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HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION
OF RADIATION LABORATORY AND ATOMIC BOMB
PROJECT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY, CALIF. VOLUME 3

HEARINGS

U.S. Congress House BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

DECEMBER 20, 21, and 22, 1950

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RADIATION LABORATORY AND ATOMIC BOMB PROJECT
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY,
CALIF.—VOLUME 3

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1950

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met pursuant to call at 10:55 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Burr P. Harrison presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Burr P. Harrison and Harold H. Velde.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Donald T. Appell, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. HARRISON. This is a hearing conducted by a subcommittee appointed by the chairman, consisting of Mr. Velde and Mr. Harrison.

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

Dr. HAWKINS. I do.

Mr. HARRISON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF DAVID HAWKINS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
JOSEPH A. FANELLI

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Dr. David Hawkins?

Dr. HAWKINS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes; Mr. Fanelli.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record, and give his address?

Mr. FANELLI. Joseph A. Fanelli. I am a member of the District of Columbia Bar, with offices at 729 Fifteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Hawkins, when and where were you born?

Dr. HAWKINS. I was born in El Paso, Tex., February 28, 1913.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you briefly outline for the committee your educational background?

Dr. HAWKINS. From the beginning?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, from the time you entered college.

Dr. HAWKINS. I was an undergraduate at Stanford University in Palo Alto, Calif. I got my B. A. degree there, and my M. A. degree there in 1936. I got my Ph. D. degree from the University of California in 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee what your record of employment has been since you left college?

Dr. HAWKINS. I had been at the University of California 1 year or 2 years as teaching assistant before I got my Ph. D. degree. Then I was employed as temporary instructor at Stanford University in the academic year 1940-41.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue as an instructor?

Dr. HAWKINS. For 1 year at Stanford. Then I was employed the following year by the University of California. That is 1941-42 and 1942-43, and I left the University of California about the 1st of May 1943. On that occasion I was employed on war work at Los Alamos, N. Mex.

Mr. TAVENNER. And when did your employment begin at Los Alamos?

Dr. HAWKINS. On or very close to the 1st of May—perhaps the 3d or 5th, I don't recall exactly—1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. And it continued to what date?

Dr. HAWKINS. Until about August 1946. At that time I left Los Alamos, and from then on I have been back in academic work.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Dr. HAWKINS. I came from Los Alamos to Washington, D. C., where I was associate professor of philosophy at George Washington University. That was for 1 year. After that I was employed by the University of Colorado starting in the fall of 1947, and I have been employed there continuously since then. I am now professor of philosophy at the University of Colorado.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Hawkins, the committee has been in the course of investigation of activities of various individuals within the Communist Party in the State of California, and this investigation is all the more important now that this country is in the situation that it is in regard to its foreign relations, and I want to ask you to cooperate fully with the committee, if you will, in helping us to obtain a better understanding of the matters which are in the course of investigation.

Dr. HAWKINS. I am very anxious to cooperate with the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. And in asking for that cooperation, we, of course, will have to ask you questions relating to your own background and your own experiences. So the first question of that character that I want to ask in regard to your own activities is whether or not you have at any time been a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you state to the committee, please, the circumstances under which you affiliated with the party, and where and when it took place?

Dr. HAWKINS. As nearly as I can recollect, I joined the Communist Party in Berkeley in 1938; I think the fall of 1938. I am not too precise about the date. I left the Communist Party in the spring of 1943. The date of my departure is not too definite, because of the circumstances of my leaving.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who recruited you into the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. No one.

Mr. TAVENNER. No one solicited your membership?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. With whom did you confer in the Communist Party about your affiliation?

Dr. HAWKINS. As nearly as I can recollect the circumstances of my joining, which I can describe to you if you wish, I resolved to do this, and I went and looked up the local campus branch of the Communist Party. This wasn't difficult to do in those days. Then I went to a meeting at which I signed up.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the person you contacted? Was it Kenneth May or some other individual at the school?

Dr. HAWKINS. I recollect Kenneth May from that time, or I can't say from that time, but I do recollect Kenneth May from this particular period of my life. I can't say there was any one individual that I now recollect with whom I discussed this.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you assigned to a branch or cell of the Communist Party when you united with it?

Dr. HAWKINS. So far as I know there was only one branch in the region, which at that time I think was called the campus branch, or some such phrase as that, and that was the branch to which I was assigned.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was at the University of California?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether that was a branch of the Young Communist League, as distinguished from a branch of the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't believe it was a branch of the Young Communist League. I am pretty sure it was not. It was a regular Communist Party branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the membership of that group?

Dr. HAWKINS. I have to answer that by just forming a picture of meetings I attended. I would say 25 or 30 people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever hold an official position in that branch?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not that I recollect.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the officers?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe at the time I left Berkeley the chairman—or organizer, I think he was called—was Mr. May, but I am not certain of that. My recollections of this particular period are not too sharp.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of all the persons who did hold official positions in that branch of the Communist Party while you were a member?

Dr. HAWKINS. I am afraid, sir, I didn't pay much attention to those matters, and I don't recollect at the moment any other individual but Mr. May. I am sure there were others.

Mr. FANELLI. You mean the officers, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is right.

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't recall who the officers were or who the people were in the branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever a member of the Young Communist League?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told us that you went to Stanford in 1940.

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you transfer your membership to a branch of the Communist Party at Stanford while you were there?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you were at Stanford 1 year?

Dr. HAWKINS. Less than 1 year; one academic year—9 months, I think.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the officers of the branch at Stanford?

Dr. HAWKINS. When I went there I believe—and I am not certain about this—that Mr. Frank Oppenheimer was the chairman of that group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of other officers at that time?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't think there were other officers at that time. As I recollect it, there was just this one job which was a formal job.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the branch of the Communist Party at Stanford?

Dr. HAWKINS. It wasn't at Stanford; it was at Palo Alto. That is, it wasn't on the campus of the university. I don't think it had any name. If it did, I don't recollect it.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the membership?

Dr. HAWKINS. I would say probably 15 or 20, but I am not too clear on the exact number.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you go from Stanford University, back to the University of California?

Dr. HAWKINS. Back to the University of California; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you then again renew your membership there?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir; I didn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understood you to say that you were a member of the Communist Party until 1943?

Dr. HAWKINS. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was your membership held after leaving Stanford?

Dr. HAWKINS. Might I explain something of the circumstances?

Mr. TAVENNER. Surely.

Dr. HAWKINS. This was a period when I was not particularly happy about the general position on some political questions of the Communist Party; and in addition to that, when I went back to the University of California, I was beginning a career as a university teacher, I hoped, and I didn't want to get reinvolved in the affairs of this branch, and I therefore didn't reaffiliate with it.

Mr. HARRISON. That is in 1941?

Dr. HAWKINS. That is in the fall of 1941; yes. I didn't reaffiliate with this branch. I wanted to have what I thought I deserved and my profession deserved; an independent position in relation to the university at which I was teaching.

Mr. VELDE. What was the name of the branch at the University of California?

Dr. HAWKINS. The name I recall was campus branch. I believe there was a name which I vaguely remember from this period, which was Merriman branch.

Could I go back to the Palo Alto branch a moment?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe I held a minor office in that branch for a time. I am sorry to be so vague about this, but I believe I was in charge of the educational activities of this branch for a very short time, as I recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. From 1941 until 1943, when I understand you ceased to be a member, did you affiliate with any other branch or cell of the party, and how did you hold your membership during that period?

Dr. HAWKINS. I did. I affiliated with a branch of the Communist Party in San Francisco. A good part of this period I was living in San Francisco and commuting to Berkeley, and this accomplished the separation which I desired.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that branch?

Dr. HAWKINS. It was a rather small branch of professional people, mostly school teachers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did it have a name?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not that I know of.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the officers of that branch?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't recollect. I might say that my affiliation with that branch was not a very constant one. That is to say, I was not in very regular attendance at its meetings. I was never an officer of it. It was a small branch. I don't even recollect that it had any well-defined officers.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many composed that branch, the professional branch?

Dr. HAWKINS. I would say something like 10 or 12 or 15 people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were mainly from the teaching profession?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of those persons?

Dr. HAWKINS. Would you consider, sir, that I am rather reluctant to give the names of individuals whom I don't remember very well and as to whom statements I might make would perhaps misrepresent the situation at this time?

Mr. HARRISON. Of course, we are familiar with the fact that at that time it was an entirely different situation. Nevertheless, it is of value to this committee to have that information.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me change the question slightly. Were there members of that cell who were employed at the Radiation Laboratory?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. HARRISON. Some of these people may still be in the Communist Party, and some may not.

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe they are not.

Mr. HARRISON. We are trying to sift it to be fair about it.

Dr. HAWKINS. I hope you appreciate the reason for my hesitation.

Mr. HARRISON. We understand that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you if any of the following-named persons were members of that cell—

Dr. HAWKINS. All right, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Bernadette Doyle?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Counsel, you are referring to what branch now?

Mr. TAVENNER. The professional branch made up principally of teachers.

Mr. VELDE. Of San Francisco?

Mr. TAVENNER. Of San Francisco. I will have other questions I will want to ask him about these individuals later.

I believe, first, I am going to ask you to name those that you definitely recall were members of that branch.

Dr. HAWKINS. Is it possible that you may postpone that question, and give me a chance to think about it, until later?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. HAWKINS. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. The purpose of your desiring further time is to be more definite about your recollection of who were members?

Dr. HAWKINS. And about my answer, sir.

Mr. HARRISON. Your naming those people is not going to put them in the Atlanta penitentiary. We try to find out which ones of them are still active in the party and, therefore, dangerous to the country. I wouldn't say it isn't a reflection on a man's judgment that he belonged to the Communist Party in that period, but there is nothing sinister about it. It also has this bearing: We would like to know whether these people subsequently became employed by the Government, particularly on the atomic-bomb project.

Dr. HAWKINS. I realize that. My hesitation arises from two things, mainly. I can assure you that none of these people had any connection whatever with the Radiation Laboratory or Communist Party affairs at Berkeley, and if your interest is centered there I can assure you that there is no connection I know of or can conceive of between these people and the Berkeley group. It was only this extreme separation between the Berkeley group and this group that made me desire to affiliate with it.

Mr. HARRISON. Of course, there was another group that did deliver to the Soviet government every piece of scientific information they had from the Radiation Laboratory.

Dr. HAWKINS. I know nothing about that.

Mr. FANELLI. Mr. Chairman, may I respectfully suggest that you ask if the school teachers in this group were from Berkeley. Apparently not, I gather from his last answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were they engaged in teaching?

Dr. HAWKINS. They lived and were employed in San Francisco, as I recollect, all of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did any of them have a connection with the University of California?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir; not that I know of. I believe they were grade-school and high-school teachers.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the plan under which you affiliated with that group? Wasn't that done as part of a plan to help educate them in communism, because of your longer membership, probably?

Dr. HAWKINS. I wonder if I might ask you to defer that until my wife's testimony? I understand she is to testify this morning. The reason was one of family association.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you familiar with the labor school in San Francisco?

Mr. HARRISON. Just a moment. We will recess for a few minutes. (Short recess.)

Mr. HARRISON. Will you read the question to the witness?

(The pending question was read to the witness, as follows: "Are you familiar with the labor school in San Francisco?")

Dr. HAWKINS. I know that there was a labor school in San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any of the teachers who were members of the branch that you were affiliated with in San Francisco connected with the labor school, to your knowledge?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever had any connection with that school?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir. I have a vague recollection that at one time someone asked me if I would teach a course in the labor school, but I didn't do it. That is the only thing I can recall that might connect me in any way with it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Frank Leslie Pollack a member of any of these branches of the Communist Party with which you were affiliated?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not to my knowledge; not of the branches with which I was affiliated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Frank Leslie Pollack?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party at any time?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir; I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting at which he was present?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not that I recollect.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you recommend him for employment on any occasion?

Dr. HAWKINS. I have recommended a lot of people for employment at one time or another, but I don't recollect any such recommendation.

Mr. TAVENNER. In any event, I understand you did not know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you met him?

Dr. HAWKINS. Well, they were social, and I would find it very hard to say when I met him. I believe it was during the period when my wife and I were living in San Francisco, and I assume that I met him socially during that period.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you know him, for how long a period of time?

Dr. HAWKINS. This is very difficult for me to say. I may have met him prior to the time when my wife and I were living in San Francisco. If so, it was a very casual acquaintance. The thing which I recollect now, apart from seeing him and his wife in San Francisco, is that just prior to the time I left the University of California at Berkeley to go to Los Alamos we heard of an apartment, or half a house, it was, near the campus, to which we were considering moving, and in fact we had already made plans. This apartment was to be vacated by the Pollacks, and we made plans to move back to Berkeley. I had gotten tired commuting from San Francisco to the campus, and we were just planning to move to that apartment when I was offered a position at Los Alamos and accepted it.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did your acquaintanceship continue with Pollack?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe the last time I saw him was when I informed him that our plans had suddenly changed, that we were going to leave town; and, so far as I recollect, I haven't seen him since.

Mr. TAVENNER. I mentioned the name a few moments ago of Bernadette Doyle. Were you acquainted with her?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe that I met Bernadette Doyle once. At any rate, I met a lady whom I presume to have been Bernadette Doyle. This lady was at that time—which I suppose was 1941 or early 1942—she was described to me as the educational director, I believe, of the Communist Party of Alameda County. Apart from that meeting with her, I don't recollect any other.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not you attended any meeting at which she was present?

Dr. HAWKINS. I have no recollection of such a meeting. There may have been public meetings of some kind, or big meetings, at which she was present. I don't recollect her in any other connection.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Dr. Bernard Peters?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir; I am slightly acquainted with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us what your relationship was with him.

Dr. HAWKINS. He was in some position, I don't know what, in the physics department, I believe, at the University of California, and had been a student, I believe, of various people there, Dr. Oppenheimer, for example. I recollect meeting him on the campus, and I believe I visited his house once.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of or affiliated in any way with the campus branch of the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't know, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you know whether he was affiliated during the period prior to 1940 when you were an active member of that branch?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't believe he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. After your return to the University of California in the fall of 1941, did you attend any of the meetings of the campus branch of the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe not. I am quite sure I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was your association with Dr. Peters sufficient to enable you to tell this committee whether or not he was affiliated with that branch of the Communist Party or any other branch?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir; it was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you don't know whether he was a member or not after your return to the University of California?

Dr. HAWKINS. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. The occurrence you referred to of meeting him at his home, was that a group meeting?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir. That was purely social.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Robert R. Davis?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not in Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. You met him after he was transferred from the Radiation Laboratory to Los Alamos?

Dr. HAWKINS. The first time I met him was at Los Alamos.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you transferred to Los Alamos?

Dr. HAWKINS. I wasn't transferred.

Mr. TAVENNER. I mean, when did you accept employment at Los Alamos?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe I said it was around the 1st of May. It may have been the 3d or 5th or 4th.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what year?

Dr. HAWKINS. 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting with Robert R. Davis?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir; not that I know of.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever discuss the subject of communism with Robert R. Davis?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. I know it from a very recent period.

Mr. TAVENNER. Explain what you mean.

Dr. HAWKINS. I know it from newspaper stories of the activities of your committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Rossi Lomanitz while you were at the University of California?

Dr. HAWKINS. I can't recall ever having met him. His name is one that I do seem to recall from that period, but I think it is simply as one of the people who was working in the physics department, about whom I may have heard his name.

Mr. HARRISON. Would you mind telling me why you joined the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir; I would be very glad to tell you. In this period—this is somewhere near the time of Munich—I was very much alarmed, and I think I could say in this period I had become more interested in political matters. I had been pretty much absorbed in my activities as an undergraduate, and pretty unworldly in my attitude. I became concerned about what appeared to be the imminent drive toward war in Nazi Germany, and I felt that this was something—well, I think the first recollection I have of a strong interest in political matters was the civil war in Spain. I was very much afraid that this aggressive drive toward war of Nazi Germany would not be stopped by the policies of Chamberlain and Daladier, and this view to which I came was at that time held very strongly by the Communist Party.

I think more than any other one factor was the feeling that this drive toward war could be stopped by a collective security policy and when I looked around to find people who strongly supported that policy, at least in California, the Communist Party seemed to be the principal group that was taking that position. I think this was the thing that got me interested and is the thing I kept falling back on if I had doubts about the Communist Party. This was one thing definite on which I felt one could work with these people for a good end. I think I was at a stage of development—well, not all college professors are as remote from practical considerations of politics as I was, but I was pretty remote from that sort of thing.

Mr. HARRISON. I can't help but be impressed by how strong the appeal of communism was to so many of what we might call the intelligentsia.

DR. HAWKINS. It may be true that at this particular time, at least in California, there was a kind of feeling of crisis in the air. This was the time of terrific strife in the valleys of California, labor strife, and on the waterfront. There was a general feeling that society was not all in one piece, that people were not participating together in the democratic process but were separating into warring camps; and that may have influenced persons like myself who had sympathies for people coming out of the depression. My wife was a kindergarten teacher and saw real suffering. Children would come to school with nothing to eat or bloated stomachs because they were eating only starch. I think I never had any particular romantic illusions about the Soviet Union. I understood they had decided to follow a path that was going to be very hard on any internal democratic process, but it was true that in this period the Soviet Union, in international affairs, seemed to stand for the things that would seem to lead to peace.

MR. HARRISON. What effect did the German-Russian Pact have on your feeling?

DR. HAWKINS. The first thing that had any pronounced negative effect on my feeling was not the German-Russian Pact but the attitude of the Communist Parties in England and France and the United States at the time of the invasion of Norway and the Low Countries. The German-Russian Pact seemed to me to be a sheer act of national self-protection. Later on there was a war against Finland, and I couldn't accept that with any happy feeling, but again you could say, "Here is a desperate situation. It may be true that there are secret arrangements that Finland is to be used as a springboard."

MR. HARRISON. All you had to do was look at a map and see why that was done.

DR. HAWKINS. I think the invasion of Norway and the Low Countries gave me a real test, because up to that time I had felt that the position of the western Communist Parties was a genuine position of national self-interest. During the period when Germany had committed herself to war against the Western Powers, this then seemed to become just the war that in the whole period of the united front we had been predicting was going to happen. Suddenly you found the French and English and American Communist Parties carrying over the slogans of the previous period, and in the case of France that was so bad that the French Communist Party didn't reverse its position until the actual eve of the invasion of France. That seemed to be a terrifically opportunist position, and I was not happy about that, nor was I happy about the position of the American Communist Party at that time, but I did not withdraw from it.

MR. VELDE. Did you inform yourself on the Communist Party before you joined?

DR. HAWKINS. I am afraid I did not make the kind of investigation one would normally make before joining any organization. I might say it was very difficult to do because you had two stories to judge from. You had the position of people very strongly against the Communist Party, who said it was an agent of Moscow. This was laughed at in many circles, and there was nothing I could see that would indicate that.

MR. VELDE. You didn't know the Communist Party was a part of the Comintern?

Dr. HAWKINS. If I remember correctly, they left the Comintern about the time I joined or maybe a little before or a little after. That is my recollection. The thing which I would have thought about that was, "Well, of course, if there is an international political movement in the world, then they should have some international forum through which to discuss their common problems and divergences," and in international program of that kind would not have seemed to me bad, nor does an international program now seem bad to me. I don't mean an international Communist program, but any international program.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Dr. Irving David Fox?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir; not that I recollect.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Ken Max Manfred?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Max Bernard Friedman?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir. I might say this was a long time ago. When I say "No," I mean I have no recollection of these people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Philip Morrison?

Dr. HAWKINS. I would like to ask on this particular point if you could ask me a different question from that one?

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Tavenner, we are going to have to quit before long, anyway.

Dr. HAWKINS. Could I consult with my counsel on that question?

Mr. HARRISON. He will withdraw the question if it is agreeable to you. We will have to quit at noon, anyway.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. HARRISON. We will recess until 2 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 11:55 a. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was resumed at 2 p. m., Hon. Morgan M. Moulder presiding and Hon. Harold H. Velde also being present.)

Mr. MOULDER. Let the record show that pursuant to order of the Honorable John S. Wood, chairman of the committee, Mr. Velde and Mr. Moulder were duly designated as a subcommittee of two to conduct the hearing this afternoon.

Mr. TAVENNER. The witness has been sworn and is in the middle of his testimony.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF DAVID HAWKINS—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. My last question to you, I believe, was whether or not you were acquainted with Philip Morrison.

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your answer to that?

Dr. HAWKINS. May I explain my hesitation in answering that question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, this is just a question of whether or not you know him.

Dr. HAWKINS. I hesitated when you asked me before, and I would like very much to explain my hesitation.

Mr. TAVENNER. If the chairman agrees.

Mr. MOULDER. Yes.

Dr. HAWKINS. I have really no desire to inhibit or impede the investigations of your committee, sir; and if I knew of anything connecting individuals about whom I feel this hesitation with the radiation laboratory or with any crimes in which they might have been directly or indirectly involved, I would not feel any hesitation; but, not having such knowledge, I feel very deeply—and I am sure you will agree with this proposition—that there are certain fundamental relations of trust which tend to distinguish American society from other societies in the world today; and, unless this kind of question is to your knowledge directly or indirectly related to the subjects you are investigating, I would very much like to ask not to be asked such a question.

If there is information of this sort that you would like to get, I would just ask whether there may not be more efficient or direct ways to get it, such as asking the question of the individual himself rather than of me.

Mr. MOULDER. What was the question, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. The question was whether or not he was acquainted with Philip Morrison.

I might say that you gave the information without hesitancy that Mr. Frank Oppenheimer was the chairman of the Communist Party cell at Stanford University, or at Palo Alto.

Dr. HAWKINS. At Palo Alto, a branch there; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How can you explain your reluctance to give us the same information relating to Philip Morrison? What distinction do you make?

Dr. HAWKINS. Because there the relationship of trust is not involved. Mr. Oppenheimer has testified publicly regarding this, and I hope everybody in his position or my position would do the same thing; then there would not be the difficulty I now feel so deeply.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you mentioned his name because he had himself made certain statements before this committee, and you would not have done so if he had not made that disclosure?

Dr. HAWKINS. If he had not, I would feel about him, as a man I respect and who I do not feel has been involved in any criminal activities, the same way.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then your hesitation is limited only by the knowledge the committee has?

Dr. HAWKINS. No; it is limited to people about whom I would find it very hard to believe they are involved in any way in criminal activities of any kind, and who do not seem to me to be within the sphere of the investigation you are conducting. This is a judgment which in the light of later knowledge I may be willing to modify.

Mr. FANELLI. Mr. Chairman, may I ask for consultation with the witness at this point?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes, indeed.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. FANELLI. Mr. Counsel, put your question again.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Philip Morrison?

Dr. HAWKINS. I have conferred with my counsel, and I would like to say that I am acquainted with Philip Morrison.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you became acquainted with him?

Dr. HAWKINS. Well, they were social, but I don't recollect them in more detail.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you meet him?

Dr. HAWKINS. In Berkeley, I believe, at a party of some kind, first.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this a Communist Party meeting or just a social get-together?

Dr. HAWKINS. Just a social affair.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting which he attended?

Dr. HAWKINS. At this point we come back to my very deep feeling on this subject of testifying concerning people who I believe have had no connection—I believe he had no connection with the radiation laboratory, and to my knowledge he is a very loyal and patriotic citizen, and I would like to ask you if it is necessary that you ask that question of me rather than of him.

