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HEARINGS RELATING TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES
IN THE DEFENSE AREA OF BALTIMORE—PART 1
(Based on the Testimony of Mary Stalcup Markward)

U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Un-American Activities

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

—
JUNE 19, 20, 21, 26, 27, 28, JULY 11 AND 13, 1951
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CONTENTS

	Page
July 11, 1951—	
Testimony of Mary Stalcup Markward.....	740
June 19, 1951—	
Testimony of Herbert Kransdorf.....	789
June 20, 1951—	
Testimony of Michael Howard.....	797
June 21, 1951—	
Testimony of—	
Joseph P. Henderson.....	812
Philip Gran.....	823
William H. Wood.....	831
June 26, 1951—	
Testimony of—	
Levy Williamson.....	841
Robert W. Lee.....	846
Louis Pearlman.....	849
Peter Edward Forrest.....	853
June 27, 1951—	
Testimony of—	
Aaron Ostrofsky.....	857
Irving Kandel.....	869
June 28, 1951—	
Testimony of—	
Sam Fox.....	879
Eli Isidore Schwartz.....	887
July 13, 1951—	
Testimony of—	
Herbert J. Nichol.....	891
Milton Seif.....	900
Irving Winkler.....	901

HEARINGS RELATING TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE DEFENSE AREA OF BALTIMORE—PART 1

(Based on the Testimony of Mary Stalcup Markward)

WEDNESDAY, JULY 11, 1951

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

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:45 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, Clyde Doyle (appearance as noted in transcript), James B. Frazier, Jr., Harold H. Velde (appearance as noted in transcript), Bernard W. Kearney, Donald L. Jackson, and Charles E. Potter.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, Courtney Owens, and James Andrews, investigators; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. Wood. The committee will be in order.

Let the record show that there are present the following members of the committee: Messrs. Walter, Frazier, Kearney, Jackson, Potter, and Wood, a quorum of the committee.

We are necessarily operating under considerable difficulty due to lack of space here, and the rule of the committee has been uniformly that only cameras that take still pictures are permitted in the hearing room. I notice quite a lot of that kind here. I would like to ask the witness first: Do you object to having your picture taken?

Mrs. MARKWARD. It is all right. I realize they have to take them some time.

Mr. Wood. I will ask you gentlemen to take all the pictures you desire so that the space may be cleared.

Will you stand and be sworn, Mrs. Markward?

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. I do.

Mr. Wood. Let the record show that Mr. Doyle, of the committee, is also present.

All right, gentlemen.

(Photographers took pictures of the witness.)

Mr. WOOD. Let the record show that Mr. Velde, of the committee, is present.

(Photographers continued to take pictures of the witness.)

Mr. WOOD. No more pictures. We will have to invoke the rule against all further pictures.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF MARY STALCUP MARKWARD

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. Mary Stalcup Markward.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mrs. Markward?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was born February 10, 1922, in Chesterbrook, Va.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now live in Chesterbrook, Va.?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived there?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I lived there all my life until 1940, and I lived in Washington between 1940 and 1947, and have been back in Chesterbrook since that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you married?

Mrs. MARKWARD. In August of 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give a brief statement to the committee, please, of your educational training?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I graduated from Central High School, Washington, D. C., in June 1939. Upon the completion of that I attended a trade school, and I graduated as a beautician in 1940, in May. That is all the education I have had.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you completed your course as a beautician, what employment did you have?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I went to work for the Rainbow Beauty Shop, at 2301 Fourth Street NE., and later worked for the same employer at 4807 Massachusetts Avenue NW.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work there?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I worked there until September 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Markward, the committee was conducting hearings in December of 1950 relating to communism in the District of Columbia, and a witness by the name of Henry Thomas was called before the committee, and I desire to refer you to his testimony. This question was asked him:

I was asking about your return from the Army and your reaffiliation with the Communist Party at the noon recess. Will you tell us now the circumstances under which you reaffiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. Thomas' reply was:

I received my discharge on the 6th day of December 1945, and the first couple of days I was out, of course, I was around the house, resting and so on, and after that I made my first contact with Mary Stalcup. To the best of my knowledge, she was the secretary or the treasurer of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia at that time.

I notice you gave your name as Mary Stalcup Markward. Are you the Mary Stalcup to whom Henry Thomas referred?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time that these hearings were being conducted in December 1950, the committee, in inquiring regarding you

in the course of its investigation, learned that you had at one time been acting in an undercover capacity for another Government agency. Is that correct?

