listed as one of those signing the document.

Do you see your name appearing there?

Mr. BAY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you authorize the use of your name?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE. Counsel, I think you have two questions there in one. Will you ask them separately?

Mr. TAVENNER. I asked him if he recognized his name there, and I believe your answer was you did.

Mr. BAY. Yes. I recognize it. It is obviously a fact my name appears here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you authorize the use of your name?

Mr. BAY. That question I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. Was your name used without your authorization?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question because it is the same question, on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you ever notice it having been published after it was done?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you ever make any complaint or register any objection to your name appearing?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. Did a copy of it ever come to your attention before today?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer this document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Bay Exhibit No. 5."

(Pamphlet entitled "A Statement Calling for the Peaceful Settlement of U. S.-U. S. S. R. Differences" was so marked "Bay Exhibit No. 5" for identification and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. The organization the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has been cited, of course, by the Attorney General and this committee. Were you a member of the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. The organization has been cited, as the committee well knows.

Mr. CLARDY. That is an organization that Albert Einstein belongs to; isn't it? He is a member?

Mr. TAVENNER. I wouldn't undertake to say.

Mr. CLARDY. He belongs to something like it.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1945, Mr. Bay, Benjamin Davis was a candidate for political office on the Communist Party ticket in New York as councilman. There was formed a group known as the Artists, Writ-

ers, and Professional Groups for the Reelection of Benjamin J. Davis. The announcement of the formation of this group was made by Paul Robeson, chairman of the group. I refer to the September 25, 1945, issue of the Daily Worker, where those facts are set forth.

In the article you are listed—that is, the name Howard Bay is listed as one of the sponsors. Will you examine it, please, and state the circumstances under which you lent your support to the election of Benjamin Davis on the Communist Party ticket to the position of councilman of New York city, if you did?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you know Mr. Davis? Your answer is "No"?

Mr. BAY. No.

Mr. CLARDY. You never met him?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

(At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. CLARDY. Have you ever attended any meetings at which he was present?

(At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bay, in the course of the testimony of Leo Townsend in Hollywood he described an emergency fund drive for \$60,000 to be used for some purpose of the Communist Party in New York City. He testified that the information was abroad that some Communist Party members were mortgaging their homes to make contributions to that fund drive. Were you aware while you were in Hollywood of the making of such a campaign, or the conducting of such a campaign for funds for the Communist Party?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you solicited to contribute to that fund?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you ever contribute in any way to the coffers of the Communist Party anywhere?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. Were you ever assessed, as a great many professional people have told us they were assessed, a percentage of their earnings?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee is unaware of the exact purpose for which that fund of \$60,000 was to be spent in New York City. Do you have any knowledge of the use to which the fund was to be put?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

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

Mr. VELDE. Do you have any questions, Mr. Clardy?

Mr. CLARDY. Just a few.

Did you ever read the Daily Worker?

Mr. BAY. I think I have read the Daily Worker. I have read most every publication at one time or another.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you read the Daily Worker as a steady diet, more or less?

Mr. BAY. No.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you read it since January 1, 1952?

Mr. BAY. Possibly 1 or 2 stray copies. I wouldn't know.

Mr. CLARDY. Have you since January 1, 1952, attended any meetings at which persons you knew to be Communists also attended? (At this point Mr. Bay conferred with Mr. London.)

Mr. BAY. No.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you do so prior to January 1, 1952?

Mr. BAY. I refuse to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Since January 1, 1952, have you at any time had conversations with any person that you knew to be a Communist?

Mr. BAY. The question assumes I would have such knowledge, so I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. I assume you will also decline if I ask you the same question with regard to the period prior to 1952?

Mr. BAY. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. And I understand you also decline to answer any questions with respect to any contributions or payment of dues, or money of any sort, to the Communist cause?

Mr. BAY. That is correct.

Mr. CLARDY. That is all I have.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. I have no further questions, Mr. Counsel. Do we have any further witnesses to appear today?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. The witness is excused and the meeting is adjourned till further call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a. m. the hearing was adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.)

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