Mr. VELDE. I think the witness, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Counsel, is mistaken about the scope of the investigation conducted by this committee. It is not limited, as I understand it, to the University of California Radiation Laboratory. It extends to any Communist activity, or any subversive activity, not only in California but all over the country, as far as that is concerned. I am sure the committee is interested in any information that you can give us relative to any subversive activities which you know about, and I urge you to answer our questions and be as helpful as possible to this committee in determining just who were members of the Communist Party or who were engaged in subversive activities of any kind.

Dr. HAWKINS. I appreciate the difficulty; believe me, I appreciate it very deeply, because I experience it in my own self at this moment.

Mr. MOULDER. You may answer the question then make any explanation you desire to make, or express an opinion on any question involving the loyalty of any person.

Dr. HAWKINS. I am afraid that under the conditions which exist today, very different from the conditions which existed 10 or 8 or 9 years ago, with respect to American participation in foreign affairs and with respect to the American Communist Party, the publication of information of this kind does the kind of damage which I know is not the intent of you gentlemen in any way, but which is the necessary consequence of your investigations. I hope my position is not misunderstood. I believe that I am completely honest in my statement of it.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Philip Morrison has ever publicly announced his membership in the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't know whether he has made any statements on that subject at all, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I may come back to the subject of Philip Morrison a little later.

Let me ask you about Louise Bransten. Are you acquainted with her?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. FANELLI. Is that Bransten?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, Bransten, B-r-a-n-s-t-e-n.

Do you know an individual by the name of Louise Minton?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have I asked you as to whether or not you were acquainted with David Bohm?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't recollect whether you did. I was not acquainted with him. I may have met him once or twice on the campus, but I don't recollect him at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Joseph W. Weinberg?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, I knew him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us the circumstances under which you became acquainted with him.

Dr. HAWKINS. He was also a person whom I met on the campus. I don't remember in what first connection. He is a person who stands out principally in my memory as one with whom I had several conversations on subjects very close to my main field of interest, namely, philosophy of science.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first become acquainted with him?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe probably my recollection of him dates from the time of 1941 or 1942 when I was temporary instructor at the University of California.

Mr. TAVENNER. And did your acquaintanceship with him continue on for a period of a number of years?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir. I left off my acquaintance with him when I left Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were at Berkeley twice.

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes. When I left Berkeley to go to Los Alamos.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you were acquainted with him from 1940 until May 1943 when you went to Los Alamos?

Dr. HAWKINS. From 1941 or 1942 until the time I went to Los Alamos.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you first knew him when you were at the University of California, was he at that time affiliated in any way with the Communist Party cell known as the Merriman branch of the Communist Party, or the campus branch, which you referred to?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he attend any meetings there that were attended by you?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not to my recollection.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he attend any Communist Party meetings at any place where you were present?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir, not that I recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. If he had been a member of that branch of the Communist Party at that time—and that was during the period of your first matriculation at the University of California—would you have known it?

Dr. HAWKINS. I have no recollection of him as a member of the Communist Party in that period. As to whether I would have known it or not, I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, he may have been a member and that fact not be known to you?

Dr. HAWKINS. I just can't say. It was a rather large group of people. I was not deeply involved in its activities. There are a number of people at that time I don't remember at all.

Mr. FANELLI. I think the question is, Would you have known it at the time?

Dr. HAWKINS. The probabilities would be less than one half that I would have known it, because I didn't know but a small number of

people in that group. I may have recognized faces and not known names.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you came back to the University of California in the fall of 1941, I understand you did not affiliate with the Merriman branch of the Communist Party, and that you did not attend any of its meetings?

Dr. HAWKINS. That is correct; I didn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you have any means of knowing whether or not Dr. Weinberg was a member of that branch in that period of time, that is, after the fall of 1941?

Dr. HAWKINS. As I indicated to you this morning, I would have been very much not interested in such matters at this point. I was not connected with that branch and I didn't want to be involved in its activities.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you were a member of the professional branch over in San Francisco during this period?

Dr. HAWKINS. Of a branch in San Francisco, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Dr. Weinberg connected in any way with that branch?

Dr. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time sit in a Communist Party meeting with Dr. Weinberg?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you uncertain in a measure about that?

Dr. HAWKINS. I am no more uncertain about that than I am about any of my recollections of this period, which was sometime ago and in which I have maintained no active interest since 1943. I am reasonably certain.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever visit in the home of Dr. Weinberg?

Dr. HAWKINS. I had luncheon with him one day in his home; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who else was there?

Dr. HAWKINS. I was the only one. We were having a conversation and he said, "Come home with me and have lunch," and I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he ever a guest in your home?

Dr. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any social functions together that you can recall?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not that I can recall.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you recall the subject of your conversation on the occasion you went to his home?

Dr. HAWKINS. I recall one subject, which we continued through several conversations, very well. This is my chief recollection of Dr. Weinberg. Would you like me to go into that?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes.

Dr. HAWKINS. It is the problem of free will in relation to, or in contrast with, casuality or fate. We discussed this in terms of the point of view developed in modern physics, particularly developed in the school of physics, the institute, in Denmark.

I remember the discussion very well because it was one of my first serious efforts to unravel this age-old problem which never gets unraveled. The point of view of modern physics is that some of the old ideas of cause and effect break down in the whole range of modern physics. The question has arisen in many people's mind whether this breakdown of those ideas in that field may not imply some corresponding breakdown in the field of human life, and whether, if

this is the case, it may not be so that the old idea of free will, which everybody has always believed in anyway, and which philosophers have always believed in——

Mr. MOULDER. That was the general subject?

Dr. HAWKINS. That was the general subject, yes.

Mr. VELDE. Do you recall when that discussion took place?

Dr. HAWKINS. I would guess late in 1942 or early 1943.

Mr. VELDE. Was Dr. Weinberg employed at the radiation laboratory at that time?

Dr. HAWKINS. To my knowledge he was a member of the physics department. I don't know what his status was there.

Mr. VELDE. Did he talk about his work any in that connection?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir, not at all.

Mr. VELDE. You knew, of course, that he was specializing in the field of nuclear physics?

Dr. HAWKINS. I think most of the people there did. I didn't have any special knowledge of his field.

Mr. VELDE. Did you have any work in the field of nuclear physics?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. That is all.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Steve Nelson?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us the circumstances under which you met him and your relationship with him?

Dr. HAWKINS. I barely became acquainted with him. I know that it was not social. At least, I am reasonably sure it was not just some social gathering. I presume it was some conversation that I had with him with respect to some Communist Party affairs.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first become acquainted with him?

Dr. HAWKINS. This would have been in the period after I came back to Berkeley the second time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you met him before you went to Palo Alto?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't believe I had.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the occasion for your meeting him after your return to Berkeley in the fall of 1941?

Dr. HAWKINS. I find it very difficult to figure out what the occasion might have been. It was nothing which stuck in my memory.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say it probably pertained to Communist Party work. You were not identified, as I understand, with the Merriman branch at that time?

Dr. HAWKINS. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that mean it was in connection with party work in San Francisco?

Dr. HAWKINS. No. I don't think it could have meant that. Mr. Nelson, as I recall, had some official position in the Alameda County Communist Party, and I think I may have seen him altogether once or twice in some connection which is completely obscure.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have been to the Communist Party headquarters in San Francisco, have you not?

Dr. HAWKINS. I think I was there once. I have a recollection of going to a place which I remember because of a feeling of trepidation I had in going there. I think I was there once.

Mr. TAVENNER. Whom did you meet on that occasion?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe it may have been a lady named Gannett.

Mr. VELDE. Was it Louise Todd Lambert?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, I don't think so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it Betty Gannett?

Dr. HAWKINS. It may have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Betty Gannett?

Dr. HAWKINS. If this is the lady I have reference to, I met her on that occasion.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose of your visit?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't know. It may have had something to do with ideas I had voiced about Communist Party policies, or something of that sort.

Mr. TAVENNER. Could it have had anything to do with a proposed lecture or talk that you were to give at the labor school?

Dr. HAWKINS. I might have, but I don't recall ever giving such a talk. I believe I said this morning that I do recall I was asked to give a course in the history of philosophy.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether your conversation with Betty Gannett on that occasion had any connection with the labor school?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet at the Communist Party headquarters in San Francisco a person by the name of Pearl E. Freeman?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who later went to Hawaii with her husband as organizer of the Communist Party in Hawaii?

Dr. HAWKINS. The name means nothing to me at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. With further reference to Steve Nelson, where did you meet him, in Berkeley or in San Francisco?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe in Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many times do you think you met him there?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe once or twice.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he search you out, or did you search him out?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't recall that there was any searching at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. You would know how the meeting came about; wouldn't you?

Mr. FANELLI. Mr. Chairman, off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. TAVENNER. A person of the importance of Steve Nelson, who was at that time the organizer for Alameda County, and a person with a very dynamic personality——

Dr. HAWKINS. I recall that impression of him.

Mr. TAVENNER (continuing). It would seem a little strange that you would not recollect any of the circumstances under which you met him.

Dr. HAWKINS. I might be able to recall some incidental circumstances. I believe that I met him in a restaurant or some place of that sort.

Mr. TAVENNER. This may serve to refresh your recollection. There is information in the committee's files to the effect that he went to the various Communist group meetings and delivered lectures on various subjects. I am positive I am correct in my recollection that one of the lectures he gave was on Spain, a subject you have shown some interest in. Does that serve to refresh your recollection?

Dr. HAWKINS. No. I have never heard him lecture, I don't think, anywhere. I believe he had been in some fairly important position in regard to the international brigade in Spain, but I had no conversation with him on that subject and didn't hear him talk about it.

Mr. VELDE. Have you ever been in his home?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't know. I have a recollection of going some place with some one other person, I don't remember who, to see him, and I have partly a picture of some restaurant. I don't know if you know the map of Berkeley, but Berkeley is contiguous to Oakland, and I remember going in that direction, and I have a dim recollection of going to some house. Whether it was his house or not, I don't know.

Mr. VELDE. I think Steve Nelson, during the time he was in the international brigade in Spain, became acquainted with Togliatti as well as Tito. Did he ever discuss with you Togliatti and Tito?

Dr. HAWKINS. No. These were very brief meetings that had nothing to do with any large-scale political significance of any kind.

Mr. VELDE. Have you ever been in Communist Party headquarters in Oakland?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe not.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know where they were?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. MOULDER. I believe the point of Mr. Tavenner's question is whether your meeting with Steve Nelson was by appointment or by accident.

Dr. HAWKINS. It was not an accidental encounter, because I didn't know the man. As I recollect, I was with some other one person.

Mr. MOULDER. Then it was by previous arrangement?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't know. It must have been, but I have no recollection.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the person who accompanied you a member of your own party cell in San Francisco, or was he affiliated with the branch in Berkeley?

Dr. HASKINS. He was not a member of the branch I was affiliated with in San Francisco, I am sure of that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a student?

Dr. HAWKINS. I assume he was someone connected with the Alameda set-up or with the Berkeley set-up. It may have been Kenneth May, whom I knew as a Communist Party member, and whom I had known for some time. This is the only person I can think of that it might plausibly have been, but this is conjecture on my part.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Tavenner wanted to know if he was attempting to contact you and others attending the university to attend a meeting.

Dr. HAWKINS. I was never asked by him to attend a meeting. Of that I would be quite sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many people were present on the occasion you spoke about meeting Steve Nelson?

Dr. HAWKINS. If my recollection is correct there was this other person and myself meeting Steve Nelson, and for a very brief period.

Mr. TAVENNER. After discussing the details of that meeting, can't you now recall who the individual was who accompanied you?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, I cannot. I believe it may have been Kenneth May, but I don't recollect.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the meeting held at your suggestion, or at your comrade's suggestion?

Dr. HAWKINS. I certainly wouldn't have had any reason to suggest it myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. How frequently did you see Steve Nelson after that?

Dr. HAWKINS. I think I saw him altogether probably twice or possibly three times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us what you recall of the other meetings.

Dr. HAWKINS. This is all blurred into one meeting, of having met Steve Nelson. He is a rather forceful type of person. But I know nothing about him other than that he was at that time the head of the Alameda County Communist Party, and other than that fact, he was a veteran of the Spanish civil war and considerably admired by people who talked to him simply because of this rather romantic experience.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you alone when you spoke to him?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't recall any meeting with him with more than this one possible person, and as I have tried to say, my memory of this is composite and very far from as clear as you or I would like to have it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Jordan Carson Mark?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us the circumstances under which you met him?

Dr. HAWKINS. I met Mr. Mark at Los Alamos when he came there with the British mission, I believe. I believe he was a Canadian who came to Los Alamos at the time several of the British came to Los Alamos.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us the character of your employment at Los Alamos?

Dr. HAWKINS. I find it difficult to explain the nature of my job. It was called administrative aide. My job was, roughly, to do all of the things that needed to be done and for which there was no regular administrative officer available. I was a sort of handy man or trouble shooter in an administrative capacity.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were some of the fields in which you worked while you were there? And you were there from 1943 to 1946, I understand?

Dr. HAWKINS. That is right. My first job, I well remember, was in connection with draft deferment of some of the younger members of the scientific staff. When I got there, a man who had been there and who actually preceded me by 3 weeks had been getting out draft deferment forms and so on and set up the routine. Then when I came along I was asked to take this job over, and I formally represented the laboratory in signing letters requesting draft deferments.

Another job which I had at this time was drafting a book of regulations for people who worked in the laboratory. The rules were established, but they were not codified. For example, we had restrictions on travel at Los Alamos.

Mr. TAVENNER. For security reasons?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes. And I did that drafting job. I was in the personnel office of the laboratory in a secondary capacity for quite a long while; and I was a kind of representative of the laboratory in terms of the three-cornered relationship that existed between the civilian community of Los Alamos, which was a town that had lots of

wives and children and dogs; the laboratory; and the United States Engineers. I was a kind of representative from the point of view of the laboratory on some of the problems that arose. If a dog bit a child, and the dog turned out to be the dog of a very important technician, I would have to worry about whether banning the dog would cause the technician to leave and go to another war job. We had a community council at Los Alamos, and I had to meet with the council, together with a representative of the United States Engineers.

Mr. TAVENNER. As administrative assistant, who was your superior?

Dr. HAWKINS. Mr. Oppenheimer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Frank Oppenheimer?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, Mr. Robert Oppenheimer. During the early period there weren't enough administrative officers, and everybody who worked there had Mr. Oppenheimer as his immediate superior, but later on I worked mainly under the personnel director, Dr. Hughes, and, later on, Dr. Shane.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you apply for the position there, or was it tendered to you?

Dr. HAWKINS. It was tendered to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. By whom?

Mr. HAWKINS. By my former boss at the university, now dean of the graduate school, W. R. Dennis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you required to give references when you accepted the position?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were your references?

Dr. HAWKINS. One of my references I am quite sure of was Dr. Henry W. Stewart, who had been the man who had first interested me in philosophy as a career at Stanford when I was an undergraduate. I find it hard at this moment to recall other references. I think there were three or four others, but I recall him particularly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall others?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe Mr. Dennis may have been one of my references, though he is the one who tendered the job to me. Perhaps some other member of the philosophy department.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you left San Francisco for Los Alamos, you were then a member of the Communist Party in San Francisco; were you not?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir. The dates of my departure from the Communist Party and my departure for New Mexico are close. If you would like me to go into that, I will.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. HAWKINS. In the period between the invasion of Norway and the invasion of Russia by Germany, I had not been satisfied with the position of the Communist Party, and found it very difficult to meet arguments made at that time that the American and other Communist Parties were more interested in Russia than in America. After the invasion of Russia this particular problem didn't exist as an immediate problem, because the American Communist Party took a position which was hardly distinguishable from any other position at this point.

I think a much more fundamental reason in my case was that I felt increasingly, as a member of the university community, as a political,

I hoped, professor in philosophy, and as a person who wanted to live in the fuller sense of the word among my colleagues and students, that continued membership in the Communist Party would create a gap, and almost necessarily a duplicity.

Mr. TAVENNER. You told us that when you moved back to the University of California in the fall of 1941.

Dr. HAWKINS. That was a partial step.

Mr. TAVENNER. This was 1943.

Dr. HAWKINS. I believed it was possible to continue being in the Communist Party provided it did not become involved in my professional life. Later on I realized it could not be involved in my life in any way. I withdrew because I wanted to be able to stand for what I stand for and have no reservations or secrets about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you offer a written resignation?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What evidence, then, do you have that you actually did resign?

Dr. HAWKINS. No evidence of that sort, and I think no evidence except my life since then.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom did you pay Communist Party dues while you were a member in the various branches that you were a member of?

Dr. HAWKINS. I presume I paid them to somebody in the various branches designated as treasurer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Having paid those dues from 1938 to 1943, 5 years, you certainly know the names of persons to whom you paid the money?

Dr. HAWKINS. There was no one person. My recollection is, this job was a very informal job, and I don't recall any one person in the campus branch or in Palo Alto or in San Francisco who was designated as treasurer for a long period of time.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you would know the individuals to whom you paid your dues; wouldn't you?

Dr. HAWKINS. I might in some instances.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were they?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. How much did you pay per month?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't recall, but it must not have been very much, otherwise I would have been a non-Communist for financial reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have identified for us the names of the chairmen of the Palo Alto branch and the Merriman branch. Can you tell us who was the treasurer at any one time?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir. This was a matter in which I had no interest and no concern.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was chairman of the professional branch in San Francisco?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't recollect any of those individuals as the chairman. I believe they must have either had no chairman, or in some informal way rotated among themselves. I think I explained to you that I met with this group, but I was never involved in its activities in any major way.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the person to whom you last paid your Communist Party dues?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date on which you paid your last Communist Party dues, or approximate date?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe I must have paid dues through February or March, but I can't fix the date. There wasn't a wide gap between my leaving the Communist Party and my entry into war work. I would say that a secondary, but quite real, reason for my leaving that area was the feeling that I would then be completely disassociated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever pay Communist Party dues after going to Los Alamos?

Dr. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting of any kind after you went to Los Alamos?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. That brings me back to the question I was asking you as to circumstances under which you became acquainted with Jordan Carson Mark. Will you proceed with your explanation of that now?

Dr. HAWKINS. He was a member of the British mission, as I recall, and came to Los Alamos from the Canadian atomic energy project. He was known to me casually, and only in that connection. He was a mathematician by profession, and his job, as I recall it, had to do with mathematical computations and things of that sort. I met him around the laboratory and knew him as I knew other people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Dr. Allen Nunn May there during the time Mr. Mark was there?

Dr. HAWKINS. I am quite certain he was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Dr. Allen Nunn May?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. The records of our committee indicate that on July 8, 1946, you made a speech at the Episcopal Church, Albuquerque, N. Mex., in which you defended Dr. Allen Nunn May. Is that correct, and if it is, do you have any explanation you desire to make of it?

Dr. HAWKINS. I recollect the speech that I made at a church in Albuquerque about that time; 1946, did you say?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. HAWKINS. I would be quite certain I did not defend Dr. May. I may have offered a probable explanation of his behavior, but it would not have been one which in any sense condoned that behavior.

I might say this is a subject on which I have talked rather frequently, not Dr. Allen Nunn May, but I have talked to my friends and acquaintances a lot about this, that it seems strange to me that the most romantic kind of wrong-headedness could lead a person to espionage, when from my point of view the whole point of the internationalism of science is that it provides a moral bond between nations, and that people in different countries who give away their country's secrets are not helping the international movement. However, I can appreciate that the actions of a man like May—whom I did not know but take him as typical of the romantic and wrong-headed groups—may have come not from base but altruistic motives. I think that is the kind of thing I might have said.

I might add one further explanation here for my behavior at that particular meeting. Before this meeting I was invited to the house of a friend in Albuquerque, and I was not very familiar with this business of public speaking at that time, and she gave me a rather stiff drink which she said would put me in shape to talk, and I tried

very hard to eat a large dinner afterward, but I am afraid I was a disgrace to the pulpit, because I definitely felt on the high side; but I know very well my own views on that subject before and since.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you then, or have you now, any knowledge of how Dr. Allen Nunn May obtained samples of U-235?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. We will recess for about 20 minutes.

(Thereupon, at 3:10 p. m., a recess was taken until 3:30 p. m.)

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the passage of the Dilworth anti-Communist bill by the legislature of California?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not by that name; no, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you active in opposition to any anti-Communist bill before the California State Legislature?

Dr. HAWKINS. I certainly wasn't very active with respect to any legislative bills. I frankly was not a very politically active person.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you not asked, either directly by Louise Bransten or in a way that it originated from Louise Bransten, to go to Sacramento, Calif., to lobby against the Dilworth anti-Communist bill?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir. I may have gotten something through the mail. I certainly never went or contemplated going to Sacramento to lobby against any bill.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you did receive an invitation to go?

Dr. HAWKINS. I say I may have. People get a lot of things through the mail of that sort.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Leonard Trainer Pockman?

Dr. HAWKINS. He is my brother-in-law.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know him to be a member of the North Side Club of the Communist Political Association in San Francisco, or at least to have been in 1944?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever sit in a Communist Party meeting with him?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you any knowledge of the delivery by him of technical papers and documents to Anna Louise Strong for delivery to Russian scientists or emissaries?

Dr. HAWKINS. Absolutely not.

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

Dr. HAWKINS. At any time, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. HAWKINS. May I repeat my earlier suggestions, and may I have your permission to consult with my counsel if you wish to press that question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. I will have to press that question.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Dr. HAWKINS. Mr. Chairman, I have a statement I would like to make. May I read this, it is a brief statement?

Mr. MOULDER. In order that the record will be clear, let us proceed in an orderly manner on the question, and then you can present your request for permission to read a statement, because we don't know what the outcome of the questioning may be or whether your statement will be responsive.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question?

Dr. HAWKINS. May I read the statement, sir?

Mr. MOULDER. Repeat the question, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Leonard Pockman a member of the Communist Party at any time, to your knowledge?

Dr. HAWKINS. Now may I read the statement?

Mr. TAVENNER. I understood the chairman's ruling to be that you would first be required to answer the question, and then, depending on the answer, he would pass on your request for permission to read the statement.

Mr. FANELLI. I may state that this statement is a respectful declination to answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. Make any statement you may desire to make in answer to the question.

Dr. HAWKINS. I have conferred with counsel. I can say that I know of nothing connecting my brother-in-law, Leonard Pockman, with espionage or any other criminal activity. Beyond that, my brother-in-law has, on grounds of invasion of his constitutional rights, declined to sign the State oath for California employees. Since he insists on his constitutional right of free thought and association, I am unwilling to invade that right for him. I, again, humbly request you gentlemen to forego further questions of me as to him. If you insist on an answer, I must, without intent of leaving any implication, respectfully decline to answer; and, in doing so, claim, on advice of counsel, all legal and constitutional rights that I may have, including the protection of the first and fourth amendments.

May I please, sir, have another question?

Mr. MOULDER. You have referred to your brother-in-law. Who is your brother-in-law referred to in the answer you have just read?

Dr. HAWKINS. Leonard Trainer Pockman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then do I understand that you refuse to answer the question?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. FANELLI. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say in the witness' behalf that he has endeavored to cooperate with the committee. He has answered most of the questions you have asked.

Mr. MOULDER. Of course the record will speak for itself.

Mr. FANELLI. I understand. I do want to say that this particular question—

Mr. MOULDER. Let us proceed, Mr. Counsel, with the interrogation of the witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Jack Clark Pockman, brother of Leonard Pockman?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you known him?