Mrs. MARKWARD. It is correct. I was acting in that capacity.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee what agency of the Government it was for which you were so acting?

Mrs. MARKWARD. The Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee in your own way just how you were employed to do that work, and what character of work it was?

Mrs. MARKWARD. In early 1943 I was contacted at my home over the telephone by an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who asked for an appointment to see me. He did not state at that time what his business was. Subsequently I did see him, and—do you want me to go on?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mrs. MARKWARD. He explained to me the role that the Communist Party had played in the United States over the years. He stated to me that at this time, on the surface, at least, they were in full accord with the United States so far as winning the war was concerned, but he had reason to believe that potentially the Communist Party was a danger to our American form of government.

I thought over what he had to say for a period of time, at his insistence and my own, and I came to the conclusion that I could be of service to my Government should I volunteer to enter this organization and supply to my Government what information I could about what they were doing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then after you agreed to act in that capacity, what did you do?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, I obtained some copies of their publications on the streets, first, so that I could be somewhat acquainted with what they said they were doing, at least.

I went to the party office on Ninth Street, Washington, D. C., in order to subscribe to the Daily Worker. While I was there, James Branca and Martin Chancey were in the office, and they received me quite warmly and discussed with me the good things the party was doing, and took my subscription to the Worker and sold me other literature. At the same time, they gave me an invitation to a party which was to be a celebration of a successful recruiting drive which had just ended, and a going-away party for Martin Chancey, who was going in the service.

My paper did not come, and I went back to the office on Ninth Street about a week or so later to complain about the service and to ask when the paper would come. Very much the same thing took place, and they asked me again to attend the party, and I did.

When I got to the party, which was held at the Odd Fellows Hall, I believe, in the 400 block of Seventh Street, Casey Gurewitz and Bruce Minton were sitting in the back of the room. They asked me if I was a member of the party. I said I was not, so they said, "Well, we will do something about that."

After the party was over, I was very much surprised to see a girl who had been a customer of mine in one of the beauty shops. She approached me and said, "Mary, what are you doing here?"

We had some discussion, she introduced me to some of the people I had been talking to, and I was asked to sign an application card, which I did, and I was assigned to a club.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is not my purpose, Mrs. Markward, to go fully into the matter of the members of the Communist Party from the city of Washington and District of Columbia at this time, except to the extent that it is called for in testifying regarding your own activity while you were within the party.

You spoke of a person who was a patron at a beauty shop. Who was she?

Mrs. MARKWARD. She was Charlotte Young at that time. I believe her name is Oram now. She has been remarried.

Mr. TAVENNER. She appeared as a witness before this committee.

Mrs. MARKWARD. So I understand.

Mr. TAVENNER. And refused to testify concerning anything relating to communism in the District of Columbia.

Mrs. MARKWARD. So I understand.

Mr. TAVENNER. Go on from there.

Mrs. MARKWARD. I said I was recruited. Do you want me to go on with my subsequent activities?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Tell us what positions you held in the Communist Party and what led up to your selection for those various positions.

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was assigned, at the time I was recruited, to the Northeast Club of the Communist Party. I attended a meeting very shortly, within a very few days, of that club, and after the club meeting I was asked to participate with other club members in the sale of the Sunday Worker. I did. For the first few weeks I was accompanied by other club members, seeing how they sold the papers. Then I worked on my own.

The party approved of my activity and the interest I took in it, and in August of that year I was invited to attend the executive committee meetings of the club.

Even prior to this I had been invited to attend city council meetings, which were more or less meetings of all active members of the party.

In October, I believe, I was elected press director of the Northeast Club, because of my activity in the sale of the papers.

I believe subsequent to that I was invited to attend meetings of the city executive committee of the party here.

In January 1944 I was elected club chairman, and because the club of which I was chairman had an excellent record in the recruiting drive that spring, I was selected to attend the national convention as a visitor. The city organization paid my expenses to that convention.

This convention formed the Communist Political Association and dissolved the Communist Party.

Upon my return to Washington, I was elected to the city committee and held the position of city treasurer of the Communist Political Association. The position of treasurer included the duties of membership director, because as treasurer I was responsible for the collection of dues.

I held that position until the Communist Party was reorganized in October 1945. Again I was elected to the city committee, and again I was elected membership director. I for a short time acted as secretary-treasurer, but actually my chief role was treasurer.

I was elected to the district committee of Maryland and the District of Columbia at the district convention, which was prior to the city convention here.