Dr. HAWKINS. Since, I would say, 1936 or 1937. I met all of my wife's brothers at the time or shortly after I met her, which was in 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting with him?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is, with Jack Clark Pockman?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Jack Clark Pockman a member of the Communist Party during the year 1944, to your knowledge?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not know?

Dr. HAWKINS. I do not know. I made the same answer with reference to Mr. Leonard Pockman in 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether either of the two, Leonard Pockman or Jack Clark Pockman, were members of the Communist Party at any time?

Dr. HAWKINS. I declined, sir, to answer that question in the case of Leonard Pockman, and I feel that I must also decline to answer in the same way in respect to Mr. Jack Clark Pockman.

Mr. TAVENNER. I return now to the question asked you earlier in the course of your testimony as to whether or not Philip Morrison was known to you to be a member of the Communist Party; and I will have to state to you that as far as I am concerned as counsel, I cannot accept your explanation as to the reason why you are reluctant to testify. It is quite possible that this individual, as well as other persons whose names you have declined to give, may be today active in communism, at a time when it is important to the defense of this country, as well as for the legislative purposes of this committee, to know about those things. Therefore, I will have to insist that you answer.

Dr. HAWKINS. I have asked in turn, might it not be possible that your committee could find out these matters in a more direct and satisfactory manner, and had hoped you would not press me to answer them.

Mr. TAVENNER. If Philip Morrison be a Communist Party member at this time, would you expect him to admit it?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe that is a kind of hypothetical question which is inconsistent with my knowledge of Mr. Philip Morrison.

Mr. MOULDER. May I suggest you propound the question again, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Philip Morrison a member of the Communist Party to your knowledge at this time, or has he ever at any time been a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. Might I separate those questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. I will break it up. Has Philip Morrison been a member of the Communist Party at any time, to your knowledge?

Dr. HAWKINS. I would prefer to answer the other part of the question, if I may.

Mr. TAVENNER. No; I would like you to answer that question.

Dr. HAWKINS. I have conferred with counsel, and I can say that I know of nothing connecting Philip Morrison with espionage or any other criminal activity. Beyond that, I am unwilling to testify. If you insist on more, I must respectfully decline to answer; and, in doing so, claim, on advice of my counsel, all legal and constitutional rights that I might have, including the protection of the first amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you refuse to answer the question?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any espionage activity on the part of any individual?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Philip Morrison a Communist today, as far as you know?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe that he is not.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the basis of your belief?

Dr. HAWKINS. Mr. Morrison is a man with whom I have discussed political matters at some length, and I believe that his views are incompatible with the views of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was the last time you talked to him on that subject?

Dr. HAWKINS. I can't recall the last time I talked to him on that subject precisely, but I believe it may have been last summer.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was the first time you talked to him on that subject when you gained such an impression?

Dr. HAWKINS. I came to know Mr. Morrison fairly well in the period of the war. As I recall, he came to Los Alamos in 1944, possibly; and my conversations with him from that time would very strongly indicate he was not in sympathy with the Communist Party position.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you think that a statement made by him in defense of Eugene Dennis, one of the 11 Communists tried in New York, as reported by the Daily Worker on May 5, 1950, would be consistent with his change in attitude toward the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. I would have to see the contents of the statement. I believe there are many reasons and many connections in which a man might be defended. I don't know anything about this particular statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Philip Morrison, according to information in the hands of the committee, was a supporter of the World Peace Appeal in June 1950. Would you think that a person active in support of that particular work would be favoring communism?

Dr. HAWKINS. I would think that an individual might support—personally, I did not—might support such an appeal as this without being, or without necessarily giving any indication of being, a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been a member or an official of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe I sent them \$2 once.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Dr. HAWKINS. That would have been in 1948 or possibly 1949. I have never been an official.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to information in the possession of the committee, Dr. Hawkins in October 1948 sponsored a conference entitled "To Safeguard These Rights," at the instance of the Bureau of Academic Freedom of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. I believe you were one of the sponsors of this conference; is that correct?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe I may well have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you explain to the committee how you became interested in and joined the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, and how it happened that you became a sponsor of the conference referred to?

Mr. FANELLI. He said he might have been a sponsor, but your question includes an assumption he was a member. He said he sent \$2. Maybe that made him a member. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your purpose in sending them \$2?

Dr. HAWKINS. That was in response to an appeal for funds; and in relation to your latter question in regard to the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, since the end of the war I have been personally very much interested in the opportunities that are available to people in my profession to be concerned with political affairs of one sort or another, and I have great respect for the integrity of some of the people who seem to be sponsoring this National Council, and while I had no way of knowing whether this was an organization which Communists might support, I at least believed that it was not run as a Communist-front organization. I therefore supported it in line with my general views on such matters.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you explain how you were invited to become a sponsor of this particular conference?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't recollect. I think I probably got an appeal through the mails. I already knew something of the National Council, and I did it on that basis.

Mr. TAVENNER. The program of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, which was sponsored by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, lists a Dr. David Hawkins as a sponsor of the conference. Are you the Dr. David Hawkins listed in that connection?

Dr. HAWKINS. Is this the Waldorf-Astoria conference?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes; I believe I was a sponsor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state the circumstances under which you were invited to serve as such sponsor?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe I got the invitation through the mail, and primarily my sponsorship was in terms of my knowledge of some of the people who were interested in organizing it. This was a conference whose aims I very much believed in, and still do. I think its actual performance was such that those aims were not furthered, and I would not, without great hesitation, sponsor such an effort again.

(Hon. Morgan M. Moulder left hearing room, and Hon. Harold H. Velde presided.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you presently, or have you ever been, a member of the Civil Rights Congress?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir; I believe not.

Mr. TAVENNER. The program of the Bill of Rights Conference held in New York City July 16 and 17, 1949, lists one Professor Hawkins, University of Colorado, as a sponsor of the Bill of Rights Conference. Does that refresh your recollection?

Dr. HAWKINS. What was that conference called?

Mr. TAVENNER. Bill of Rights Conference, at which Paul Robeson was the principal speaker.

Dr. HAWKINS. What was the date?

Mr. TAVENNER. July 16 and 17, 1949.

Dr. HAWKINS. I am sorry to ask so many detail questions. Where was this conference?

Mr. TAVENNER. It was held in New York City at the Henry Hudson Hotel.

Dr. HAWKINS. I have no present recollection of having sponsored it, but I believe I may have. I was not a member of the Civil Rights Congress. I presumably did sponsor this particular conference.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did it occur that you sponsored the conference if you were not a member of the Civil Rights Congress?

Dr. HAWKINS. I have gotten literature from the Civil Rights Congress many times. This must be one of those numerous appeals which, as a supporter of civil rights, I would have sponsored.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have spoken of having knowledge of people who were interested in these various projects which you sponsored. Did the Communist Party or any Communist Party members play any part in obtaining your action in sponsoring those meetings?

Dr. HAWKINS. Certainly not the Communist Party. I have no knowledge of anyone's Communist Party membership since the time of my own withdrawal from the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Daily Worker issue of July 18, 1950, in an article entitled "Colorado Students, Teachers, Flay Mundt Bill," states that after speeches by Prof. Zachariah Chafee, of Harvard Law School, Dr. Karl G. Douglass, professor of education, and Dr. David Hawkins, professor of philosophy, both of Colorado University, that the Colorado students and faculty, by a vote of 350 to 3, adopted a resolution urging the Senate of the United States to defeat the Mundt-Nixon bill.

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please outline to the committee all knowledge you possess as to how this meeting was arranged, how the speakers were selected, and how the resolutions were prepared and presented for adoption at this meeting?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe there was a student committee on the Mundt-Nixon bill, opposed to it, and I believe they asked Professor Chafee and Professor Douglass and myself to speak on their program.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know anything about the nature of that student council or group, as to the nature of the organization?

Dr. HAWKINS. My recollection is not clear on that, but I believe it was an ad hoc committee that was organized by the students. I may be wrong about that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Someone or some group had to be instrumental in doing that organizational work. Do you have any knowledge as to who those individuals were?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you invited to take part in the meeting?

Dr. HAWKINS. As I recollect, by some student or group of students who came to see me and asked if I would speak.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take any part in planning the meeting, or the nature of the program?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir. I might say this was not the students and faculty of the University of Colorado. It was the students and faculty which came to this particular meeting, which I recall quite well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there a group at the University of Colorado known as the Marxist Study Group?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it the group to which you referred who organized this meeting?

Dr. HAWKINS. I am quite sure it was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us the circumstances under which the Marxist Study Group was formed?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir; I can tell you something about that. The circumstances, as I remember them, were these: A number of students came to me and asked me if I would be a sponsor of such a group. I

might explain what sponsorship implies. On our campus, any student organization can be formed if it is of a type allowed by the university authorities and has a requirement of some faculty sponsorship. The significance of this sponsorship is that the faculty member involved promises to attend a certain percentage of the meetings of the group and see to it that they don't do anything foolish. If they don't find anyone who is willing to be a sponsor, sometimes the dean of the college will appoint a sponsor. Sponsorship does not imply any part in the organization other than that if they do not behave themselves the faculty member involved will prevail on them to behave themselves or withdraw his sponsorship.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you explain to the committee the nature of the meetings of the Marxist Study Group?

Dr. HAWKINS. I recall two or three meetings of this group. One of them was a talk given by myself at their invitation on biology, having, as far as I can tell, nothing to do with Marxism. The other meeting which I recall was a discussion of the problem in relation to Marxism of the state and revolution. I believe they had some other meetings which I did not attend.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the names of any other guest speakers?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe that this study group had a meeting at which they invited some member of the Colorado Communist Party to speak. I don't recall his name or the circumstances.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was his name Art Barry, B-a-r-r-y?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was the Colorado regional director of the Communist Party, was he not?

Dr. HAWKINS. I am not sure of that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the student body at the time?

Dr. HAWKINS. No; he was an outside speaker.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had he attended Colorado University to your knowledge?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any instances in which lectures were given in opposition to the Marxist theories?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. At these meetings?

Dr. HAWKINS. At the meetings of the Marxist Study Group?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir. I believe they had two or three members of the university faculty, or perhaps four or five, at one time or another, speak in opposition to the Marxist theories.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend the meeting addressed by the Communist Party regional director?

Dr. HAWKINS. Mr. Barry?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir. I was very careful to attend that meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the subject of his address, if you recall?

Dr. HAWKINS. Everything. He talked about his position with respect to the Communist Party as a whole. He said things which, in terms of my earlier background, sounded pretty familiar. That is, he outlined the idea of this international working-class movement, and so on. Then he very strongly defended the present position—

as of that time—not only of the American Communist Party but also of all other Communist Parties. He was questioned rather carefully and rather hostilely by the audience with reference to, I remember particularly, the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and he had no light to throw on that other than that quoted by the Russian press.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the subject of his address?

Dr. HAWKINS. The title?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. HAWKINS. No; I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it "Force and Violence"?

Dr. HAWKINS. It may have been. I don't know. I would think that would be a rather surprising title, but I am not sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have a photostatic reproduction of the Pink Buffalo, a publication of the Marxist Study Group, announcing that Art Barry, regional director of the Communist Party, would be a speaker on Force and Violence at a meeting on November 18. Is that the meeting to which you refer?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. What year was that?

Mr. TAVENNER. What year was that?

Dr. HAWKINS. I think 1948 or 1949. I think you have just stated the year.

Mr. TAVENNER. No; the photostat doesn't show the year.

Dr. HAWKINS. I could probably reconstruct the date. It was in the summertime.

Mr. FANELLI. Will you ask whether the Pink Buffalo was a serious publication?

Mr. VELDE. The committee has a rule that the counsel may confer with the witness, but may not ask any questions.

Mr. FANELLI. I beg your pardon. I will withdraw the request.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was Herbert J. Phillips?

Dr. HAWKINS. Mr. Phillips was a man who had been fired from the University of Washington because of past or present, I forget which, Communist Party membership; present, I think.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he also one of the speakers before this Marxist Study Group?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he connected with the University of Colorado in any manner?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe he was one of the guest speakers of the Marxist Study Group.

Mr. TAVENNER. But did he have any position, or was he attached in any way to the faculty of the University of Colorado?

Dr. HAWKINS. Definitely not.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were his expenses paid?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't think they were, but I don't know. I believe he was passing through Denver at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the American Association of Scientific Workers?

Dr. HAWKINS. I am a member, perhaps, in this sense: That last year I sent them the amount of 1 year's membership.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you also a member of the Committee for the First Amendment?

Dr. HAWKINS. This name doesn't bring any recollections. Oh, yes. There is a student group on the campus of the university which

has this name. I attended one or two of the meetings. I am not a member that I know of. I don't know what membership in this group consists of, but I was certainly one of the persons consulted by various students when they formed this group, and I went to a couple of their meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it patterned and formed after the National Committee for the First Amendment?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't believe it was. I believe that was a purely spontaneous local group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the American Association of Scientific Workers, the Committee for the First Amendment, and the Young Progressives organization sponsor the meeting at which you spoke against the Mundt-Nixon bill?

Dr. HAWKINS. I am not certain who sponsored that meeting. I seem to recollect it to have been the Committee for the First Amendment, but I doubt very much it would have been the Marxist Study Group, because I was making every effort to keep that group a study group.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to ask you who were the members of the Merriman branch or campus branch of the Communist Party at the University of California at the time you were there?

Dr. HAWKINS. You desire to ask me now?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. HAWKINS. In the first place, I have a very, very hazy recollection of the membership of that branch. I at this point think I would have great difficulty in giving the membership of it or a substantial part of the membership.

Mr. TAVENNER. I can understand you would be in doubt about the names of all of them. I am only asking for the names of those you can definitely identify as members.

Dr. HAWKINS. My knowledge of that branch is limited to the period when I first joined the Communist Party. I think the people I might name are not now Communists and are good, law-abiding, and patriotic citizens, and I feel I must take toward this question the same position I have taken with respect to questions about certain individuals.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you desire to take upon yourself the responsibility of determining whether or not these individuals are law-abiding citizens, and are unwilling to leave that determination to arms of the Government which have the duty upon them to investigate such matters?

Dr. HAWKINS. As I said before, my attitude on this matter is dependent on my present state of knowledge and belief, but in view of my present knowledge and belief that is the position I feel I must take.

Mr. TAVENNER. And for those reasons you decline to answer the question?

Dr. HAWKINS. I would take the same position with reference to this question as I have taken with respect to other questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. I ask you to tell the committee the names of the members of the professional branch of the Communist Party in San Francisco from the fall of 1941 to 1943.

Dr. HAWKINS. And with respect to this question I must take the same position.

Mr. VELDE. Will you state your reason, again, for refusing to answer?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir. I have conferred with counsel. I know of nothing connecting any persons in that group with espionage or any other criminal activity. Beyond that, with respect to those persons I am unwilling to testify. If you insist on more, I must respectfully decline to answer; and, in doing so, I claim, on advice of my counsel, all legal and constitutional rights that I may have, including the protection of the first amendment.

Mr. VELDE. You were merely asked to give the names of the members of the Communist Party cell. You were not asked whether espionage was involved.

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir; but I understand that to be the reason for your committee's investigations.

Mr. VELDE. Do you take the position that your answer to that question as to the members of the San Francisco cell might in some manner incriminate you?

Dr. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. VELDE. Then you don't claim the privilege of refusing to testify on the ground of self-incrimination?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. FANELLI. I would like to have him read this again.

Mr. VELDE. You may consult with your counsel.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Dr. HAWKINS. I might read this part of my answer:

If you insist on more, I must respectfully decline to answer; and, in doing so, claim, on advice of my counsel, all legal and constitutional rights that I may have, including the protection of the first amendment.

Mr. VELDE. One of those rights is the constitutional guaranty against self-incrimination. Do you claim that as a reason for not answering the question as to the membership of the San Francisco cell?

Dr. HAWKINS. I have clearly not made this the major ground of my refusal. If I have rights under this provision of the Constitution, if I might in some way perhaps incriminate myself by my answers to these questions, then I would claim such rights.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you this question to determine what your views may be. You have given your reasons why you are reluctant to testify regarding the membership of certain individuals in the Communist Party cell of which you were a member, and you have suggested that that information be obtained from the individuals themselves. In the event that this committee should bring before it one of these individuals whose names you have refused to give, and that individual is asked the question whether he has at any time been a member of the Communist Party, and he refuses to answer, or he denies membership, would you then come back here and give a truthful answer to that question?

Mr. FANELLI. You are advised to answer that at that point you would consult with counsel.

Dr. HAWKINS. At that point I would consult with counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you refuse to state whether or not you would under those circumstances testify truthfully before this committee?

Dr. HAWKINS. I would in all cases testify truthfully.

Mr. TAVENNER. I did not mean to infer otherwise; but would you testify to the fact that the individual was a member of the Communist Party or not?

Dr. HAWKINS. In case he refused to testify?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. HAWKINS. I haven't had to face this question. I would hesitate to give you a definite answer with respect to it. I believe that past membership in the Communist Party, membership in the period when I belonged to the Communist Party, is not only no crime, but I believe it falls within that sphere of which I spoke of certain fundamentals of trust that underlie American life. I feel that in the present situation, when we are faced with the necessity for unity in the defense of our common values, the publication of such information about such people injures them and injures their American community.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. VELDE. I would like to ask a few questions regarding your conversation with Dr. Joseph Weinberg. Did you know at the time you conversed with him the character of the work being done at the California Radiation Laboratory?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Did you subsequently find that out?

Dr. HAWKINS. When I was at Los Alamos the end of the war, I read the report on it. I did not know up to that time what had been going on, except I had learned in the course of discussions at Los Alamos in a general way that they had been working on problems of the separation of uranium isotopes.

Mr. VELDE. Did you know that Dr. Weinberg was working on something that was very secret?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Did you know after you got to Los Alamos that they were working on something very secret at that plant?

Dr. HAWKINS. At Los Alamos?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Dr. HAWKINS. I certainly did. I was impressed with that from the first. Until I got there I knew nothing about the nature of the job I was going to do.

Mr. VELDE. Did you at any time become a member of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians?

Dr. HAWKINS. I did not.

Mr. VELDE. Were you acquainted with Marcel Scherer?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. You never heard of him?

Dr. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. VELDE. Were you acquainted with Haakon Chevalier?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. What was the nature of your acquaintance with Haakon Chevalier?

Dr. HAWKINS. Social.

Mr. VELDE. When did you meet him, to the best of your recollection?

Dr. HAWKINS. I met him in Berkeley in 1941 or 1942, I believe.

Mr. VELDE. Was it a party at which you met him?

Dr. HAWKINS. Very probably. I don't remember the circumstances. I don't know him well.

Mr. VELDE. How many times would you say you have been in his company?

Dr. HAWKINS. Something perhaps in the order of eight or a dozen times. I don't know.

Mr. VELDE. Were other people present during any of those times?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir; I think all of the occasions were social occasions.

Mr. VELDE. By "social occasions," just what do you mean?

Dr. HAWKINS. A party. I may also have met him on the campus and had a cup of coffee with him or something like that.

Mr. VELDE. A party where several met together and discussed events of the day?

Dr. HAWKINS. Talked.

Mr. VELDE. Did you ever discuss communism at any of those parties?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't recall discussing communism. It is perfectly possible.

Mr. VELDE. Was Haakon Chevalier a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. VELDE. You mentioned you went to Communist Party headquarters at San Francisco at least on one occasion. Do you recall where those headquarters were?

Dr. HAWKINS. At most on one occasion.

Mr. VELDE. At most on one occasion?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes; at least and at most.

Mr. VELDE. Was it on H Street or on Market Street?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't know. H Street sounds familiar to me.

Mr. VELDE. Was it a tall building?

Dr. HAWKINS. As I recall, it was an old, dilapidated building of some kind.

Mr. VELDE. Did you ever go to the Communist Party headquarters in Oakland?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe I didn't.

Mr. VELDE. You are not sure that you did not?

Dr. HAWKINS. I am pretty sure. I think I would have recalled that in the same way I recall the visit to the San Francisco headquarters.

Mr. VELDE. Did you become acquainted with Paul Robeson?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Did you ever attend a meeting where Paul Robeson spoke?

Dr. HAWKINS. I heard him speak and sing on several occasions; mostly sing.

Mr. VELDE. And you have never attended any party with Paul Robeson?

Dr. HAWKINS. I have a very vague memory of being at some very big affair in San Francisco, presumably after a concert, and that is all I recollect. I don't recollect where it was.

Mr. VELDE. You have no idea where that affair was?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Was it in someone's private home?

Dr. HAWKINS. I don't remember that. I know it was a very large affair, I would say at least 100 or more persons. Whether it was in a hotel or private home, I don't recall.

Mr. VELDE. And you have never shaken hands with Paul Robeson or met him in that way?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Your wife's name is Frances?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Does she have a sister Julia Sloan?

Dr. HAWKINS. She has a sister-in-law, Julia Sloan; my sister.

Mr. VELDE. Your sister is Julia Sloan?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Has Julia Sloan ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe not.

Mr. VELDE. Can you state definitely that she was not a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. I could state it pretty definitely. I don't know the answer to that question, to be absolutely sure, about anyone.

Mr. VELDE. You of course are acquainted with her husband, William Sloan?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Was William Sloan ever a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. I believe not.

Mr. VELDE. Did William Sloan ever attend any Communist Party meetings with you?

Dr. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. VELDE. Did Julia Sloan ever attend any Communist Party meetings with you?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Are you acquainted with Paul Crouch?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Or Sylvia Crouch, his wife?

Dr. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. VELDE. Are you acquainted with Al Flanagan?

Dr. HAWKINS. I recollect the name. I can't place the name at the moment.

Mr. VELDE. This Marxist group that you mentioned you sponsored at the University of Colorado, was that a local group at that institution, or were there other similar groups throughout the country?

Dr. HAWKINS. Purely local, as far as I know.

Mr. VELDE. Is that organization still in operation?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. When was it abandoned?

Dr. HAWKINS. It died of attrition in the last school year.

Mr. VELDE. How long a time were you the sponsor of that organization?

Dr. HAWKINS. I think for a year, probably.

Mr. VELDE. About how many meetings during that year did you attend of the Marxist group?

Dr. HAWKINS. Three or four or five, maybe.

Mr. VELDE. Were any of the members of the Marxist group members of the Communist Party?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. VELDE. Were any of them members of the American Youth for Democracy, or anything of that kind?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. VELDE. That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have a few more questions that I would like to ask.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Harold Chapman Brown?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir. He was a professor of mine.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Dr. HAWKINS. At Stanford University.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever sit in a Communist Party meeting with him?

Dr. HAWKINS. To that question I must give the same response I gave before. I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the professional branch of the Communist Party in San Francisco, did you meet a person by the name of Walter McElroy?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Walter McElroy?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time acquainted with Walter Herriek?

Dr. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Velda Johnson?

Dr. HAWKINS. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I asked you earlier in your testimony about your acquaintanceship with Robert R. Davis.

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Robert R. Davis a member of the Communist Party to your knowledge?

Dr. HAWKINS. Not to my knowledge at the time, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by that?

Dr. HAWKINS. I mean that recently I have learned that he has testified to the fact he was at one time a member of the Communist Party. That was not known to me.

Mr. VELDE. Are you acquainted with Alexander Saxton?

Dr. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. VELDE. Or his brother, Mark Saxton?

Dr. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. VELDE. That is all.

The subcommittee stands at recess until 7 o'clock tonight.

(Thereupon, at 4:45 p. m., a recess was taken until 7 p. m. of the same day.)

EVENING SESSION

(The hearing was resumed at 7 p. m., Hon. Burr P. Harrison presiding, and Hon. Harold H. Velde also being present.)

Mr. HARRISON. Raise your right hand, please. Do you solemnly swear that in the testimony you are about to give you will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF FRANCES POCKMAN HAWKINS, ACCOMPANIED
BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH A. FANELLI**

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

Mrs. HAWKINS. Frances Pockman Hawkins.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Yes; I am.

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

Mr. FANELLI. Yes, sir. Joseph A. Fanelli. I am a member of the District of Columbia bar and maintain offices at 929 Fifteenth Street NW., in Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hawkins, when and where were you born?

Mrs. HAWKINS. San Francisco, May 6, 1913.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you the wife of Dr. David Hawkins?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you please outline briefly your educational background?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I have an A. B. in education from Stanford University. I transferred as an undergraduate, UCLA Junior College and San Francisco State Teachers College, and after getting my A. B.; I went back to San Francisco State Teachers College and took graduate work in kindergarten or primary education, which Stanford did not give.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your employment background, please?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I was a substitute teacher in San Francisco for about a year and a half.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I received my teacher's certificate I believe in January of 1936, December 1935, or January 1936, and I started teaching immediately as a substitute, and remained a substitute for a year and a half. I think that is correct. Then I was a probationary teacher for 3 years, making 4½ years of teaching in San Francisco. Then I stopped teaching in San Francisco.

Mr. VELDE. When did you stop teaching in San Francisco?

Mrs. HAWKINS. May or June 1940.

I taught nursery school at Los Alamos in 1943 for about 5 months, until they could get somebody to do the job. That is, I did it because there wasn't anybody there, and I told them when they got somebody I would quit, since I had a small child.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any other employment before you went to Los Alamos?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No. I was in the hospital the summer after I stopped teaching in San Francisco, and I had a baby the following year.

I bound some books in the library at Los Alamos off and on when something was falling apart for a period of about 9 months. That would have been the fall of 1944 or spring of 1945. Other than that, when we lived here in Washington in, I guess it was 1945 to 1946, I was secretary for about 6 months to a nursery school here where our child was going. And I think I substituted 3 days in Boulder, Colo.

Mr. VELDE. Where did you live in Washington?

Mrs. HAWKINS. On Rhode Island; 1721 Rhode Island, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that all of your employment record?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I think that is all. I am trying to remember if I did any other substituting, but I don't think so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I am not now. I was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. HARRISON. When did you get out, Mrs. Hawkins?

Mrs. HAWKINS. In the spring of 1943.

Mr. HARRISON. What do you think about it now?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Pretty much what most Americans think about it, I guess.

Mr. HARRISON. You regard it as a menace to the safety of our country at the moment, do you?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Yes, I do.

Mr. HARRISON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee the circumstances under which you became a member of the party?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I was teaching in the San Francisco School Department. This was during the depression. I was teaching 5-year olds, and it wasn't a very pleasant thing day by day to see what I saw. I know it sounds sentimental.

Mr. TAVENNER. What year was that?

Mrs. HAWKINS. This was 1938. One did what one could, any good teacher did, to alleviate the immediate things of hungry kids and cold kids and so on, but don't ask me why I should turn toward this rather than other teachers who were probably as good as I who didn't, but I did feel that in addition to the things that both my husband and I held in common, this was one force we felt was fighting fascism. In my particular situation I went every day and faced 60 kids, 30 in the morning and 30 in the afternoon, and it was not pleasant and it was not happy, and I wasn't happy, and I did this specifically as something that I felt might get further toward changing this situation where kids like this that I met every day were hungry and cold.

Mr. HARRISON. Were you married then?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Yes; I was.

Mr. HARRISON. You and your husband joined the party together?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I don't remember exactly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who recruited you into the Communist Party?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I couldn't say whether I was really recruited or not. At that time, if you remember, it was a time when there were many benefits given for Spain, and I know it sounds silly, but I just don't remember the circumstances under which I joined.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom did you report when you joined the Communist Party?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I remember going to a particular person who somehow I must have known was a member of the Communist Party, and saying that I would like to join.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was that person?

Mrs. HAWKINS. That is very hard for me to be able to say to you, because this was someone who was just an ordinary teacher.

Mr. TAVENNER. At what school?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I don't even remember at what school she taught. She was not a personal friend.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she hold an official position in the Communist Party?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. But she was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she give you advice about joining the party?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then what did you do?

Mrs. HAWKINS. She told me when a group of people would meet and invited me to come.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did that group of people have a name as a branch or cell of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Not specifically. I think it was known as a teachers' group.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was in San Francisco?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1938?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the officers of that organization?

Mrs. HAWKINS. It was a very small group and there was no set-up of officers in it as I remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many were in the group?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I would say it varied—six, seven, eight; it was a small group.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were their names?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I wish you wouldn't ask me that question.

Mr. HARRISON. Mrs. Hawkins, some of those people, like you, who joined the Communist Party at that time, were soon disillusioned and got out of it. Others perhaps didn't, and remained in an organization which you have described here tonight as a menace to the safety of our country. We are holding these closed hearings, from which newspaper people have been barred, so that we may have the opportunity to give further consideration to any names you may give in determining which of those names may be released for publication. That is the reason we have held these hearings all day behind closed doors, so that we may evaluate the testimony. You don't like to give the names of these people; and, on the other hand, the safety of our country is important.

Mrs. HAWKINS. That is right.

Mr. HARRISON. That is the reason we have closed hearings, so that we may evaluate the testimony and see which of those names should be released and which should not. Therefore, I want to ask that you cooperate with us and rely on us not to vilify these people unnecessarily, which we are not going to do.

Mrs. HAWKINS. I appreciate your talking to me that way. If this group were a large group in which I had any doubt as to the basic loyalty and integrity of these people, then I would certainly have to answer with those names.

Mr. HARRISON. Some of the people that come before us are the nicest people you ever saw; they are some of the most pleasant people, and we have had experiences that would astound you. I again assure you we are not going to do anything to those people. We are not going to injure their reputations. But I must ask that you cooperate with us and not withhold information. Where people have been in

the Communist Party and got out, we don't do anything to them. We didn't bring you all the way across the country for nothing. There are matters in which we think you could aid us, and I do most earnestly ask for your cooperation.

Mrs. HAWKINS. I certainly do want to give my cooperation, Mr. Harrison, and I can only say that any reluctance I have in this is one which is very carefully weighed, and one which has certainly been thought out along the lines you have outlined.

Mr. HARRISON. You mean you are certain they are now out of the party?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I am absolutely certain that these people—well, it is as if, if I doubted their loyalty I would doubt mine, and that is impossible, because I know where mine lies.

Mr. HARRISON. You will find among Communist Party members people you least suspect who were once in the Communist Party and who now make up the espionage organization of the party.

Mrs. HAWKINS. I think that is true of a great many of them. I think this particular group to which I belonged probably was unique by the things we did and the beliefs we held, and this is something I have learned since: that this was not true of many, many Communist groups. I am sure we were scorned by the Communists at that time. Open party members came and talked to us.

Mr. VELDE. You wish to put your judgment as to the danger the members of this particular group might be to our internal security above the judgment of this committee and its staff?

Mrs. HAWKINS. That is putting it in a very strong way, and I wouldn't like to quite put it that way. I would like rather to put it that there are some places where one has to rely upon one's private evaluation in our country.

Mr. VELDE. You are relying on your own evaluation?

Mrs. HAWKINS. In this rather narrow field, yes.

Mr. VELDE. Is that the only reason you have for refusing to answer the question put to you?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I am not quite clear what other reason I could have.

Mr. VELDE. Do you refuse to tell us who were associated with you in your branch of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HAWKINS. If you finally make me do this, then I will have to consult with counsel.

Mr. HARRISON. You have a right to consult with counsel any time you want. You may consult with him now.

Mr. FANELLI. I don't think we need such consultation in view of her position. There is no use in our conferring. Will you ask the question, and she will answer it.

Mr. HARRISON. The question has been asked. She was asked who were the members of the Communist Party in the cell with her.

Mrs. HAWKINS. I have conferred with counsel. I know of nothing connecting any persons in that group with espionage or any other criminal activity. Beyond that, as to those persons, I am unwilling to testify. If you insist on an answer, I must respectfully decline to answer; and, in doing so, claim, on advice of counsel, all legal and constitutional rights that I may have, including the protection of the first amendment.

Mr. HARRISON. Do you desire to question the witness further, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir. There are several questions I would like to ask her.

Mr. HARRISON. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of that Communist Party group?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I remained a member of that group until 1940. During the year 1939-40—that is, the academic year in which I was teaching—I was not well and was not very active in the group.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1940, were you transferred to another group of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HAWKINS. In 1940 we went to Palo Alto. That was the first job my husband had had. We remained there a year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you unite with the same Communist Party group that he was a member of at this place?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I was ill most of that year, and I have no recollection of any formal affiliation. I think I could say that I probably attended two or three meetings; but, again, I was not physically doing very much of anything.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the branch of the Communist Party there?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you left Palo Alto, were you transferred to another group of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HAWKINS. We left Palo Alto a couple months before our child was born, and I had very little association with the Communist Party in the following year when we were partly in San Francisco, and then moved to Berkeley for the new baby.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any Communist Party meetings in Berkeley?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Again I would say it is possible I attended two or three. I have no clear recollection of affiliating with a particular group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you attend the party meetings that you attended in Berkeley? Where were they held?

Mrs. HAWKINS. The only memory I have of where such a meeting would have been held is there are two or three vague places in my mind; nobody I knew.

Mr. TAVENNER. You knew the persons who were present at those meetings; didn't you?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No. As a matter of fact, I didn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did not know any of them?

Mrs. HAWKINS. At this same time there were two outside things that I remember doing.

Mr. FANELLI. You didn't answer the question. He asked if you knew any of them?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No; I didn't.

Mr. HARRISON. You cannot recall any of them?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I cannot recall just what this association was, because it was so very infrequent.

Mr. HARRISON. Did your husband attend those meetings with you?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I doubt it very much.

Mr. HARRISON. So, you do not know where the meetings were held or the names of any persons who attended the meetings?

Mrs. HAWKINS. That is true, partly because I could not at this time distinguish between what would have been a party meeting and what would have been—and this is the activity I was going to mention when I got off the subject—there were activities for Spain going on at the same time.

Mr. TAVENNER. This, you recall, was in the fall of 1941 when you went back to Berkeley, or even later.

Mrs. HAWKINS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were activities for Spain going on at that time?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Yes; I remember very well December 7, 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. What identity did you have as a Communist Party member that you carried with you?

Mrs. HAWKINS. None.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have a card?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time use half or part of a dollar bill that had a particular identification, in fact, the serial number of T-867050?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Absolutely not, to my memory.

Mr. TAVENNER. You never did carry part of a dollar bill as identification?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Steve Nelson?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Dr. Joseph Weinberg?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. HARRISON. You don't know him?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I don't know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Bernadette Doyle?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Not to my knowledge. This is a name that I have a feeling that I have heard it, but certainly it doesn't—

Mr. HARRISON. She got 500,000 votes as a candidate for office in your State.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with Louise Bransten?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. HARRISON. You were in the Communist Party at Berkeley through the war; were you not?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No. What do you mean, "through the war"?

Mr. HARRISON. During the time this country was in war, 1942 and 1943.

Mrs. HAWKINS. We were in Berkeley, and I was still a member of the Communist Party. I was not an active member, and I was not a very satisfied member.

Mr. HARRISON. And you can't recall the names of anyone associated in the party with you during this period?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No; I can't.

Mr. VELDE. But you can recall the names of those associated with you in the San Francisco group?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. And that was before you were in Berkeley?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Yes, but I was actually associated with that group, while I was so little associated with the group in Berkeley that no group associates in my mind.

Mr. VELDE. You attended meetings of your group regularly in San Francisco?

Mrs. HAWKINS. When I was well, yes.

Mr. VELDE. Do you recall where they met?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Yes; they met at one of the member's house.

Mr. VELDE. One particular member all the time?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No; not all the time.

Mr. VELDE. You would go from member to member; is that right?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Quite often; yes.

Mr. VELDE. Have you ever been in the Communist Party headquarters in San Francisco?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I think I was there once.

Mr. VELDE. Whom did you see there?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I couldn't say who I saw there, because I don't remember.

Mr. VELDE. Where were the headquarters; do you remember?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I happen to remember the number because it was the same as my own house number, 121 something.

Mr. VELDE. H Street?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I think so.

Mr. VELDE. Did you ever go to the Communist Party headquarters on Market Street in San Francisco?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know what the occasion was for visiting the headquarters on H Street in San Francisco?

Mrs. HAWKINS. This is a surmise. Do you want it? I think it was an open meeting at which, I can't say what was discussed, but it was some kind of open meeting where they wanted a representative of our group to attend.

Mr. VELDE. Do you remember anyone who was there at all?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. VELDE. Are you acquainted with Kenneth May?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Was he a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I don't know.

Mr. VELDE. How long has it been since you have seen Kenneth May?

Mrs. HAWKINS. He visited us in Washington one afternoon when he was here for some meetings.

Mr. VELDE. That was when you were here living on Rhode Island Avenue?

Mrs. HAWKINS. That is right.

Mr. VELDE. Have you seen him since you have been here this time?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know if your husband has seen him?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I would wonder how he had.

Mr. VELDE. Have you talked with him since you have been here?

Mrs. HAWKINS. With whom?

Mr. VELDE. With Kenneth May.

Mrs. HAWKINS. Certainly not. I have not seen him.

Mr. VELDE. You don't know who he is at all?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Yes, I do.

Mr. VELDE. Are you acquainted with him?

Mrs. HAWKINS. Yes. I said I was acquainted with him.

Mr. VELDE. I am sorry. But you said you didn't know whether he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. HAWKINS. I do not.

Mr. VELDE. Did you ever attend Communist Party meetings with him?

Mrs. HAWKINS. No.

Mr. VELDE. I think that is all.

Mr. HARRISON. Were you in the same cell of the Communist Party at Berkeley as Dr. Hawkins?

Mrs. HAWKINS. As I said to Mr. Tavenner, I doubt very much that he ever accompanied me to one of these few meetings that I went to. I certainly never had any contact with any specific group that I remember.

Mr. HARRISON. Thank you.

Mr. FANELLI. I take it the witnesses are finally excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HARRISON. Will you hold up your right hand, please? Do you solemnly swear that in the evidence you give before this subcommittee you shall speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SAXTON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER PLAISTED SAXTON

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your full name?

Mr. SAXTON. Alexander Plaisted Saxton.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. SAXTON. July 16, 1919, Great Barrington, Mass.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you briefly outline your educational background?

Mr. SAXTON. Yes. I went to grade school at Friends' Seminary School, New York City; high school at Phillips Exeter Academy.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you enter that school?

Mr. SAXTON. I graduated in 1936. I must have entered 3 years before that, 1933. Then I went to Harvard University, and transferred to the University of Chicago, from which I graduated in 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you outline briefly your employment record since completing your work at college?

Mr. SAXTON. Well, I think I am going to decline to answer that question.

Mr. HARRISON. What was that question?

Mr. TAVENNER. To outline briefly his work record and background since leaving college.

Mr. SAXTON. Let me say first that my primary work has been as a writer. I have written two books which have both been published.

Mr. TAVENNER. What are the names of those books?

Mr. SAXTON. Grand Crossing and The Great Midland.

Mr. HARRISON. Did you ever work for the Government of the United States?

Mr. SAXTON. In a sense I worked for the Government of the United States. I went through Maritime Service Training School.

Mr. HARRISON. Maritime Service Training School?

Mr. SAXTON. That is right.

Mr. HARRISON. Were you employed by the Government of the United States in any other capacity at any time?

Mr. SAXTON. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. HARRISON. And the question that you decline to answer is your employment record. Was that the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. HARRISON. Why do you decline to answer that?

Mr. SAXTON. Under the fifth amendment to the Constitution. I have a prepared statement of my reasons. Shall I read that to the committee, or shall I merely submit it to the committee?

Mr. HARRISON. May I see it?

Mr. SAXTON. Certainly [handing statement to Mr. Harrison]. I think the legal phrase is on the ground that the answer might tend to incriminate the witness.

Mr. HARRISON. No one has asked you what your political affiliations are.

The statement will be filed with the record.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

I have determined that there are certain questions which I must decline to answer before this committee. The questions I refer to are questions such as, "What are your political opinions?" "What are your political affiliations?" "Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" And I refer also to any questions which in my judgment may tend to create a pattern or to imply an indirect answer to any of the foregoing questions.

These questions are, in my opinion, loaded questions. I believe that they are asked solely for the purpose of preparing a legal technicality by means of which persons who have committed no crime of any kind, may be—and have been—sent to prison.

It is obvious from the record of this committee that legal snares of this sort have been reserved for persons who vigorously exercised their rights under the first amendment of the Constitution to hold and to express opinions; and to express opinions which might run contrary to opinions held by members of this committee.

I am a writer—not a lawyer. But I am convinced that questions such as these constitute a kind of conspiracy on the part of this committee to destroy the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, by means of fear and intimidation visited upon law-abiding citizens.

I base my declination to answer on the fifth amendment of the Constitution—on the grounds that to answer such questions may tend to incriminate me.

Let me state for the record that I use the word "incriminate" solely in its legal sense.

The fact is that an honest witness before this committee has no alternative but to decline to answer such questions.

To answer in the negative might well place a witness in danger of indictment for perjury on the basis of testimony by that chamber of professional stool-pigeons and perjurers which certain departments of the Federal Government now maintain at taxpayers' expense.

And on the other hand, to answer in the affirmative would place a witness in danger of criminal prosecution under the McCarran Act or the Smith Act—infamous pieces of legislation, destructive of civil rights, contrary to every principle and precept of Americanism.

For the foregoing reasons I decline to answer such questions. I hope that my conduct before this committee may make some slight contribution toward the defense of the hard-won, and today hard-pressed, civil liberties of the American people.

Mr. HARRISON. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Saxton, have you at any time applied for a passport to travel in foreign countries?

Mr. SAXTON. Well, when I was about 5 years old I made a trip with my mother to France and Italy. I guess I had a passport.

Mr. HARRISON. Have you had one since?

Mr. SAXTON. I had a seaman's passport.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. SAXTON. That was during the war.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were in the merchant marine?

Mr. SAXTON. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the names of the ships and the destinations?

Mr. SAXTON. I couldn't give that from memory. I would have to look that up on my discharge records.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give those you do remember?

Mr. SAXTON. I remember making trips to England, France, South America, and the Pacific.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the ships on which you traveled, as nearly as you can recall?

Mr. SAXTON. One I recall was the *Abel Parker Upshur*. The others, I am afraid I don't remember. You went on ships by the number, generally, and didn't pay attention to the names. If you want the information I will be glad to send it to you when I get home. I have my discharge papers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know an individual by the name of Dennis Bijot?

Mr. SAXTON. Well, I shall decline to answer that question on the same grounds as the other, on the same grounds listed in the statement that I submitted.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know an individual by the name of Harry Carlyle?

Mr. SAXTON. I am going to decline to answer that question on the same ground. Perhaps it would save the time of the committee to state that questions as to individuals I may or may not have known, I will answer on this same basis.

Mr. HARRISON. Regardless of who the individual is?

Mr. SAXTON. Regardless of who the individual is.

Mr. HARRISON. That is all. Stand aside.

The hearing is adjourned until tomorrow morning at 10:30.

(Thereupon, at 7:55 p. m., a recess was taken until Thursday, December 21, 1950, at 10:30 a. m.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
RADIATION LABORATORY AND ATOMIC BOMB PROJECT
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY,
CALIF.—VOLUME 3

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1950

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

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of one of the Committee on Un-American Activities met pursuant to call at 12:35 p. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Harold H. Velde presiding.

Committee member present: Hon. Harold H. Velde.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel. The witness has been sworn.¹

TESTIMONY OF MARY BERNADETTE DOYLE, ACCOMPANIED BY
COUNSEL, DAVID REIN

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

Miss DOYLE. My name is Mary Bernadette Doyle.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mary Bernadette Doyle?

Miss DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Miss DOYLE. I was born in San Jose, Calif., August 5, 1905.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present address?

Miss DOYLE. My present address is 1161 Fifth Street, San Diego, Calif.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you presently employed?

Miss DOYLE. I am employed as an organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. As an organizer of what organization?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Tavenner, on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you outline for the committee briefly your record of employment?

Miss DOYLE. I will outline it, Mr. Tavenner, roughly; and then, if the committee wants me to actually get exact dates, I will have to do it at a later time.

I started to work as a youngster of about 11, and I worked in canneries. Then for a couple years I worked in cafeterias in Los An-

¹ The witness was sworn during executive session preceding the public hearing that follows.

geles. Subsequent to that, I went to work for the Southern California Telephone Co., from 1933 until roughly 1937, or late 1936. For a couple years after that, I worked as a domestic worker, and then I went to work as an organizer, and I have been an organizer for, roughly, the last 11 years, except for the period when I was ill for about 3 years.

Mr. VELDE. Where were you employed as an organizer?

Miss DOYLE. You mean in what city, or for what organization?

Mr. VELDE. Where, in what city—where were your offices?

Miss DOYLE. May I consult my counsel on that?

Mr. VELDE. Certainly.

(Witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss DOYLE. In Oakland, Calif., and in San Diego, Calif.

Mr. VELDE. What years did you serve as organizer at Oakland, Calif.?

Miss DOYLE. I would like to make this roughly again; but, roughly, from 1940 to 1945.

Mr. VELDE. And then did you go to San Diego directly from Oakland?

Miss DOYLE. No; I didn't. I went to Los Angeles. I was ill for about 3 years.

Mr. VELDE. You were not an organizer during that time?

Miss DOYLE. No. There are medical records for that.

Mr. VELDE. And subsequent to your illness you became an organizer at San Diego; is that correct?

Miss DOYLE. That is correct.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. TAVENNER.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were an organizer at Oakland, did you become acquainted with Paul Crouch?

Miss DOYLE. Mr. Velde, I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. How would it tend to incriminate you?

Miss DOYLE. As I understand it, Mr. Velde, it is not necessary for me to show you how I think a thing will incriminate me; and, since I have read hearings of this committee and newspaper reports where there have been leaks to the press and others, I would still refuse to answer that question on the basis of the tendency it might have to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you living prior to 1940? In 1940, I understand you became an organizer at Oakland.

Miss DOYLE. I was living in the area prior to 1940. I left Los Angeles in 1937, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1939 were you living at Oakland?

Miss DOYLE. I would have to check my address. I was either in Oakland or in Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you living when you became organizer in 1940?

Miss DOYLE. I was living in Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photographic reproduction of an article which appeared in the Daily People's World of Friday, October 8, 1948, entitled "Song of Bernadette," in which you are quoted as saying, "I joined the Communist Party in 1939." Will you examine that photographic copy? I point out to you the language that I quoted and ask you to examine it and state whether or not you were quoted correctly.

Miss DOYLE. Mr. Velde, I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the photographic copy in evidence and ask that it be marked "Bernadette Doyle Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. VELDE. It will be admitted in evidence.

(The photographic copy of article above referred to, marked "Bernadette Doyle Exhibit No. 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party at any time?