Mr. TAVENNER. The district comprised of the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia is known as district 4, isn't it?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I think it is. When Dorothy Strange left her post in Washington, D. C., immediately after the city convention, she was removed from her post as a member of the district board, and then I became a member of the district board.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you spoke of Dorothy Strange being a member of the district board, you meant a member of the district board of Maryland and the District of Columbia?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right. I held this post until the convention of 1948. At this convention the membership of the board was greatly reduced for security reasons. I was then elected a member of the district committee, but not of the district board.

I was again elected to the city committee, and again elected treasurer of the city committee, Washington, D. C.

I believe that about covers my experience.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue your work in furnishing information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation acquired by you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I continued until sometime in the very last part of October 1949, when it became physically impossible for me to continue due to a severe attack of multiple sclerosis.

Mr. TAVENNER. You remained at your post as long as your health permitted you to do so?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that was up until October of what year?

Mrs. MARKWARD. 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. And since that time you have not been able to function in your previous capacity?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. As an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take any formal action of any kind after your illness to remove yourself from the rolls of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I did not. I paid my dues up through January 1950, and because I had no subsequent contact with the party, I did not pay any additional dues.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the Communist Party take any action, to your knowledge, regarding your membership?

Mrs. MARKWARD. They never told me about any action they had taken. I understand they did publish something in the newspaper, the Daily Worker, in February 1947, stating I had been expelled some time prior.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that article in February 1951?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes; I beg your pardon. 1951. I am sorry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you interrogated by the staff of the Committee on Un-American Activities in February 1951?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes; subsequent to the publication of this article in the Daily Worker.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of your position on the district committee of district No. 4. Now, district No. 4 comprises the State of Maryland and District of Columbia; is that correct?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. So that when you were functioning in an official capacity in the district 4 organization, your territory included Baltimore and the State of Maryland as well as the District of Columbia?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I stated that it was not my purpose to interrogate you at this time regarding Communist Party membership of individuals and Communist Party activities with regard to the immediate area of the city of Washington, but I have one exception to make to that. You did appear in executive session before this committee, I believe?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the course of your testimony at that time, did you identify an individual by the name of Andrew H. Older, and his wife, Isabel Older, as members of the Communist Party of the city of Washington?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee how you know, or how you knew, them to be members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, in my capacity as membership director of the Communist Party, I was also responsible for the registration of various members in the Communist Party, and I believe that the names of these individuals were submitted to me on registration cards from the Newspaper Club, which has also gone under various other names, but it was composed of newspaper people.

I believe when I first became familiar with this name, I did not have their full names, and Elizabeth Searle, who was acquainted with them, identified them to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. The spelling of Searle is S-e-a-r-l-e?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct. I believe subsequent to that I had their complete names.

I remember a conversation—this, again, in my official capacity as membership director—with Travis Hedrick, chairman of that club, and Elizabeth Searle, in regard to Andrew Older and his wife, something in regard to their activities. I can't remember the exact details of that conversation at this time, but I know it did concern these individuals and listed them as members of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where Andrew H. Older lived at that time?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Andrew H. Older is now living?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I saw in the paper where he had died.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a clipping from the Washington Star of October 9, 1950, which refers to his death, and carries a photograph allegedly of Mr. Older. Will you examine the photograph and state whether he is the same person to whom you referred?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I did not have personal contact with Mr. Older. All the contact I had was through official records of the party. I did not know him personally and I cannot identify this photograph.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how his wife, Mrs. Isabel Older, is now employed?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. The newspaper article to which I referred states as follows:

Mr. Older worked on Capitol Hill for Drew Pearson from 1944 to 1947 and at the same time wrote for various trade journals. Most of his writings concerned reporting the news from Congress that affected radios, motion pictures, and other trades.

Do you know whether the discussion that you had regarding Mr. Older's Communist Party activities related in any way to his work?

Mrs. MARKWARD. It is my recollection that it did not. It was regarding the extent of his activity in the party, and I believe the discussion was centered around having him participate more fully than he was at the time the discussion took place.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee whether Mr. Older and his wife, or either of them, were still carried on the rolls of the Communist Party as active members at the time or about the time that you, because of illness, gave up your position with the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, at this time in 1949 I no longer had custody of the official Communist Party lists of various members. However, it was the custom to notify me whenever anyone was dropped or transferred. I had no information of that type in regard to these individuals.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Markward, I would like for you to go back to the time you first became a member of the Communist Party, and tell the committee just what course of preliminary training you were given as a party member, and what course of training generally was given to party members at that time.