Miss DOYLE. Mr. Velde, I would decline to answer that question because it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Miss DOYLE. Mr. Velde, I again will have to answer that in the same way; that I decline to answer it on the basis of the fact that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Daily People's World of January 18, 1941, at page 5, refers to you as secretary of the Communist Party of Alameda County, Calif. Were you secretary of the Communist Party of Alameda County at that time?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Paul Crouch, whose name I mentioned a few moments ago, testified before this committee on May 6, 1949, and stated:

I met Bernadette Doyle on numerous occasions and knew her very well. She was frequently called in by the State Bureau for consultations, and was used mostly as a liberal front for fund-raising campaigns.

Is that statement correct, or is it false, or do you have any explanation to make of it?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact my answer might tend to incriminate and degrade me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time acquainted with Steve Nelson?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time visit the home of Dr. Joseph W. Weinberg at 2427 Blake Street, Berkeley, Calif.?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Dr. Joseph W. Weinberg?

Miss DOYLE. Shall I make the full statement?

Mr. VELDE. No; you can decline to answer on the same grounds.

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. The records of the committee indicate a Miss Bernadette Doyle was elected a member of the California State Committee of the Communist Political Association in 1944. Were you the Bernadette Doyle referred to?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Chairman, on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you an article from the Daily People's World of June 14, 1944, which lists the persons elected as officers of the California State organization of the Communist Political Association and the persons elected as members and alternates of the California

State Committee of the Communist Political Association. Will you read the names of the persons listed and the positions to which they were elected?

Miss DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to consult counsel on that, because I don't see why I should read it.

Mr. REIN. I would suggest—

Mr. VELDE. You are not allowed to make suggestions to the committee. You may confer with the witness.

(Witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I just don't see what the purpose is in my reading them when the other questions have been read by the examiner.

Mr. VELDE. It isn't your prerogative to determine what our purpose is. We determine what our purpose is. Do you decline to read the names?

Miss DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I just don't know what my rights are in regard to this, but I am afraid if I do such a thing the committee may quote me as saying this, and I don't feel that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. That wouldn't be correct, because the record would show you are reading an article which I have asked you to read.

Miss DOYLE. Does the committee insist that I read this list?

Mr. VELDE. You may refuse to do so, certainly, if you so desire.

Miss DOYLE. I decline to read the list.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the article in evidence and ask that it be marked "Bernadette Doyle Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. VELDE. It will be admitted.

(The newspaper article above referred to, marked "Bernadette Doyle Exhibit No. 2," is filed herewith.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with an individual by the name of Rose Segure, S-e-g-u-r-e?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Chairman, on the basis of the fact that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Kenneth May?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question also, Mr. Chairman, on the basis of the fact that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of Pearl E. Freeman in San Francisco?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with her husband, James Freeman?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question also on the same basis, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where those individuals are living now?

Miss DOYLE. No; I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Mr. and Mrs. Freeman have been in Hawaii for a number of years, have lived there for a number of years?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer this question on the basis of the fact that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with members of the Merriam branch of the Communist Party at Berkeley, Calif?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that it may tend to incriminate me.

I would like to make an additional statement, if I may, Mr. Velde, just an additional comment, really.

Mr. VELDE. As I understand it, you intend to be entirely uncooperative with this committee. You refuse to give any of the details concerning your work with the Communist Party, your connection with Steve Nelson, your connection with Dr. Joseph Weinberg, and everything you did while in Oakland and the Bay area from 1941 to the present time; is that true?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer the questions so far asked by this committee, other than the ones I have answered, on the basis of the fact that my answer might tend to incriminate me; but I have never committed an act of sabotage or any act of espionage, and I resent bitterly the connection of my name with this particular type of investigation.

Mr. VELDE. Do you deny you attended a meeting in the home of Dr. Joseph Weinberg in August 1943?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. How can you say you are not guilty of any crime of sabotage or espionage when you won't answer questions concerning your connections with those who have committed such crimes?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer the question on the basis of the fact that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. Did you ever attend a meeting of the National Communist Party in New York during the year 1944?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer this question on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. The committee records and my own personal knowledge show you obtained passage for a number of Communists, including Steve Nelson and yourself, on the train to New York City to attend the National Communist Party convention, and that a good number of our loyal fighting men and a good many loyal American citizens were not able to get accommodations to go to this convention or anywhere else. Do you deny that?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer the question on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me, but I do feel this is an inquisitorial body acting in a star chamber manner, and it is not a court.

Mr. VELDE. Do you deny that you were ever in the home of Dr. Joseph W. Weinberg?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer this question on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. You have told this committee that you worked in Oakland as an organizer from 1940 to 1944 or thereabouts. Where were your offices?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. As a matter of fact, you worked in the Oakland headquarters of the Communist Party during those years, didn't you, Miss Doyle?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know Robert King?

Miss DOYLE. Who?

Mr. VELDE. Robert King.

Miss DOYLE. Insofar as I know, I have never heard of him, Mr. Chairman, but will you say the name again? Is it King?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Miss DOYLE. K-i-n-g?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Miss DOYLE. So far as I know, I have never heard the name. It might be better for me to say I don't remember. I have no recollection of it at all.

Mr. VELDE. Did you ever attend the University of California in Berkeley?

Miss DOYLE. Yes, I did.

Mr. VELDE. What years?

Miss DOYLE. Again I would have to check the exact years.

Mr. VELDE. Approximately?

Miss DOYLE. I would say I attended off and on from about 1939 or 1938, I guess it was, until around 1941. But I would want to check the dates. It is roughly in that period.

Mr. VELDE. Were you a member of the Young Communist League?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. Did you later become active in the American Youth for Democracy movement?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. Did you belong to the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. Did you belong to the American-Russian Institute?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. VELDE. Did you know Louise Bransten?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know Dr. David Bohm?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. Is Dr. David Bohm a member of the Communist Party to your knowledge?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. Is Dr. Joseph W. Weinberg a member of the Communist Party to your knowledge?

Miss DOYLE. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the fact that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. It is your intention, then, to be entirely uncooperative and refuse to answer any questions regarding any of your associations while you were an organizer; is that right?

Miss DOYLE. May I consult with counsel?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

(Witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss DOYLE. I haven't refused to answer all questions before this committee. I have refused to answer all questions that I thought might tend to incriminate me, and on these I feel I cannot answer the questions because my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. VELDE. But the questions you have refused to answer have been relative to your work as an organizer for the Communist Party?

Miss DOYLE. Those questions asked me which I have refused to answer, I have refused to answer on the basis of the fact that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will stand at recess until 2:30.

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

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
RADIATION LABORATORY AND ATOMIC BOMB PROJECT
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY,
CALIF.—VOLUME 3

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1950

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION

A subcommittee of one of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 2:55 p. m., Hon. Harold H. Velde presiding.

Committee member present: Hon. Harold H. Velde.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. VELDE. In the testimony you are about to give this subcommittee, do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. MAY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF KENNETH OWNSWORTH MAY, ACCOMPANIED
BY COUNSEL, SIDNEY S. SACHS

Mr. Tavenner, I have a very brief biographical statement that might help the committee in questioning me. I would be glad to read it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will develop that. Will you state your full name, please?

Dr. MAY. Kenneth Ownsworth May.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present address?

Dr. MAY. 114 Winona Street, Northfield, Minn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented here by counsel?

Dr. MAY. Yes, I am.

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

Mr. SACHS. My name is Sidney S. Sachs, of the firm of Sachs and Jacobs, attorneys, here in Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. May, the committee would like to have a brief outline of your educational background and your employment record. If you have it in biographical form, you may read it.

Dr. MAY. This may not be altogether complete, but perhaps you could question me if there are things here which are omitted.

I was born in Portland, Oreg., on July 8, 1915. My father's parents were early pioneers, and my mother was an Englishwoman. My father is a professor of political science and director of the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of California.

The University of California granted me the A. B. degree with highest honors in mathematics; the M. A. degree; and the Ph. D. degree.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the dates of those degrees?

Dr. MAY. The A. B. degree was in 1936; the M. A. degree in 1937; and the Ph. D. degree was in 1946.

Mr. VELDE. All from the University of California?

Dr. MAY. All from the University of California at Berkeley.

Mr. VELDE. At Berkeley?

Dr. MAY. Yes. I was a teaching assistant at the University of California in the academic years 1936-37 and 1939-41. I studied in England and France in the years 1937-39.

As is well known to the public and to my employers, I joined the Communist Party in 1936 and severed my connections with it in 1942. As a result of my activities in the party I lost my teaching position at the University of California in 1940.

After Pearl Harbor I made efforts to volunteer for the Army but was not accepted until the end of 1942. When I entered the service I withdrew from the party and have been independent of it ever since.

Mr. VELDE. Just how did you withdraw from the party?

Dr. MAY. Well, no formal withdrawal was necessary, because when I was drafted into the Army, everybody who went into the Army was sort of disconnected from the party, or given a sort of leave from the party, so I never made a formal resignation. When I went into the Army I didn't have contact while I was in the Army, and when I came back I simply didn't become active.

Mr. VELDE. The Communist Party gave you leave while you were in the Army?

Dr. MAY. Technically I suppose that was the case.

Mr. VELDE. Was that a formal matter or understanding?

Dr. MAY. I don't know how it was done, but I think the Communist Party at that time spoke of it in those terms, that when a person went in the Army he was disconnected from the party. The only sense in which leave was used was that when I got out of the Army I would come back in the party, but I simply did not come back in.

Mr. VELDE. I see.

Dr. MAY. I served in the infantry as a rifleman, messenger, communications sergeant, and second lieutenant. I participated with the Eighty-seventh Mountain Infantry in the Aleutian and Italian campaigns, attended the leadership and battle training school of MTOUSA, and taught at the University Study Center in Florence after VE-day. The Army was fully informed as to my past connections with the Communist Party.

When I was separated from the Army in 1945, I returned to the University of California to complete my work for the Ph. D. In 1946 I joined the faculty of Carleton College and am now an associate professor of mathematics there.

I have been active in professional organizations and have written a number of research papers and a text in elementary analysis. I

have testified fully about these matters before a Federal grand jury here in Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are not under any Federal subpoena at this time?

Dr. MAY. No, other than this one, of course.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. May, in an article appearing in the October 15, 1940, issue of New Masses, purportedly signed by you, you write that you joined the Communist Party in 1936 as an undergraduate of the University of California. Was your first association with the Communist Party in the form of membership in the Young Communist League, or in the Communist Party of the United States?

Dr. MAY. I was never associated with the Young Communist League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee the circumstances under which you became a member of the Communist Party, and how you were recruited into it?

Dr. MAY. Really, I think that I just decided on my own. I had had very little contact with the party. I didn't go to any meetings or anything before, or nobody brought me around. I just decided that I wanted to join, and I approached someone who I knew was a party member and said that I wanted to join. This person told me where to go, where there was going to be a meeting, and I went to this place.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was that?

Dr. MAY. I don't remember the street address or anything like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Describe the meeting to us, what type of meeting it was and of what group of the Communist Party.

Dr. MAY. Of course this is a long time ago, and I don't remember the details. I may even be describing the second meeting I went to. But I do recall going to a meeting or meetings where I think there were only two or three people, and I hadn't known any of them before. They weren't colleagues of mine at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that in Berkeley?

Dr. MAY. Yes. I saw some of these people later on the campus, but I didn't know them by name.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of your becoming a member, you, of course, were assigned to a group or cell in the Communist Party, I take it?

Dr. MAY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was that cell or group?

Dr. MAY. It was part of the campus branch. It was called the campus branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. VELDE. Consisting mostly of students of the University of California?

Dr. MAY. It was my understanding it consisted entirely of students.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become an officer of that group yourself?

Dr. MAY. I didn't hold any office of consequence. I may have collected dues one night, or something of that kind.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become affiliated with any other group of the Communist Party other than this campus branch? In other words, were you transferred to any other group or cell?

Dr. MAY. I am trying to remember, now. You mean at any time?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, at any time.

Dr. MAY. Later on, in 1941 or 1942, when I was an official of the Communist Party, I belonged to a number of branches, but it was a nominal membership. I was too busy to go to meetings, but I was attached to perhaps half a dozen groups at one time or another. I didn't actually participate in all of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your official position in the Communist Party to which you just referred?

Dr. MAY. I was educational director of Alameda County in 1941, and then I was what is called organizational secretary in 1942. I don't know the exact date when I changed from one to the other.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Steve Nelson the party organizer for Alameda County at that time?

Dr. MAY. I believe he was organizer during 1942, but just when in 1942 he became organizer, I don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. And prior to his becoming organizer, was Paul Crouch the Communist Party organizer for Alameda County?

Dr. MAY. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us how the party was organized in Alameda County at the time you held the official positions that you referred to? That is, what cells there were, the names of them, how many cells embraced a branch, and so forth, all the organizational information that you can give us regarding the party in Alameda County.

Dr. MAY. I don't know whether I can give you anything too precise on that, because I didn't keep any record or anything of that kind, and I didn't make any effort to remember it, either. There were a number of sections in the county, and these sections contained branches, and in a general way the sections were geographical.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you name those sections?

Mr. VELDE. Let me say this, Mr. Witness. There is no disposition on the part of any of the members of this committee to condemn you in any way if you make some mistakes in your memory, but we would appreciate it if you would give us the general organizational set-up of the party not only in Alameda County, but the whole bay area.

Dr. MAY. I am afraid whatever I would say would be pretty vague. I would have a hard time to give you the organizational set-up of the college where I work right now, and I have only been gone a few weeks.

Mr. VELDE. Generally.

Dr. MAY. Well, there were sections which consisted of branches, and the organization changed a great deal from time to time. Sometimes there were more sections than there were at other times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Approximately how many sections were there?

Dr. MAY. Between four and seven; something like that.

Mr. VELDE. In the first place, the Communist Party was organized in districts throughout the country; was it not?

Dr. MAY. I don't doubt that, but that never concerned me at all. I never had contact with organizational problems outside the county.

Mr. VELDE. You do recall that you were part of the Nevada-California thirteenth district; don't you?

Dr. MAY. I have seen literature with "thirteenth district" stamped on it, but I have no direct knowledge that it was part of the thirteenth district, myself.

Mr. VELDE. Isn't it true that the county organization was next under the district organization or the State organization?

Dr. MAY. My memory is that we dealt with the State committee. I don't know about anything else.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us begin with the sections. You said there were four or five, at least, or possibly as many as seven, in Alameda County. Will you attempt to identify them by the names under which they were known and the sections of the county which they covered?

Dr. MAY. As I remember, they were numbered in some fashion. The only reason I remember there were between four and seven, I remember seeing statements on dues, sections 1, 2, 3, 4. You see, in the literature they were not identified as to which was which.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the section in which Berkeley was located?

Dr. MAY. There was a Berkeley branch. I do remember that.

Mr. TAVENNER. And it was known as that?

Dr. MAY. I am not sure it was always known as that, but there was a branch in Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. You speak of the Berkeley branch. Is that one branch of a section?

Dr. MAY. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or do you mean to speak of it as a Berkeley section?

Dr. MAY. I think you have got that confused. I think, if the truth were known, sometimes it was the Berkeley branch and sometimes the Berkeley section. They may have sometimes called the branches sections. I am sure at least half a dozen times while I was there they completely reorganized it from top to bottom.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Dr. MAY. I am not trying to stall you on this matter, you understand.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand.

Dr. MAY. It is just that to really give an accurate answer I would need to have notes that would detail all these things. It was extremely complicated. I don't know just what information you are getting at.

Mr. VELDE. You mentioned a moment ago that they changed the type of organization. One of the changes, I believe, was that they changed some geographical branches into occupational branches?

Dr. MAY. There were several such changes. A few months later they would all be on the basis of where people lived, and there were all kinds of changes. All these changes were made in a kind of way so as to conceal as much as possible how they were being made. And so, even though I was organizational secretary in 1942—and I suppose if anybody was responsible for this sort of thing I was—still the detail of the organization was not something I kept track of all the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me confine myself to the phases of organization with which I think you are familiar. You spoke of the Berkeley branch.

Dr. MAY. There was an organization in Berkeley; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many sections were there in the Berkeley branch of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. Different numbers at different times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Describe the evolution of the organization as well as you can.

Dr. MAY. I think there was a time when everybody was in one branch, but I never directly had any contact with that. Then there were later times when there were neighborhood branches. I think usually the branches were named after somebody, something like that. Somewhere there was a Mother Bloor branch; probably a Browder branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there a Merriman branch?

Dr. MAY. Yes, but this was not part of the Berkeley branch. This was a University of California branch.

Mr. VELDE. What was that branch?

Dr. MAY. Merriman. I was in that branch. As I remember, the Merriman branch was separate. The university branch was separate from the Berkeley branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give the names of any cells of the Berkeley branch?

Dr. MAY. I don't know any other named branches in Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many groups or cells were there, to your knowledge, in the Berkeley branch?

Dr. MAY. Berkeley section? I don't know whether I can give you any more definite answer than I did. There might have been as many as three or four at different times. I doubt that there were ever any more than that.

Mr. VELDE. Wasn't there an Anita Whitney branch?

Dr. MAY. It sounds plausible, but I don't recollect what branch, if any, was named after Anita Whitney. I am sure there must have been an Anita Whitney branch, but I don't know if it was in Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Merriman branch came under what jurisdiction? Was it a separate section?

Dr. MAY. I think it was a separate section when there were sections. There weren't always sections; but, if there were sections, it was a section.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have spoken of having been connected or attached to from five to seven different branches or cells from time to time.

Dr. MAY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were those?

Dr. MAY. I will try to think of as many as I can. I was a member of the campus branch, in the first instance.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the same as the Merriman branch?

Dr. MAY. Except at the time I joined I don't think it was called the Merriman branch. Then I was attached to one of the groups in Berkeley later on, but what it was called I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give some further descriptive information concerning it?

Dr. MAY. It seems to have been in the northwestern part of Berkeley. None of the people in it were my friends, and I very rarely met with them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Proceed.

Dr. MAY. It is hard to remember whether I was really a member of these branches or just met with them two or three times, but I met with branches all over the county at different times.

Mr. VELDE. You carried a Communist Party membership card; didn't you, Mr. May?

Dr. MAY. I must have had one. I don't know what you mean by "carried" one. I don't recollect carrying one.

Mr. VELDE. At least you were issued a membership card on more than one occasion?

Dr. MAY. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Can you describe the cards that were issued to you?

Dr. MAY. I think all the cards that were issued to me were more or less the same type. They were a little booklet with my name, and some statement about the party on the front page, some sort of statement like membership in the Communist Party, so-and-so is a member, then a number, and the rest of it had blanks for dues.

Mr. VELDE. The branch was listed also on the card; was it not?

Dr. MAY. I am not sure.

Mr. VELDE. Have you retained any of those cards?

Dr. MAY. No; I haven't. I wouldn't have any except the one I had when I went in the Army, because they pick them up each year. That one I left with papers and threw it away or burned it up.

Mr. VELDE. Were any of those cards issued to you under a name other than your own name?

Dr. MAY. I am not sure, but I think I used my own name. The first year when I joined there might have been some other name put on the card; but, if there was, I never used it at any other time. I never used any other name in the party, although I think some people in the party thought Kenneth May was a fake name, but it wasn't; it was my own name.

Mr. VELDE. Do you recall that it was the custom of the national committee that cards be issued to members of the Communist Party under different names than their actual names?

Dr. MAY. I don't ever remember there being any order like that. I think it was entirely up to the individual. In other words, when a person joined, someone or other might say to him: "Maybe you ought to put some other name down," or the person might think of it himself, but I never heard the question of using false names discussed anywhere in the party, except I recall they were trying to urge people to use their real names during a certain period, because they wanted people to be open Communists and not hide their connections. I was one of those who was an open Communist all the time; so I wasn't greatly concerned by this problem.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have stated that Paul Crouch was the district organizer. That was at the same time that you were organizational secretary; was it not?

Dr. MAY. Educational director. I don't think I became organizational secretary until he left and until Steve Nelson came in. In other words, that change was made all in a parcel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee what your association was in the party with Paul Crouch.

Dr. MAY. He came in as organizer sometime in 1941, I don't remember the exact time, but I was already there as educational director. Do you mean my personal association with him?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, in the work of the party.

Dr. MAY. In the first place, I didn't have much contact with Paul Crouch except in the work. In other words, I saw him at the office. My contact with him usually consisted of my sitting with him in the

office and having a conference with him during the day, and then I might see him in the evening at a meeting where he was speaking or I was speaking, or I might go to San Francisco with him to talk to people.

Mr. TAVENNER. There were occasions when both Paul Crouch and you went to group meetings of the Communist Party and discussed party affairs?

Dr. MAY. There must have been. At the moment I don't recall such a specific occasion.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall such an occasion at the home of Bernadette Doyle?

Dr. MAY. When Paul Crouch was with me?

Mr. TAVENNER. Whether he was or not. If he was with you, please so state.

Dr. MAY. I don't recall ever attending a meeting at Bernadette Doyle's house, but I am not saying that I never did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall such a meeting at the residence of Marcus Billings, 146 Maroga Street, Oakland, Calif.?

Dr. MAY. What is that address, again?

Mr. TAVENNER. 146 Maroga Street.

Dr. MAY. I am not acquainted with that address.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall Marcus Billings?

Dr. MAY. I recall Marcus Billings as a person; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall meeting at his home?

Dr. MAY. I can't recall meeting at his home on any matter. Again I am not sure that I didn't. I surely could not have met there very many times and not remember it, but I don't remember meeting at his home.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall what branch of the party Marcus Billings was a member of, if he was a member?

Dr. MAY. That is a double question.

Mr. TAVENNER. First, was he a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. I am not sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever seen him in a Communist Party meeting?

Dr. MAY. I don't remember seeing him in a meeting. I might have seen him in a meeting, but I don't recall seeing him in a meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Coming back to my question about your associations with Paul Crouch, you say it was a practice to go out to various group meetings of the Communist Party and address the meetings on various subjects, and that you and Crouch had done that together?

Dr. MAY. Probably not very often, because it was wasteful to send two people to the same place.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall any of the places where that occurred?

Mr. SACHS. You mean either of them?

Mr. TAVENNER. Where the two went together.

Dr. MAY. Do you mind if I take some time to think about this, because I want to see if I recall any.

Mr. TAVENNER. Surely.

Dr. MAY. The only occasion I can recall, and I can't recall the date of it or the place of it, even, was some kind of an all-county conference that was held where people were called from all over the county and speeches were made.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the only one you can positively identify. You know there were others?

Dr. MAY. There may have been others. I don't think there were very many, because he was only there 6 months at the most, and during that time I did my job and he did his. We didn't have too much contact. I remember this all-county conference where he spoke, because he made a very poor report, and it was one of the things that caused him to be thrown out as organizer of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who took the action to throw him out?

Dr. MAY. I initiated the action.

Mr. TAVENNER. With whom?

Dr. MAY. At a meeting of the county committee I just asked to say a few words, and I said I thought he was incompetent and should be removed, that he was doing a poor job, and the county committee took it under advisement. We discussed it further, we discussed it with people in San Francisco, then it was voted that he should be ousted.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many were on the county committee?

Dr. MAY. I think something like a dozen.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of those who were on the county committee at that time?

Dr. MAY. I can give you some of them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Give us the names of those you can recall.

Dr. MAY. Of course there was Crouch himself. He was on the county committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the county committee as organizer?

Dr. MAY. That is right; and he was present at this meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the others?

Dr. MAY. I am not sure. I don't want to say someone was on that county committee if I only have an impression.

Mr. TAVENNER. They were the group of people to whom you were responsible; in fact, they were the ones responsible for appointing you to the important position you held?

Dr. MAY. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. On reflection you certainly will recall the names of a substantial number of those who served on your own committee.

Dr. MAY. You would think I ought to, wouldn't you?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; I certainly do.

Dr. MAY. I don't like to say someone was on that committee unless I saw them there. I never saw a list of the members of the county committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you met with the county committee from time to time?

Dr. MAY. Yes, but I wasn't anxious—you see, both branches and committees like that would meet, and people didn't make an effort to identify themselves to each other. They probably anticipated sometime they would be called before a committee like this and questioned, and they wanted to protect themselves.

Mr. TAVENNER. But this was a county where you were well known, and their taking part in the same enterprise you were engaged in, you couldn't help but know who they were; there couldn't be any secrecy as to names.

Dr. MAY. There could be. I believe there was.

Mr. VELDE. What do you mean by that?

Dr. MAY. People would turn up and you called them by their first name—something like that. I certainly never made an effort

to remember anybody's name. I don't any time, and especially when I was in the party I didn't make an effort to.

Mr. VELDE. Do you want this committee to believe that you have forgotten the names of the members of the county committee of the Communist Party of Alameda County during the time you were a member of that committee?

Dr. MAY. I am not saying that. I am trying to tell you why I don't just give you a list.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe on reflection he will be able to give them.

Dr. MAY. That committee changed from time to time. There was a man I do remember, Bob Cole.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the name?

Dr. MAY. C-o-l-e; Bob Cole.

Mr. VELDE. Is he now living?

Dr. MAY. I don't know. As a matter of fact, when I think back on this, the only county committee meeting that I can recall is this particular meeting I spoke of when I made that statement. That is the only county committee meeting I recall.

There was another man who may have been there, Charles Drasnin.

Mr. TAVENNER. Charles Drasnin?

Dr. MAY. Yes; D-r-a-s-n-i-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Give us the names of additional persons who were on the committee, whether they were at that particular meeting or not.

Dr. MAY. I don't think there are any other people I can remember as being on that committee that I am sure enough they were members that I could testify before this committee and a court that I knew they were on the committee. I think it would amount to hearsay or guessing.

Mr. TAVENNER. We don't want you to guess.

Dr. MAY. I was sure you didn't. Maybe it seems strange to you but, for instance, I am on some committees at Carleton College, and if you should ask me who else are on the committees, I could not name all of them. I am on the library committee. I know the librarian is a member, but I don't know all the other members.

Mr. TAVENNER. But the chances are you know the members of the board of trustees of your institution, under whom you serve and to whom you owe your appointment?

Dr. MAY. I know two members of the board of trustees at Carleton, or maybe three or possibly four, out of perhaps 30 or 40 trustees. I have met every single trustee; maybe I have met them two or three times; but I don't try to remember their names.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are those all that you can recall?

Dr. MAY. That is all I can recall now.

Mr. TAVENNER. If during the course of your testimony the names of any others occur to you who were members of the county committee, I would like you to volunteer that information.

How was Cole employed?

Dr. MAY. Cole preceded Crouch as organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where he is now?

Dr. MAY. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the last information you had regarding him, his whereabouts?

Dr. MAY. He went into the Army, and I wrote to him in the Army, but he didn't reply. I didn't hear from him while he was in the Army.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you seen or heard of him since his return from the Army?

Dr. MAY. I think I heard from somebody that he had come back out of the Army, but the implication was he was not politically active.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he living in the same general area, Alameda County?

Dr. MAY. I don't know. You must remember I haven't been near California since 1946, so I don't know what is happening there.

Mr. TAVENNER. The other person whose name you mentioned, will you give us more descriptive information regarding him? What employment did he have, to your knowledge?

Dr. MAY. He was organizational secretary of the party at the time when Crouch was organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your last information regarding his whereabouts?

Dr. MAY. Well, he left as organizational secretary when Crouch left as organizer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where he went?

Dr. MAY. I think he stayed in the area, but I don't know exactly what he did. I suppose he went to work.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was Steve Nelson selected as the successor of Paul Crouch?

Dr. MAY. Well, when I proposed that Crouch be removed, the only objection anybody had was that they didn't know who would replace him, and so I have forgotten who conferred, but somebody conferred with the State committee in San Francisco to see if they knew who might take Crouch's place.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were on the State committee at that time?

Dr. MAY. I never met with the State committee, so I don't know who were on the State committee from direct knowledge, but I know who were some of the State officials.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the State officials?

Dr. MAY. William Schneiderman was one; Louise Todd was another; Anita Whitney was one. I assume they were on the State committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Because of the official positions which they held?

Dr. MAY. Yes; but it doesn't necessarily follow that they were. I don't know. May I explain something about this State committee, because otherwise my evidence may be confusing on this point.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. MAY. Under the laws of California every political party has by law what is called a State executive committee, and this committee consists by law of all candidates of the political party who were on the ballot in the previous election, plus certain other people elected in the primaries, because California has direct a primary law.

I was on this committee because I ran for office on the Communist Party ticket, but that was not the State committee in the sense that I have been speaking of. This State committee was a fiction.

The other officials in San Francisco, there was a man named Rudy Lambert and his brother, Walter Lambert. There was another man—just give me a minute and I will remember his name. He was organizational secretary in the State when I was organizational secretary

in the county. I am sorry, but his name just doesn't come to my mind. I know the man perfectly well. I haven't forgotten it, but it doesn't come to my mind at the moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you some questions as to the duties of an organizational secretary. Among your duties was the duty of collecting dues and transmitting the dues received from the various branches of the Communist Party in Alameda County; is that correct?

Dr. MAY. The money was collected by the branches, and I would only get the lump sums.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were those sums paid to you, by check or in cash?

Dr. MAY. In cash.

Mr. TAVENNER. What disposition did you make of them?

Dr. MAY. When I became organizational secretary I set up a bank account in the name of the Communist Party, and with my name as treasurer, and I signed checks "Kenneth May, trustee"—something of the sort.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what bank?

Dr. MAY. I don't remember what bank it was. I could walk to it if I were in Oakland.

Mr. TAVENNER. What street was it located on?

Dr. MAY. I don't even remember that. Broadway is the main street in Oakland, and our offices were near there, and probably the bank was on Broadway.

Mr. TAVENNER. How would you pay out of this fund?

Dr. MAY. Write checks, and I kept a receipt book of funds received—just a record of the money that came in, so that you could balance the books.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any of those records at this time?

Dr. MAY. No, I don't. I didn't keep any of them. Of course, it would have been improper for me to do so. They were the party's property, not mine.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you remitted to the State committee, to whom did you send the check?

Dr. MAY. I am trying to remember how I did that. I do remember for sure that I had a bank account. I can't conceive of my having a bank account without writing checks, but I don't actually remember an instance where I wrote a check. I suppose I would make out the check to the State committee of the Communist Party. It is conceivable I might have written the check to "Cash" and taken the money to San Francisco. I am not sure. We took out a certain percentage of the dues and kept them and sent a certain percentage to the State office.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make any remittance to the national headquarters in New York?

Dr. MAY. We didn't. The State committee might have, but we just sent direct to the State.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall to whom you accounted in the State organization for the funds which came into your hands?

Dr. MAY. I am going to be embarrassed if I can't remember this man's name. There is no reason in the world why I should not remember it.

Mr. SACHS. Could we pass that, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you given us the names of all the members of the State committee whose names you can recall?

Dr. MAY. I have given you the names of all the officials over there that I knew—I am not sure they were members of the State committee, but they are the officials—except the name I am going to try to remember if I can.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall James George McGowan, an organizer for the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. That name means nothing to me. I don't recall having heard the name anywhere before.

Mr. TAVENNER. He registered as a Communist in 1942 and described himself as a Communist Party organizer in Alameda County.

Dr. MAY. I can't explain it; I am sorry. I might have known him by some other name, or he might have been lying. The surprising thing about this is, I ran for office in that election, and I must have made use of all those registered Communists to sign petitions. So if this guy was around, I must have met him.

Mr. TAVENNER. In order for us to attempt to identify this individual by maybe some other name, will you give us the names of all organizers of branches of the Communist Party of Alameda County that you can recall?

Dr. MAY. I couldn't give you any kind of an honest statement on that. I would be making it up.

Mr. TAVENNER. You would know the name of the organizer of the Merriman branch at that time?

Dr. MAY. No, I don't. I haven't the slightest idea who was organizer at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. You knew at the time but you have no recollection now?

Dr. MAY. That is right. During the period I was there, I would wager there were 15 different organizers of that branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you name any of the 15?

Dr. MAY. I think at one time I was organizer while I was still a student. This was not in 1936 and 1937, but later on. Otherwise, I don't know who the organizers were.

Mr. TAVENNER. That, however, was not the Merriman branch that you were organizer of, was it?

Dr. MAY. I think so. It was the campus branch.

Mr. VELDE. As I understand, the Merriman branch consisted of others than students, didn't it?

Dr. MAY. As I understood, it consisted of graduate students. It didn't include any faculty. I might explain the distinction was, in general if a person was an undergraduate he was in YCL; if he was a graduate, he was in the party. I didn't join until I was already through as an undergraduate, so I didn't go in YCL. I went into the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was asking you about the method of the selection of Steve Nelson as organizer when Paul Crouch was relieved, and you stated it was probably the action of the State committee. Do you know anything more about that, as to how Steve Nelson was selected for this position?

Dr. MAY. How it was actually decided?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. MAY. I think not. I think probably the group of us might have gone over or something, and probably I or someone talked to Bill Schneiderman about it. On some occasion he said Steve Nelson was willing to do it, and we were glad to have him, because he was a person

very well known as being a good person. That is all I recall about it. In other words, we accepted him on the basis of the State's recommendation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who became the secretary?

Dr. MAY. Organizational secretary?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. MAY. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long did you remain the organizational secretary?

Dr. MAY. From the time he came in until about September 1942. That was 6 or 7 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who succeeded you as organizational secretary?

Dr. MAY. It was my understanding Bernadette Doyle did. Of course by that time I was out of things, but that is what I understood before I left.

Mr. TAVENNER. You knew Bernadette Doyle before you left?

Dr. MAY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. I assume so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you met in Communist Party meetings with her?

Dr. MAY. Oh, yes; certainly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell me about the nature of your associations with Steve Nelson and the business of the party while you were his organizational secretary.

Dr. MAY. The work that I did with him was the sort of work that an executive officer does for a commanding officer in the Army; or an executive assistant does for a business executive. I took care of details, and if there was going to be a big public meeting I might be chairman or one of the speakers, and I would see that the hall was secured, and that publicity went out to the newspapers. Most of my work was in contact with various agencies. Sometimes I would arrange for a spot announcement.

This doesn't cover the whole story, but all kinds of things of this sort.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Steve Nelson and you continue the same practice that you engaged in with Paul Crouch of attending various group meetings over the district?

Dr. MAY. We both attended meetings. We didn't very often attend meetings together, because it was more economical to have one person attend.

Mr. TAVENNER. What effort was made during this period to establish a Communist Party cell within radiation laboratory?

Dr. MAY. As far as I am aware, none. In saying this, I want to say that I know Paul Crouch said I assisted him in trying to infiltrate the radiation laboratory, but this is not so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you familiar with the names of those who were members of the Merriman branch of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. No. I wasn't meeting with the branch at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the names of the officers of that branch at that time?

Dr. MAY. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or any of them?

Dr. MAY. I think I had so little contact at that time that I really couldn't give any evidence on that point.

Mr. TAVENNER. There has been evidence introduced before the committee by Robert R. Davis that he was an employee at radiation laboratory, and he was recruited into the Communist Party by Rossi Lomanitz. Were you acquainted with either Davis or Lomanitz?

Dr. MAY. As far as I can remember, I was not. These names mean nothing to me except that I have read of them in the newspapers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Davis was a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. I don't think I ever knew this man.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Rossi Lomanitz was a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. I don't think I was ever acquainted with this man. The first time ever remember hearing either of these names was when I read of these men in the newspapers, of their having come before the Un-American Activities Committee, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with David Bohm?

Dr. MAY. As far as I know I was not. This name was unfamiliar to me until I read it in the papers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Irving David Fox?

Dr. MAY. I am quite certain I never was. The name means nothing to me except I have read about it in the papers. The reason I am more sure about him than the others, I was not even at the university when he was there, because the papers have reported him to be a relative newcomer to the university, since my time.

Mr. TAVENNER. To whom are you referring when you say he was a newcomer? Were you referring to Fox?

Dr. MAY. That is right. All I know about Fox is what I have read in the newspapers, and I have the impression from the newspapers that he came to the University of California only a few years ago, after I left there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Max Bernard Friedman?

Dr. MAY. My answer to that is the same as to previous questions. The name is not familiar to me. If I knew him I didn't know his name. I remember reading about this man in the newspapers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Joseph W. Weinberg?

Dr. MAY. Yes, I was acquainted with Mr. Weinberg.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you become acquainted with him?

Dr. MAY. In Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a graduate student at that time?

Dr. MAY. I am not sure just when I met Mr. Weinberg, so whether he was still an undergraduate student or a graduate student, I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over how long a period of time did you know him?

Dr. MAY. I knew him only casually, and when I met him, I am not quite sure. It might have been any time between 1937 and perhaps 1940 or something like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know him in 1942?

Dr. MAY. I was acquainted with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. And he was connected with the university at that time, was he not, in 1942?

Dr. MAY. I am not sure about that, because I was out of the university at that time. Perhaps I misunderstand your question as

to whether I was acquainted with him in 1942. I don't know whether I saw him at all in 1942, but once you have known someone I suppose you would say you were acquainted with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did your acquaintanceship continue?

Dr. MAY. My acquaintanceship with Mr. Weinberg was very casual, and the only reason I remember him at all is that he became a generally known physicist at the university. In other words, he developed a reputation as a physicist, and I recall having met him on occasion. But he was not a friend of mine. If I saw him it was by accident.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know if he was affiliated in any way with the Merriman branch of the Communist Party, or any other branch of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you any information of any character which would be of importance to this committee as to either his membership or nonmembership in the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. Really, the only information I have about Mr. Weinberg, that is, his possible connection with the party, is that he has been accused of it and he has denied it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of course I am not referring to the hearings that have been conducted by the committee, because the committee knows about that.

Dr. MAY. From direct personal knowledge there isn't any evidence I could give one way or another.

Mr. TAVENNER. He could have been a member of the Merriman branch of the Communist Party, or some other branch or cell, and you would not know it?

Dr. MAY. That is correct. I don't want to do him an injustice, but just not knowing he was doesn't mean he wasn't. I just don't know.

Mr. VELDE. Have you met Dr. Joseph Weinberg recently?

Dr. MAY. He teaches at the University of Minnesota, and I have run into him by accident perhaps three or four times in the last 3 or 4 years.

Mr. VELDE. About how many times?

Dr. MAY. Three or four times.

Mr. VELDE. In the last—

Dr. MAY. Three or four years. Although my field is not physics—I am a mathematician and he is a mathematical physicist—I attend from time to time colloquia at the university on mathematics, and I sometimes attend the physics colloquia, and he sometimes comes to the mathematics colloquium. At one time I heard him speak at a physics colloque, and he said "hello" and I said "hello"; just a word or two of greeting is about the extent of it.

Mr. VELDE. Have you ever made reference to investigations of this committee in talking to Dr. Joseph Weinberg or Steve Nelson?

Dr. MAY. Have we ever discussed it?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Dr. MAY. Not directly.

Mr. VELDE. There isn't any reason why you shouldn't, you understand.

Dr. MAY. I understand. However, there would be a good reason why we should not discuss what my testimony was or what his

testimony was. I wouldn't consider that proper. I don't know whether it is legal or not. This was the only occasion, which was purely accidental; I ran into him in the library a few months ago, and this was the only time I made reference to the thing. I said, "I appeared before the grand jury," and he said he was sorry I had been embarrassed by having known him, something like that. We spoke a minute or two about it, and that is all there was to it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever visit in the home of Dr. Weinberg?

Dr. MAY. You mean at any time?

Mr. TAVENNER. At any time.

Dr. MAY. I only recall one occasion when I did so.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Dr. MAY. This was in 1946, just after I came out of the Army. I don't recall the exact time, but it was sometime in the spring of 1946, I expect.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever visit in his home or meet with him in any meeting prior to your going into the service?

Dr. MAY. I don't recall any such occasion. Will you repeat that question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet with him in any group meeting prior to going into the Army?

Dr. MAY. I don't recall any such occasion.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time see him in the company of Steve Nelson?

Dr. MAY. I don't recall ever having seen him in the company of Steve Nelson.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever discuss Dr. Weinberg with Steve Nelson?

Dr. MAY. I don't think so. I don't recall ever discussing Dr. Weinberg with Steve Nelson.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you discuss him with Rudy Lambert?

Dr. MAY. The reason I hesitate there, I may be able to be a little more definite there. I think I can say absolutely for certain I never did discuss him with Rudy Lambert, because I had very few contacts with Rudy Lambert, and never discussed any sort of personalities with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it true that Rudy Lambert was in charge of organization among scientific employees at radiation laboratory?

Dr. MAY. As far as I know, there was no organization of scientific employees at radiation laboratory; and as far as I know Rudy Lambert was never in charge of the organization of scientists at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there an organization of Government employees generally in Alameda County?

Dr. MAY. I believe there was.

Mr. VELDE. Are you referring to the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians?

Mr. TAVENNER. No; I wasn't.

Dr. MAY. There was a branch that was called by some name that suggested that it was a Government branch or something like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us more about it.

Dr. MAY. I don't know that I can tell you more about it. I don't know what the employment was of the people in it. I know they concealed from us who they were and what they were doing. I don't ever recall meeting with this branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say their activities were concealed—

Dr. MAY. I mean, they didn't tell us their names, for instance, and things of that kind. I don't know who was in this branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was in charge of the organization of that group?

Dr. MAY. Well, I think they had somebody in the group who would turn in dues to someone and get literature, but this person didn't even need to identify himself by name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that work done under the supervision of Rudy Lambert?

Dr. MAY. Not as far as I know. As far as I know, he had nothing to do with organizing the party in the East Bay. If he did, it was over our heads and not through us. This is entirely news to me that Rudy Lambert did anything of this kind. I never heard of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the dues paid through you by this group, that is, the Government workers?

Dr. MAY. I think dues came in from this branch to the county. There were dues that came into the county from some such branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Whom did you collect them from?

Dr. MAY. It was done indirectly.

Mr. TAVENNER. So you were not aware of the membership of that group?

Dr. MAY. No. I had no definite knowledge of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You never met with that group?

Dr. MAY. I don't think so; I don't think so. I might have met once with it. I might have gone to somebody's home one evening, and somebody might have said, "This is the Government branch," and I may have said a few words, but I never was introduced around. They ran their own affairs.

Mr. VELDE. How did you know there was such a branch organized?

Dr. MAY. I suppose by the fact dues came in, and they raised money and obtained literature, things of that kind. It is hard to pin it down. I suppose it would be possible for someone to set up a ghost branch if they turned in the money and gave the appearance of doing something.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were the group headquarters located?

Dr. MAY. I don't think they had headquarters.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it centered around Berkeley?

Dr. MAY. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was it centered?

Dr. MAY. I don't know that it was centered any place in the county.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you do not know the names of any members of that branch?

Dr. MAY. I don't recall the names of members of it, no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you familiar with any underground organization of the Communist Party in Alameda County?

Dr. MAY. I am not sure I understand what you mean by an underground organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. I mean any group of the Communist Party engaged in underground activities.

Dr. MAY. Can you explain what you mean by underground activities?

Mr. TAVENNER. Any group that had for its object the surreptitious acquisition of information.

Dr. MAY. Espionage? Is that what you mean?

Mr. TAVENNER. You may call it that.

Dr. MAY. No; I didn't know of any such group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Haakon Chevalier?

Dr. MAY. I knew Haakon Chevalier.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your acquaintance with him?

Dr. MAY. Professor Chevalier lived two doors away from my family at the time when I was perhaps 11 or 12 years old, from that time until about 1935, and the family knew him because of the fact he was a professor at the university and knew my father. That is the way I became acquainted with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he affiliated with the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. I am not sure whether he was affiliated with the party. He was generally thought to be a Communist. I am not sure he was officially affiliated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you familiar with a Communist Party cell established within the Shell Development Corp.?

Dr. MAY. I don't know whether that exactly describes any branch that we had.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether a group of employees of that corporation were members of a group or cell of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. Well, it was generally thought there were people in the Shell Development Corp. who were party people, but I don't believe there was a branch of that nature.

Mr. TAVENNER. What branch or cell would those individuals have been members of?

Dr. MAY. They might have been members of geographical branches, neighborhood branches, or they might at some time have had some group of their own; I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. As organizational secretary, wouldn't you know the channel through which the dues were paid?

Dr. MAY. I am trying to remember.

Mr. VELDE. Maybe I can refresh your recollection. Did you know George Charles Eltenton and Dolly Eltenton?

Dr. MAY. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Did they pay dues to you?

Dr. MAY. They didn't pay dues to me.

Mr. VELDE. They were generally reputed to be active in the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. I think it was generally thought. It was my impression this was not so, however; I never saw them in any party activities. I saw them in activities of a left-wing nature, you might say. They were interested in the American-Russian Institute and so on, but I never had any contact with them as far as the party was concerned.

Mr. VELDE. You know the background of George Charles Eltenton and Dolly Eltenton, don't you?

Dr. MAY. My acquaintance with the Eltentons was based on the fact that they had been in the Soviet Union, and I was interested in Soviet planning, and I got acquainted with them because they had been there and I was interested in what they knew about what was going on in the Soviet Union, but I never approached them as a party person at all, and they never dealt with me as though they were in the party.

Mr. VELDE. Were you familiar with the attempts of Dr. Eltenton to secure passport and visa to go back to England?

Dr. MAY. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Haakon Chevalier associated in a Communist Party cell along with employees of the Shell Development Corp., or associated with them in any way in Communist Party activities?

Dr. MAY. I have seen Haakon Chevalier on many occasions over a long period of time, but I don't ever recall seeing him in the same room with, say, Mr. Eltenton or anyone else I identified as being connected with the Shell Development Co., so I think the answer is "No" as far as I know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever meet with the group in the Shell Development Corp., that particular group of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. I met several times with a sort of a study group, a group of people studying Marxism, and I was the teacher, and I understood these people were chemists. Whether they worked at Shell Development Corp. or not, I am not sure.

Mr. VELDE. Will you name some of them?

Dr. MAY. I don't recall the names. They were extremely nervous.

Mr. VELDE. Dr. George Eltenton was one?

Dr. MAY. Dr. George Eltenton was not. I am sure of that.

Mr. VELDE. Nor Dolly Eltenton, his wife?

Dr. MAY. No. I never have met with George or Dolly Eltenton in a small meeting of any kind.

Mr. VELDE. Allen Flanagan was a member of this study group?

Dr. MAY. No.

Mr. VELDE. Dr. Bernard Peters?

Dr. MAY. No.

Mr. VELDE. You can recall nobody who was in that group? Surely, if you taught Marxism to them, you should remember.

Dr. MAY. At the moment I don't recall any of the names. The chances are I just knew these people by their first names.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you meet in any Communist Party meeting at which Haakon Chevalier was present?

Dr. MAY. No; not that I remember. I don't ever remember seeing him at a party meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever talk to him on any communistic subject?

Dr. MAY. I must have; I suppose that I must have; but I don't recall the occasions. I am sure that I talked to him about various things.

Mr. TAVENNER. He knew you at the time to be a member of the Communist Party, because you were an open member?

Dr. MAY. At what time?

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you had your conversations with Haakon Chevalier.

Dr. MAY. That is right. I was well known to be a Communist, but nevertheless many, many people welcomed me in their homes, some of them because they had political interests similar to mine, but some of them just on personal grounds, and partly because they felt I had been unjustly treated, perhaps; I don't know. I had social contacts with all kinds of people.

Mr. TAVENNER. On the basis of your discussions with Haakon Chevalier, did you consider that he accepted the principles of communism?

Dr. MAY. I don't remember any contact with Mr. Chevalier after the time that I left the university. It seems to me he left the university too sometime along then. I don't remember the exact nature of the conversations. It would be making something up if I were to say what I thought of him at that time, really, but I think the most I can say is that it was generally considered that he was a left-winger, a Marxist. But this is just a matter of opinion and not anything upon which I could give definite evidence.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Dr. Frank F. Oppenheimer?

Dr. MAY. I have met Mr. Oppenheimer.

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

Dr. MAY. No, he was not. I don't think I met him until after the war, actually. At the time I was active in the party I don't think he even lived in Berkeley, or lived in that area. I may have met him at a cocktail party or something, but I don't remember ever having met him before the war.

Mr. VELDE. Are you acquainted with Clarence Hiskey?

Dr. MAY. My first recollection of ever having heard this name was when I read in the newspapers that he was supposed to have been at my house.

Mr. VELDE. We will recess for about 5 minutes.

(Short recess.)

Mr. VELDE. The subcommittee will stand at recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 4:45 p. m. on Thursday, December 21, 1950, the hearing was recessed until Friday, December 22, 1950, at 10 a. m.)

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
RADIATION LABORATORY AND ATOMIC BOMB PROJECT
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY,
CALIF.—VOLUME 3

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1950

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

EXECUTIVE SESSION

A subcommittee of one of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 a. m., Hon. Harold H. Velde presiding.

Committee member present: Hon. Harold H. Velde.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel, and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. VELDE. You may proceed.

TESTIMONY OF KENNETH OWNSWORTH MAY, ACCOMPANIED BY
COUNSEL, SIDNEY S. SACHS—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. May, have you had an opportunity to refresh your recollection as to the name of the State organizer of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. The man whose name I was trying to remember was, I believe, called the organizational secretary. The State organizer was William Schneiderman.

Mr. TAVENNER. I meant to say secretary.

Dr. MAY. I recollected the name at the end of the session yesterday, and the name is Leo Barroway. I am not sure of the spelling, B-a-r-r-o-w-a-y, something like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was the last time that you saw him?

Dr. MAY. I don't think I have seen him since just before I went into the Army. I might have seen him after I came back from the Army, but I don't recollect seeing him at all. If I did, it was just by chance.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall at this time the names of any of the members of the Merriman branch of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. I remember one person. I think he was in the Merriman branch; I am pretty certain he was. I know that he was a leader of the YCL there on the campus. His name was Justin Vanderlaan, V-a-n-d-e-r-l-a-a-n—I am going phonetically on this—a Dutch name.

The reason I could remember that is we signed some letters together that appeared in the papers. I signed for the party, and he signed for the YCL.

Mr. TAVENNER. What year was that?

Dr. MAY. In the fall of 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of any of the others?

Dr. MAY. I can't now, no. May I reconsider that? There was another name I thought of of someone who was in the Merriman branch. His name was Ed Lee.

Mr. TAVENNER. During what period of time was he a member, to your knowledge?

Dr. MAY. I think it was during 1939 or 1940 that I knew him there as a member of the branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am more interested in the names of members in the period 1941 to 1943.

Dr. MAY. Well, of course, in the period 1941 to 1943 I was not in that branch. You see, I left the university, and I was working mainly down in Oakland, which is contiguous to Berkeley, but not the same place, and I didn't have much contact with the campus branch during that period.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were asked questions yesterday regarding Haakon Chevalier, Dr. Frank Oppenheimer, and George Charles Eltenton.

Were you also acquainted with J. Robert Oppenheimer?

Dr. MAY. Yes; I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to read you an excerpt from the testimony of Louis J. Russell, now senior investigator of this committee, relating to these individuals and also Louise Bransten. Did you know Louise Bransten?

Dr. MAY. I met her. I think perhaps I saw her once or twice.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us stop for a moment and inquire more about Louise Bransten. What was the character of your association with her?

Dr. MAY. I wouldn't say really that I was associated with her. I met her socially at some sort of cocktail party or tea party in San Francisco. I don't recall at whose home it was. It was at some big home, and it was just a general gathering of left-wing people, but not particularly party people. It didn't have any definite party connotation. I was simply introduced to her. I had heard of her and remembered her, and I remember reading of her in the papers since. I don't believe I ever had a conversation with her.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever sit in a Communist Party meeting with her?

Dr. MAY. I am quite sure that I didn't. I don't recollect ever seeing her at such an affair.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any information upon which you could base a statement that she either was or was not a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. I have no information of my own knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any information from records of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or from the collection of dues from Communist Party members?

Dr. MAY. No, sir. The reason I qualified my answer was, the only sort of information I have is the sort of thing that she was generally reputed to be left-wing in her views, but I don't know any more about her than that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will read a part of Mr. Russell's testimony to you.

Mr. SACHS. Mr. Tavenner, would you mind giving us the page and the date, and so forth?

Mr. TAVENNER. This testimony is taken from volume 2 of the Hearings and Reports of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the year 1947, and appears on page 520:

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any information regarding further association between Bransten, Louise Bransten, and Eltenton?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; it is known that Louise Bransten at one time attempted to secure employment for Dolly Eltenton with the American-Russian Institute through Gregory Kheifets. Also Louise Bransten requested Eltenton to send a telegram of congratulations to a Russian scientific society in the Soviet Union, and during the month of July 1940 it was sent. The person in charge of this scientific gathering in Soviet Russia was an individual known as Peter Kapitza.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, tell the committee whether or not Eltenton was ever contacted by an official of the Soviet Government regarding espionage activity.

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; during the year 1942, the latter part, Eltenton was contacted by Peter Ivanov, whom I have identified as a vice consul of the Soviet Government and a secretary in its consulate in San Francisco. Ivanov requested Eltenton to secure information concerning some highly secret work which was being carried on at the radiation laboratory at the University of California. Ivanov offered Eltenton money in return for his cooperation in securing information regarding the secret work which was being conducted at the University of California at Berkeley in its radiation laboratory.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether or not Eltenton, in furtherance of this offer, contacted anyone else?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; in order to cooperate with Ivanov he approached Haakon Chevalier, who was a professor at the University of California—

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment. Is he the same person who was a writer in the film industry for several years?

Mr. RUSSELL. I have no information concerning his occupation in the film industry.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right, proceed.

Mr. RUSSELL. And requested him to find out what was being done at the radiation laboratory, particularly information regarding the highly destructive weapon which was being developed through research. Eltenton told Chevalier that he had a line of communication with an official of the Soviet Government who had advised him that since Russia and the United States were allies Soviet Russia should be entitled to any technical data which might be of assistance to that nation.

At the time of this particular conversation Chevalier advised Eltenton that he would contact a third person who was working in the radiation laboratory and attempt to secure information regarding the type of work conducted there or any information which he could regarding technical developments which might be of assistance to the Soviet Government.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Russell, can you tell the committee whether or not Mr. Chevalier did contact a scientist employed in the radiation laboratory?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; Chevalier approached this third person.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was that third person J. Robert Oppenheimer?

Mr. RUSSELL. That is right; Chevalier approached this third person, J. Robert Oppenheimer, and told him that George Charles Eltenton was interested in obtaining information regarding technical developments under consideration by the United States and also that Eltenton was interested in obtaining information regarding the work being performed at the Radiation Laboratory at the University of California. This third person—

Mr. STRIPLING. Just a moment. Did Chevalier tell J. Robert Oppenheimer that he had the means of communication whereby he could transmit such information to the Soviet Union?

Mr. RUSSELL. Yes; he did. He told J. Robert Oppenheimer that Eltenton had a source through which he could relay the information to the Soviet Government.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did Mr. Oppenheimer reply to this approach on the part of Mr. Chevalier?

Mr. RUSSELL. He said that he considered such attempts as this to secure information a treasonable act and that he certainly would not have anything to do with such a thing.

Is it not true that Steve Nelson mentioned the subject of this testimony regarding the aborted effort to obtain information from Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer to you?

Dr. MAY. You mean at that time?

Mr. TAVENNER. At that or any other time.

Dr. MAY. Steve Nelson has mentioned this, not as a fact, but he has mentioned this allegation to me on one occasion.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us about that.

Dr. MAY. Well, sometime—I am not sure of the exact time but it was probably in 1947 or 1948—Steve Nelson phoned me from Minneapolis, and I hadn't heard from him, really, since the war, and so I went up to see him, and we just sat and talked for a little while, and he said something about—this was after some newspaper reports had come out along the lines you have just read, and he made some reference to this.

I assumed, when I read this in the newspaper, that it was just someone romancing. I didn't take it very seriously, and he didn't talk about it as though it were true, but he made some reference to it, that the origin of the story must be that someone had told some kind of tale to the FBI or somebody; that somebody must have told some sort of tale; and he intimated that the person who probably had done that was Eltenton. He said probably Eltenton had told some tale like this, and apparently the reason he gave for saying this was that Eltenton had left the country, was no longer in the country.

It seemed sort of strange to me. I didn't get too much sense out of his making this comment, and I didn't comment on it and he didn't say anything further, and that was all. It was just a brief interchange.

Mr. TAVENNER. He called you from what place?

Dr. MAY. Minneapolis. I live quite near Minneapolis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he make a special trip there to see you about this matter, as far as you know?

Dr. MAY. I don't know. I don't think so. He just said he was in town on some business. I didn't discuss party matters with him at all. I didn't want to get involved in party matters.

Mr. TAVENNER. When he called you, I take it it was on the telephone?

Dr. MAY. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he tell you what the purpose of his calling you was?

Dr. MAY. No. He just said "Hello" and who he was. I hadn't seen him for a long time. I had known him as a person and liked him as a person, as well as worked under him in the party, and it was natural I wanted to see him and ask how his family was and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think you had lived with him at one time?

Dr. MAY. That is right, and I saw no reason why I shouldn't see him, although I assumed he was still an official of the party, but I

tried, when I saw him, not to get involved in any party discussion. I asked about his wife and children and how he was getting along.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you gain the impression that the purpose of his calling you was to discuss this matter with you?

Mr. SACHS. Which matter was that?

Mr. TAVENNER. The matter of Eltenton and the approach to J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Dr. MAY. This possibility has not occurred to me until now, that that is why he wanted to see me. I just assumed he wanted to see me because he liked me and so on; we were friends.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the only time that he ever called you?

Dr. MAY. That is right. I mean, the only time since the war. Of course, when I was working with him he called me.

Mr. VELDE. Do you recall anything other than what you have said about this conversation?

Dr. MAY. I just want to explain why I cut off the conversation. I didn't want to get involved in any such conversation. The fact he mentioned the matter at all made me a little uncomfortable. It did make me feel uncomfortable, but I didn't feel he had a definite purpose in seeing me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Try to recall just what Nelson said to you about it.

Dr. MAY. I don't think I can recall any more than I have just told you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Nelson then indicate to you that any additional effort had been made to obtain information from anyone in Radiation Laboratory?

Dr. MAY. He didn't even indicate that any effort at all had been made. We didn't discuss it on the basis that anything had really happened at all. He just made this comment, and I dropped the matter. I didn't want to discuss it any more.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he mention the name of Dr. Weinberg to you?

Dr. MAY. No; he didn't. Dr. Weinberg's name did not come up at all while we were talking.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he mention the name of Dr. Weinberg to you at any time while you were in California working in the party?

Dr. MAY. I don't recall discussing Dr. Weinberg with him at any time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Steve Nelson mention to you at any time while you were actively engaged in the work of the party that any effort had been made or would be made to obtain information from Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer?

Dr. MAY. I don't recall his ever discussing anything like that at all; no. To answer this more broadly, I don't recall ever discussing with Steve Nelson the obtaining of information from anybody; that is, illegal or unauthorized information.

Mr. VELDE. Have you ever attended a meeting social or otherwise, with Haakon Chevalier and Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer?

Dr. MAY. Yes. I am sure I must have been on many occasions at social events with them.

Mr. VELDE. And was George Eltenton present?

Dr. MAY. I don't recall ever seeing the three of them together. It is undoubtedly true that they were present at parties together, but I don't ever recall seeing them together. I do recall seeing Dr.

Oppenheimer and Dr. Chevalier, together. They were both professors at the university, and Eltenton was not.

Mr. VELDE. Do you recall any social meetings in Chevalier's home?

Dr. MAY. I think on a number of occasions I was at his home.

Mr. VELDE. At which Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was present, too?

Dr. MAY. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated you lived with Steve Nelson at one time. Will you state when that was and where you lived?

Dr. MAY. I lived with him from some time in the first half of 1942 until the late summer of 1942, a period of a few months.

Mr. TAVENNER. At what address?

Dr. MAY. It was on Grove Street near a cross street that I have forgotten what it was called then, but after the war it was called MacArthur Boulevard. I remember noticing they had named the avenue MacArthur. But I don't remember the number of the house.

Mr. VELDE. Were you ever in his home after he moved from that Grove Street address to Berkeley?

Dr. MAY. I didn't know that he moved to Berkeley. I was in a home somewhere else that he had after that.

Mr. VELDE. After that?

Dr. MAY. That is right.

Mr. VELDE. That was during the war; wasn't it?

Dr. MAY. I am not sure just when it was. It may have been at some time when I was home on leave from the Army, possibly 1943 or 1944. I think I was there only once; maybe twice.

Mr. VELDE. Do you recall anything about your conversation with him at that time, and what the occasion was?

Dr. MAY. I think the occasion was simply that I was home on leave and I just dropped in on him to be friendly, and played with his little daughter, and talked to his wife, and steered clear of anything too political, because I felt that being in the Army and not connected with the party, I should be correct about such things, and I didn't want to get involved in anything political.

I think I should explain to the committee that my relation with Steve Nelson, although I have no contact with him now, he was for a time the closest thing I had to a family, and I felt a certain personal attachment to him. He had always been very nice to me, and when I came to his house to live I was in poor health and underweight, and his wife fed me well and I was in good shape to go in the Army; and if I were to see him now I feel I should greet him as a former friend, at least. I don't feel I am his friend now.

Mr. TAVENNER. I wish you would tell us what he told you, as nearly as you can remember, about the reported effort to approach Dr. Robert Oppenheimer.

Dr. MAY. The only reason I remember it is that it seemed to me a little strange that he said anything to me about it at all.

I cannot remember exactly what was said but the conversation may have gone something like this. He asked if I had noticed certain reports in the paper, and I said I had read about it, and shrugged my shoulders. He said, "Well, someone must have given this story to whoever it was given to, the FBI or whoever it was given to." Then he said, "As far as I can see, it must have been Eltenton, since he has left the country."

I didn't know Eltenton had left the country, and I didn't see any particular reason why that would indicate he had told somebody, but I didn't want to get involved, so I made some remark such as, "So what?" or "What could he say?" and let the subject drop.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you gain the impression that Steve Nelson was trying to ascertain the extent of your knowledge concerning that incident?

Dr. MAY. I didn't think of it at the moment, and didn't see it until now. I can see now maybe he was fishing.

Mr. TAVENNER. What else did you discuss?

Dr. MAY. We didn't discuss anything else in particular. We talked quite a while, about the war situation, his family, my family, and so on. I just assume we talked about this. I don't actually recall just what we said.

Mr. TAVENNER. The entire conversation was about normal matters people would normally converse about when meeting, except this one thing?

Dr. MAY. That people would normally converse about who were associated in the way we were. He asked how I was getting along because of my past difficulties because of the party, and so on. I didn't spend much time figuring what this one thing meant. I wasn't particularly interested.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Dr. MAY. I had gone on the assumption that there wasn't the slightest truth in anything I had read, and although this question didn't indicate there was truth to it, it didn't seem to completely jibe with the fact there was no truth to it, and it startled me, and I answered as though there were no truth to it. I think he dropped the subject as much as I did. So if he was fishing, he must have gotten the impression by my answer that I didn't know anything about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Going back to the time when you were closely associated with Nelson in Communist Party work, did not you and Nelson discuss prospective members of the Communist Party between you? Did you not, in the course of your discussions, consider whether this person or that was sympathetically inclined to the work in which you were engaged?

Dr. MAY. Yes, undoubtedly we must have done that to some extent, though most of the recruiting of individuals into the party was by members meeting their friends. That wasn't done by officials. We didn't go into that.

Mr. TAVENNER. If the individuals were persons of prominence, it would have been most natural for you and Steve Nelson to discuss the possibility of their being sympathetically inclined to your work?

Dr. MAY. We undoubtedly discussed the political views of all kinds of people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall discussing Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer with Steve Nelson?

Dr. MAY. I am sure we must have, but I don't specifically recall any occasion when we did. I am sure we must have discussed his views and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you not think you discussed with him, or Steve Nelson with you, the importance of the association of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer with the Communist Party, the Communist movement?

Dr. MAY. I never really discussed the importance of it. I don't recall actually the conversation, but—

Mr. VELDE. You are acquainted with Mrs. J. Robert Oppenheimer; are you not?

Dr. MAY. I was acquainted with her. I haven't had any contact with her for a long time, but I met her.

Mr. VELDE. Were you acquainted with her former husband, her deceased husband, who died in the Spanish civil war?

Dr. MAY. I have heard of him, but I wasn't acquainted with him.

Mr. VELDE. Did you know her as a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. No.

Mr. VELDE. She was a close friend of Steve Nelson's also; wasn't she?

Dr. MAY. I understood that she was a close friend. Steve Nelson and I never sat down and talked about it, but I gathered from things he said that he knew her because he knew her husband well; and, also, I gathered that her husband was killed in Spain at a time when Steve Nelson was present; that there was some close personal bond between Steve Nelson and her husband. I am not sure of her husband's name. Steve Nelson talked of close friends in Spain and mentioned that Mrs. Oppenheimer's husband was a close friend.

Mr. VELDE. Did Mrs. J. Robert Oppenheimer make a trip back to Spain during 1940 or 1941?

Dr. MAY. That I don't know. I don't think I had met her at that time. I met her through Professor Oppenheimer.

Mr. VELDE. Did you ever discuss with Steve Nelson his acquaintanceship with Togliatti?

Dr. MAY. No. I didn't know that he knew Togliatti.

Mr. VELDE. You know who Togliatti is?

Dr. MAY. I know who Togliatti is.

You asked me a question to which I did not complete the answer, whether I had ever discussed the importance of Prof. J. Robert Oppenheimer with Steve Nelson. I don't recall any conversation, but let me say this: My conception at the time of the importance of J. Robert Oppenheimer was simply that he was a very brilliant man, a very brilliant man, and I have gone to see him, and have discussed things with him at social gatherings. I have gone to his home specifically to talk to him. My purpose was more to learn than anything else, because he was very brilliant, and what he said was always very interesting. And it was for such conversations that on a couple occasions I went to his home with Steve Nelson. We discussed political problems and such things, and even when we disagreed with him, it was always stimulating to talk to Dr. Oppenheimer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you gain from some other source a knowledge or belief that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. No, I didn't. He spoke to us as an independent person.

Mr. TAVENNER. In connection with your work with Steve Nelson, did you not learn that he was interested in obtaining information—

Dr. MAY. That Steve Nelson was?

Mr. TAVENNER. That Steve Nelson was interested in obtaining information that was possessed by scientists in that area regarding secret Government projects?

Dr. MAY. I don't recall any such conversations with Steve Nelson, and if such a conversation had taken place, I would have been incensed about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. The place at which you lived with Steve Nelson, was that 3720 Grove Street?

Dr. MAY. I am not sure. It was on Grove Street right near MacArthur Boulevard.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you if you were acquainted with any of the following persons as to whom the committee has information were members of the Communist Party:

Walter McElroy.

Dr. MAY. This name doesn't mean anything to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Organizer, unit 131.

Dr. MAY. I never heard of a unit 131.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe it was the professional section of the Communist Party.

Mr. VELDE. Where was that, Mr. Counsel, Oakland?

Mr. TAVENNER. I think it was in San Francisco.

Dr. MAY. You understand, I am not saying that no such unit ever existed, but it doesn't mean anything to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Walter Herrick.

Dr. MAY. This name doesn't mean anything to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Velda Johnson?

Dr. MAY. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Chandler Weston?

Dr. MAY. No, sir. Perhaps these aren't real names.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have before me a list of those who registered as Communist Party members in Alameda County, furnished by the clerk of the court of that county on November 10, 1942. I will read to you the names of the persons from Berkeley, and I will ask you if you knew them and whether or not they were members of the Merriam branch, or what branch of the Communist Party they were members of.

Mrs. Malvina Reynolds.

Dr. MAY. Yes, I knew her.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was her affiliation with the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. She was a member of different branches at different times; never a member of the campus branch, I don't think. I don't think she was ever a student at the university. I think she was a member of a geographical branch, different ones at different times, perhaps.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Berkeley?

Dr. MAY. I knew her there in Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. She gave her occupation as a copy reader. Does that help you identify her?

Dr. MAY. Yes. There is no doubt of my knowing her and knowing who she was. I think probably at the time she registered here she was working for the Daily People's World in San Francisco, and that is why her occupation is listed as copy reader.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Vivian R. Patterson.

Dr. MAY. I don't know this name. I should explain to the committee that sometimes people registered as Communists to help keep the Communist Party on the ballot, and that was the only political thing, or almost the only political thing, they did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Hattie D. Shirck.

Dr. MAY. I knew her; not well, but I met her.

Mr. TAVENNER. With what group was she affiliated?

Dr. MAY. I think she was affiliated with different neighborhood branches in Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. Fred Vast, newspaperman, Berkeley.

Dr. MAY. I know that name, but I am not sure I can link it with a definite person. I think he was a student at the university at one time, and when he registered as a Communist, perhaps he was working for the People's World or some other paper; I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Witter De Vere Hahn.

Dr. MAY. I don't know this name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Percy T. Hunt, machinist helper.

Dr. MAY. I don't know this name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Joseph Hendrickson, barber.

Dr. MAY. I think I know who this was. I didn't know him personally, but I think I got my hair cut at his barber shop a few times. I couldn't positively identify the man, but it suggests to me there was a barber who was understood to be sympathetic to the Communist Party, and he had his shop in West Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what group he was affiliated with?

Dr. MAY. I don't know that he was affiliated with any group. I doubt that he was. I believe he is one of the people that probably this was the only political thing he did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Frank Hjalmer Wahlander, tailor, W-a-h-l-a-n-d-e-r.

Dr. MAY. I think I know who this man is, although it seems to me that the name is misspelled. It doesn't quite seem right.

Mr. TAVENNER. If he is the person to whom you have reference, what group was he affiliated with?

Dr. MAY. If this is the man I am thinking of, he was a tailor who lived in West Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. 2316 Tenth Street?

Dr. MAY. Well, he lived on Tenth Street. I don't remember the number. He must have belonged to a neighborhood branch down in that area. He was Finnish, and there was probably a group of Finns there of which he was one. But I have a feeling there was a time when he became inactive. I recall going to talk to him, because he was a person who knew what was going on among the Finns, and I would sit and talk to him about what was going on.

Mr. TAVENNER. John Polkki, stevedore.

Dr. MAY. I don't know that name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Leonard Newman?

Dr. MAY. I think I have heard that name, but I don't think I can identify that person.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Rhoda Linnea Samples, housewife.

Dr. MAY. I am not acquainted with that name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Justin Vanderlaan, student.

Dr. MAY. He is the person I mentioned before. He was a student at the university.

Mr. VELDE. He was the one who was organizer for the YCL?

Dr. MAY. I am sure at one time he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. George A. Kauffman, shipyard worker.

Dr. MAY. I knew him. I suppose he belonged to one of the neighborhood branches.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Ruth McGovney May, machinist.

Dr. MAY. She was my first wife. I have been married twice. My present wife, I was not married to her at that time. As a matter of fact, my first wife and I were separated at the time she registered, but she still had the name of May.

Mr. TAVENNER. What branch of the Communist Party was she affiliated with?

Dr. MAY. I am not sure what branch she was affiliated with at that time. I was separated from her at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. What branch was she affiliated with that you last knew of?

Dr. MAY. She was affiliated with one of the neighborhood branches in Berkeley when we were living together.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember the name or designation of it?

Dr. MAY. Perhaps it was called the West Berkeley branch.

Mr. VELDE. She now goes by the name Ruth McGovney, since the divorce?

Dr. MAY. Yes. She returned to her maiden name.

Mr. VELDE. What was her later work, after the divorce?

Dr. MAY. I think she had some employment with the CIO, some kind of research work. It was some sort of research activity, but I didn't see a great deal of her. I don't know exactly her employment record.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where she is now?

Dr. MAY. No, I don't.

Mr. VELDE. Wasn't she employed by Dr. Bernard Peters?

Dr. MAY. I didn't know this.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was her last employment that you know of, her last place of address?

Dr. MAY. I think we exchanged letters once since the war, and she wrote from Berkeley, and I replied. This was perhaps 2 years ago, or a year or 2 ago.

Mr. TAVENNER. Muriel Weiner, student.

Dr. MAY. This name doesn't recall anything to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Jean C. Lien, housewife.

Dr. MAY. I knew her.

Mr. TAVENNER. With what group was she affiliated?

Dr. MAY. She was affiliated with one of the neighborhood groups. She was just a housewife in Berkeley.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Merry Morgan Raas, Reader University.

Dr. MAY. What is that name again?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Merry Morgan Raas, R-a-a-s, address 2818 Shasta Road.

Dr. MAY. I couldn't identify this person at all. The last name is very vaguely familiar to me. The address doesn't mean anything to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Richard Cloke.

Dr. MAY. I met him.

Mr. TAVENNER. With what group was he affiliated?

Dr. MAY. He was a student at one time and I think he was in the YCL.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Shirley J. Cloke, housewife.

Dr. MAY. I imagine this must be the wife of the man you just mentioned. I met her. I didn't know her too well, but I met her.

Mr. TAVENNER. Edward W. McGuckin.

Dr. MAY. This doesn't mean much to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. A welder.

Dr. MAY. It doesn't mean anything to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Paula Rodriguez, R-o-d-r-i-g-u-e-z.

Dr. MAY. I don't know this name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Frank Walter Parsons, salesman.

Dr. MAY. Yes, I knew him.

Mr. TAVENNER. With what group was he affiliated?

Dr. MAY. I knew Frank Parsons quite well because he was a candidate, I think, for the Berkeley City Council, or for some other office in Berkeley, at the same time I was a candidate for office, and he was always affiliated with one or another of the geographical branches.

Mr. TAVENNER. Frank Walter Sullivan, machinist.

Dr. MAY. I have heard of him, but I don't think I ever met him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what group he was affiliated with?

Dr. MAY. I don't think he was affiliated with any group. As I remember, my impression about this man is that he was not active in the party at the time I was there. I am not absolutely sure of that, but I think I had some such impression about him.

I think I ought to say that it is possible I may have known all of these people without knowing their names. That is quite possible.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have information that Wilhemina Lowrey lived in the home with Bernadette Doyle. Were you acquainted with her?

Dr. MAY. I was acquainted with her; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she a Communist Party member?

Dr. MAY. I think she was. I feel pretty certain she was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What group was she affiliated with?

Dr. MAY. I think it must have been one of the geographical branches in Berkeley.

Mr. VELDE. Did she work in Communist Party headquarters at Oakland?

Dr. MAY. Not while I was there. She managed a book shop. Actually, at one time she managed two book shops, one in Berkeley and one in Oakland. My association with her was based on the fact that I worked with her on problems concerning the book shops. Although the book shops were not owned by the party, we worked in a friendly sort of way with the book shops.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Weinberg testified before the committee that he attended a Communist Party meeting which took place some place in downtown Oakland in a rather seedy little hall, and a very talkative lady spoke very indignantly and heatedly about subjects which he had since forgotten. This took place in 1941, probably late in 1941. Can you assist us in identifying the meeting and the person who spoke, and also the place of the meeting?

Dr. MAY. I am afraid I can't, because I must have attended thousands of meetings where talkative ladies spoke heatedly about things in a small hall in Oakland. I can't separate the meetings. However, I doubt that that was Mrs. Lowrey. That doesn't sound like Mrs. Lowrey. Mrs. Lowrey was a very capable public speaker and spoke with great force, but very calmly and according to the best techniques of public speaking. In fact, she taught classes in public speaking.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Dr. MAY. She probably taught many places. I recall she taught at the Oakland Workers' School in Oakland, I think.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that a school sponsored by the party?

Dr. MAY. I don't know if it was officially sponsored by the party or not, but it was supported by the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the exact name of the school?

Dr. MAY. I think it was called the Oakland Workers' School. I am not sure. Or the East Bay Workers' School.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall Dr. Weinberg being present at any meeting which you attended?

Dr. MAY. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Libby Burke?

Dr. MAY. This name doesn't mean anything to me, except that I have been asked the question whether I knew her before, but that is the only time I recall hearing that name.

Mr. VELDE. I wonder if you would describe the Communist Party headquarters in Oakland to the committee, where it was located, and who occupied the offices at the time you were there.

Dr. MAY. We were at two locations at different times. The first location, I have forgotten the street number, but it was on the main central street of downtown Oakland, but a little below the main business district, in a run-down part of the main street. It was in an upstairs office, two rooms. In the front room there were some books on display, and in the inner office, we modified it from time to time, but at one time I remember there were three different partitions, and I occupied one of these places, and Paul Crouch occupied another at one time, and later Steve Nelson occupied one of these, and Charles Drasnin occupied one at one time.

The other headquarters was on a different street. I am not sure of the name of the street, but it was a street parallel to the main street in Oakland, a couple blocks away from the main street. This was again an upstairs—wait a minute. Did the party actually occupy that as headquarters? No. Excuse me. I will have to change that. I think at the time I was there the only office that the party occupied was this one I first described on Broadway. In the other location I was thinking of there was a book store, and at one time this Oakland Workers' School had its offices there. I think the People's World, San Francisco newspaper, had its offices there at one time. But I never occupied a party office there. I was interested in the school and was there in connection with the school, but not in connection with the party.

Mr. VELDE. That was two blocks east of Broadway?

Dr. MAY. I think so. It might have been three.

Mr. VELDE. How many offices were there, how many rooms?

Dr. MAY. At that location?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Dr. MAY. When I last remember, this was used as the location of the school, and I think there were perhaps three different rooms upstairs.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Rena Vail?

Dr. MAY. This name doesn't recall anything to my mind.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. May, did you at any time hold membership in the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians?

Dr. MAY. No, sir; I never did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Marcel Scherer, an organizer for FAECT?

Dr. MAY. I met him.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the extent of your acquaintanceship with him?

Dr. MAY. I think I met him altogether perhaps two or three times. I was introduced to him as an organizer for the FAECT, and I chatted with him about union matters, which I often did with union people that I met.

Mr. TAVENNER. And your official position at that time was what?

Dr. MAY. At that time my official position was—I am not sure if it was when I was educational director or organizational secretary, but I was an official of the party.

It was quite frequent for party people to go, and on their initiative, talk to union officials and discuss general problems with them, sometimes offering assistance to the union in some problem that was coming up, and sometimes just discussing general questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he seek assistance of any kind from you or from the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. He didn't from me. I had the impression that I was just introduced to him because he was a person of some prominence in the trade-union movement and I ought to know him. I had no dealings with him. It was a matter of having lunch together once or twice.

Mr. TAVENNER. From your conversation with him, did you learn he was a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. We never discussed that at all. I might also say that that was the sort of thing people did not discuss. I never asked people whether they were members of the party, and they never raised the question that I was. It was one of those things we just didn't talk about.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there a Communist Party cell in the FAECT?

Dr. MAY. I don't know whether there was or not. It was generally thought that there was; I will say that.

Mr. TAVENNER. As organizational secretary, didn't the funds resulting from the collection of dues pass through your hands?

Dr. MAY. Yes, but they might have been disguised in some way.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that the practice, to disguise the funds?

Dr. MAY. Everything came in rather general terms. A branch would have some name that didn't necessarily indicate what it was. I imagine if any people in FAECT were in the Communist Party they wanted to conceal it, because they feared job discrimination.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have just been handed information indicating that Ruth McGovney was secretary of the San Francisco division of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians on January 29, 1946. Do you have any information regarding that?

Dr. MAY. I didn't know this. When I got out of the Army I saw her, I believe, once or twice, and she told me she was working for the CIO, but I don't recall what the nature of her work was, exactly.

Mr. APPELL. Dr. May, the records of the committee contain proxies from members of the State central committee of the Communist Party for attendance at the State central committee meeting at Sacramento, in the year 1940. As a proxy to Charles G. Drasnin,

whom you have identified, your name is listed, together with the names of Frank H. (Bimbo) Brown; Eddie Marie Cobb; Alfred Newell Johnson; Lorine Kinz; and George B. Secl.

Are you acquainted with all of those individuals?

Dr. MAY. Yes, I am. Or I was, I should say.

Mr. APPELL. To what group or cell was Frank Brown assigned, to your knowledge?

Dr. MAY. Frank Brown was a longshoreman or a warehouseman, so he might have been in a group of longshoremen at one time, or at another time he might have been in a neighborhood group, depending on circumstances.

Mr. APPELL. Eddie Marie Cobb.

Dr. MAY. She was in a neighborhood group.

I don't recollect an occasion when I gave my proxy to somebody else. To whom did I give it?

Mr. APPELL. To Charles Drasin.

Dr. MAY. It must have had something to do with this State committee meeting. It was just a formality; they met and adjourned. So I think people gave their proxies to somebody else. They just met and adjourned.

I think "Bimbo" Brown and Johnson and Kinz were candidates for office on the Communist Party ballot, and they automatically were on this committee, the same as I was. Of course I knew them, because I worked a great deal on this election matter.

Mr. APPELL. To what group was Alfred Newell Johnson assigned?

Dr. MAY. I think he was assigned to the YCL, but he wasn't very active.

Mr. APPELL. Was he a student at the university?

Dr. MAY. Not at that time. I have the impression that later he became a student.

Mr. APPELL. This proxy was signed in September 1940. Do you think it was later that he attended the university?

Dr. MAY. Yes, but this seems strange. Could you explain to me how I happened to be giving a proxy to someone at this time?

Mr. APPELL. I am quoting to you from the report of Investigators James H. Steedman and William N. Dunstan covering their activities for the Special Committee on Un-American Activities for the period November 9 through November 15, 1941, in which they enclose and make a part of their report a list of Communist Party proxies from duly qualified members of the State central committee of the Communist Party for attendance at the State central committee meeting at Sacramento in the year 1940. The month of the meeting is not given in the report.

Dr. MAY. I had forgotten that I was a member of the State central committee at that time. It must have been that I was one of those elected in the primary election. It was my memory that the only people on the State central committee were candidates for office, but evidently there were some elected, and I must have been one of those, but I still don't remember the incident at all.

Mr. APPELL. You have identified Lorine Kinz as a person you knew?

Dr. MAY. Yes.

Mr. APPELL. During the time you were active in the Communist Party in California, to what cell or group was she assigned?

Dr. MAY. She belonged to a branch in West Oakland.

Mr. APPELL. Was she at any time a student at the university?

Dr. MAY. I am quite sure she was not.

Mr. APPELL. Another proxy was given to Charles Drasnin by George B. Seel. To what group or cell of the Communist Party was Mr. Seel assigned?

Dr. MAY. I am not sure of this. He worked in the office, not as an official of the party, but as a sort of office helper, not a secretary, but he did things such as keep the office clean and sell literature, and he undoubtedly belonged to some branch in the central Oakland area, or different branches. He was an elderly man.

Mr. APPELL. I would like to read a list of the persons to or from whom proxies were issued, and ask you to break in only after I mention a name when you know that person to have been a student at the university:

Richard Jaramillo
James McGowan
Harold Allinger

Bernard J. Chevraux
Emil Freed

Dr. MAY. Just a moment. I have heard the name Emil Freed, and it is possible he was at the university. I am not positive, but the name is a little familiar. It rings a little bell. I am not sure he was a student.

Mr. APPELL (continuing reading):

Louis Baron
Mrs. Mollie Buchman

Salman N. Buchman
Mrs. Tassia Freed

I assume she was the wife of Emil Freed?

Dr. MAY. I don't know.

Mr. APPELL (continuing reading):

Jack Ginsburg
Mrs. Annie Goldberg
Henry Steinberg
Mrs. Sarah Kusnitz

Mrs. Edith Rapport
George Rapport
Miss Celeste Strack

Dr. MAY. Miss Celeste Strack was a student at the University of California at Los Angeles at the time I was an undergraduate, and I knew of her because she was expelled from the University of California at Los Angeles for Communist activities. Her case was a very famous one.

Mr. APPELL. She was a leader of the American Student Union, was she not?

Dr. MAY. I don't know. I think at a later time she was a graduate student at the University of California in Berkeley, but not at the time I was a member of the party there.

Mr. VELDE. Did I understand you to say you did not know George Rapport?

Dr. MAY. I have heard the name, but that is all I know about it.

Mr. APPELL (continuing reading):

Charles Griesc
Margaret F. Waegell
Robert Wood
Albert J. Lima
John R. Heino
Mrs. Helen Lima
Mrs. Nora Cecel Woodhurst

Clarence Paton
Mrs. Clara Fetrow
John E. Hughes
Mrs. Lola Hughes
Gertrude R. Stoughton
Pettis Perry

Do you know of the activities of Pettis Perry?

Dr. MAY. I knew Pettis Perry, but I am sure he was never a student at the University of California.

Mr. APPELL. At the time you knew Pettis Perry, did he hold an official position with the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. Yes; he did. He was an official of the Communist Party in Los Angeles. I have forgotten his exact position there. He ran for office in the State of California in 1942 when I did, and on occasion I traveled with him or spoke with him.

Mr. APPELL (continuing reading):

Mrs. Gertrude Betts	Mildred T. Brown
Mrs. Mary Butler	Thomas J. Cooney
Mrs. Leona Chamberlin	Mrs. Wenona B. Craft
Samuel W. Jones	Rachel O. Miller
Mrs. Viola M. Maddox	Carroll E. Peirce
Helen Maloff	Pearl C. Souders
James C. McLean	Mrs. Myra Rhetta
Mrs. Miriam Moore	Edward Bishop
Edwin J. Nelson	Benjamin F. Burns
Herman N. Steffens	Mrs. Cyril G. Cook
Mrs. Forrest G. Thompson	Harry L. Gray
Mrs. Adele R. Young	Miss Fay Reynolds
John Polkki	Bronson Skala
George R. Ashby	Mabel W. Skala
Howard R. Barnhart	Esco L. Richardson
Mrs. Nellie Barnhart	Clair Aderer
Mrs. Nellie M. Bongye	

Mr. VELDE. As I understand, you will stop him——

Dr. MAY. I will stop him if a person has been a student at the university.

Mr. APPELL (continuing reading):

Melissa Gragg	Margaret Lafler
La Verne Lym	Leo Baroway
Dan Taylor	Elaine Black
Malby Roberts	Esther Brown
Peter Frost	Edmund C. Burk
Elizabeth M. Nicholas	Lou Mae Lean Craig
Edward J. Paterson	Elsie Crane
Anna Porter	Emma Cutler
Harold Thomas	Lillian Friedman
George C. Sandy	Henry Andrews Harris
Milton Alterman	Vernon D. Healy
Mrs. Clara L. Fox	Sam Jaye
Mrs. Sadie Goldstein	Beatrice Kinhead
Clara R. Lair	Walter R. Lambert
Orla Edward Lair	John Michael Lucid
Albert Lane Lewis	Harry Albert Mereness, Jr.
Harry Ovadenko	Homer Mulligan
Marvel Ovadenko	Emile Rabin
George A. Brain	William Schneiderman

I assume he was the man who was head of the Communist Party in California.

Ada L. Smolan

Walter J. Stack

Dr. MAY. Excuse me. Ada Smolan was a student at the University of California for a short time during the summer of 1937. I met her in a class. It was an intensive course in Russian, a 10-week course, being attended by State Department people, Army people, and a

scattering of others. I understood she was a student at Stanford, but came up for the summer course. I became acquainted with her in the class, but that is all.

Mr. APPELL. Do you possess any knowledge showing her membership in the YCL or in the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. I didn't know at that time, but later she was an official of the party in San Francisco. Just what official position she occupied, I don't remember.

Mr. APPELL (continuing reading):

Walter J. Stack
Rosalie Todd

Allan T. Yates
Oleta Yates

Dr. MAY. I know that she was a student at the University of California, but it was before 1932. Her name then was Oleta Conner, and she was active in the Socialist Party, and there was a big debate to which I went as a high school student, and she was speaking for the Socialist candidate for President.

I recall that because later I met her when she had become a member of the Communist Party, and I recalled I had her heard make this speech. She was a graduate of the University of California, but considerably before my time.

Mr. APPELL (continuing reading):

Robert Wood
Thelma E. Phelps
Albert Hougardy
Harold J. Ashe
Edward N. Dieblen
Maurice Gutierrez
William Kellas

Alice Martin
Frank A. Martin
Florencio Moisa
Max Natapoff
Lawrence Ross
Ralph Allen Welden

Mr. APPELL. That is all.

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

Mr. VELDE. Were you acquainted with any of the officials of the Soviet Consulate in San Francisco?

Dr. MAY. No; I was not.

Mr. VELDE. You never became acquainted with Peter Ivanov?

Dr. MAY. This name of Ivanov was mentioned today. I didn't know those people. However, I do recall on one occasion going to some sort of a social affair at which I was told there were some Soviet officials present, and one was pointed out to me at a distance. I don't remember his name being mentioned. He was dark and slim and he looked so sinister that we were all joking about it.

Mr. VELDE. Do you recall the occasion of that meeting where you saw him?

Dr. MAY. No. The only thing I recall is that it was at a big house, and that I was not acquainted with the people who were giving the party. I got an indirect invitation to come to it. It was a social affair, maybe put on by American-Russian Friendship, something like that. There was some reason for the Soviet people to be there.

Mr. VELDE. This was in San Francisco?

Dr. MAY. No; it was in East Bay. I remember it was a large house, but I don't remember anything else about the party than that.

Mr. VELDE. Coming back to your conversation with Steve Nelson on your visit to his home during the war, I want to ask you to try to remember the subject of your conversation and the approximate date.

Dr. MAY. Could you repeat that?

Mr. VELDE. You mentioned that during the war, probably when you were home on leave, you visited Steve Nelson at his home. I want you to try to recall the subject of the conversation at that time, if you can, and the approximate date.

Dr. MAY. I don't recall actually anything about the conversation, but I assume that it was mainly my telling of my adventures, because that was usually my topic of conversation when I was home on leave, no matter whom I ran into.

Mr. VELDE. I assume Steve Nelson spoke about his fighting in the Spanish Civil War?

Dr. MAY. He might have, although Steve Nelson didn't talk very much about his war experiences. He was more modest than I was.

Mr. VELDE. Do you have any other information of any kind that you think might be valuable to this committee?

Dr. MAY. I don't think so.

Mr. APPELL. Our records reflect that on April 7, 1948, you signed a letter in defense of the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Dr. MAY. Do you know the nature of the letter?

Mr. APPELL. It was a protest against the listing by the Attorney General of the Jefferson School of Social Science as a Communist school. I would like to know if you did sign it, or whether they used your name without your permission, and if you did sign, how were you approached to defend that school?

Dr. MAY. I have signed one thing of this general nature since the war. I don't know that this is it, but I presume this must be it, from the fact you say it.

I receive quite frequently appeals from all sorts of organizations by mail, and on one occasion I remember I did decide I would sign the thing and return it. The only thing I remember about it is that they said that if you didn't want the institution with which you were associated to be listed, to so designate, and I did so designate. Later I got a list of the people who had signed, and they did not put the name of the institution there. I asked them, if they wished to list my name as signing this appeal, that they simply list my name as an individual.

Mr. APPELL. What did you sign on the card?

Dr. MAY. Simply my name.

Mr. APPELL. For identification purposes you didn't want Carleton College to be shown as the school with which you were associated?

Dr. MAY. Exactly. I didn't want to embarrass the college. It is no secret I teach there, but it is dubious whether a person should list his connection if it might look as though the institution is endorsing it.

No individual ever talked to me about it. It was just one of many such letters I received, and my feeling was that the listing of educational institutions as subversive raises the question of freedom of instruction, freedom of speech.

Mr. APPELL. Along that line I would like to ask you, take the Oakland Workers' School, California Labor School, and other schools not operated by the party but heavily supported by the party, other than teaching, isn't the purpose of those schools to recruit members into the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. The only school with which I had direct experience was this Oakland Workers' School, and my main interest in it was simply

that it would, I hoped, educate the members of the party and other people, give them more education, so that they would have better understanding. It was not primarily concerned with recruiting people into the party.

Mr. APPELL. Were all of the students at the Oakland Workers' School members of the Communist Party?

Dr. MAY. No. Many people were not, I am sure.

Mr. APPELL. And in the course of the instruction of Communist Party members, weren't the non-Communists indoctrinated with communism?

Dr. MAY. Possibly that may have been.

Mr. APPELL. And from your experience in the Communist Party, isn't the same thing true of the California Labor School and the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Dr. MAY. I would like to distinguish the Workers' School in which I was involved from these other schools. The Workers' School in which I was involved was more definitely organized by party people. It didn't have any broad backing at all. Whereas, as I understand it, I have very little knowledge of these other institutions, but I understand they had rather broad backing. The California Labor School had broad labor backing.

Mr. APPELL. Who formed the Tom Mooney School?

Dr. MAY. I am not familiar with that. I have no doubt Communists were involved in organizing it, but I was not involved, and I don't know.

Mr. APPELL. The records of our committee, and the studies we have made of these schools, indicate that while they have in the past received support from labor organizations, most of that support came from the organizations which have now been expelled from the CIO, and these schools have operated as indoctrination centers for the Communist Party. Doesn't that place these schools, as educational institutions, foreign and apart from what we consider to be educational institutions?

Dr. MAY. I really don't know the answer to that. You have more information about it than I do. In any case, my feeling about it was one based on general principles, not on specific knowledge of these schools.

Mr. VELDE. If you subsequently recall any other names of important members of the Communist Party, or any other information of value to the committee, we will appreciate your forwarding it to us.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Thereupon, at 11:55 a. m., the hearing was adjourned.)

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