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, I think it should be taken into consideration that even though this was a year prior to the dissolving of the Communist Party and the formation of the Communist Political Association, already many of the policies which were pursued under the Communist Political Association were in effect.

At the time I went into the party, many of the small trade-union clubs, industrial clubs, had been dissolved, and the members had been transferred to a few large community clubs. This was in accordance with Communist Political Association policy.

After I believe the first meeting I attended of the Northeast Club, I was given literature which consisted of various books from the Little Lenin Library, which are the classics of the Communist movement, to study.

During the summer I attended classes on Ninth Street conducted by Emanuel Levin, who was ex-officio head of the party during that period. This was not altogether a new members' class, but contained some people who had had more experience in the party than I had.

During the Communist Political Association it seems there was not enough interest to pursue the classes to their conclusions. However, after the revitalization of the Communist Party there were a series of classes on the more basic Communist principles of Marx and Lenin, and I attended as many of those as I was able.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you familiar with the policy of the Communist Party which brought about the formation of the Communist Political Association?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe that briefly to the committee, please?

Mrs. MARKWARD. In this period, due to the fact the United States and Russia were allies in the war, it was felt that the policy of the Communist Party should be to support the United States in the war effort. Of course they also wanted to open the second front.

In accordance with this, they decided to abandon their more militant activities on minority rights and things that had been their main function through the years, and their ability to get along with the United States became the party line during the Communist Political Association. This was before the formal setting up of the Communist Political Association.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the rank and file of the Communist Party register as members of the Communist Political Association?

Mrs. MARKWARD. They did.

Mr. TAVENNER. When the change was made?

Mrs. MARKWARD. They did. They had had Communist Party books prior to that time, and when the Communist Political Association came into being cards were issued, a different sort of identification.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe briefly the program and policy of the Communist Party during the existence of the Communist Political Association?

Mrs. MARKWARD. You want the policy of the Communist Political Association?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mrs. MARKWARD. I believe I just stated it. They put forth a policy of getting along with and in the United States, and the revolutionary end of it was more or less toned down. However, it was stated in my presence many times that it would not be possible to have communism in this country through a peaceful revolution.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the beginning of the period when the Communist Political Association came into being, was it considered that that was a mere transient or temporary change of the party program?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I do not believe that very many of the members really understood just what happened. The national board put forth these policies. I think the rank and file membership did feel that this was probably a more permanent thing than it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any substantial change in leadership when the transfer was made from the Communist Party to the Communist Political Association?

Mrs. MARKWARD. There was not. One of our city officers was made a district officer. She later returned to be a city official here. But there were no substantial changes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When this transition took place from the Communist Party to the Communist Political Association, were additional dues charged, or did the membership go into the Communist Political Association without the payment of initiation fees or additional dues?

Mrs. MARKWARD. There was no initiation fee for them to go into the Communist Political Association. The form of dues payment was changed. Prior to that it had been about \$2 a month, I think.

When the Communist Political Association came into being, the dues were from \$2 to \$5 for people with high incomes, but not many people would admit having an income that would cause them to have to pay too much dues.

MR. TAVENNER. When did the Communist Political Association come to an end?

MRS. MARKWARD. Well, there was a letter written by Jacques Duclos, who was a leader of the French Communist Party, which was published in the Daily Worker of May 24, 1945. That, of course, was near the end of hostilities in the war in Europe.

Immediately after that, a period of discussion regarding the policy of the Communist Political Association was initiated and it was agreed that it was necessary to go back to the more revolutionary program of the party.

District conventions were called to elect delegates to attend a national convention which dissolved the Communist Political Association and reestablished the Communist Party.

MR. TAVENNER. That change in policy took place immediately after the virtual termination of the war in Europe?

MRS. MARKWARD. That is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. And you say the Communist Party again realized the necessity for the revolutionary principles which the party had formerly stood for?

MRS. MARKWARD. That is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. What position was taken by the Communist Party in the District of Columbia regarding this alleged error during the period of the Communist Political Association?

MRS. MARKWARD. Well, I didn't hear any disagreement among anyone with the feeling there had been an error. I believe it was realized that the local leaders and membership would not discuss that letter until it had been considered at a higher level and the party line handed down by the higher level.

MR. TAVENNER. That is exactly the point I wanted to develop, that the rank and file really did not discuss this with the idea of making a decision by the rank and file.

MRS. MARKWARD. That is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. That decision was made by the national leadership of the party?

MRS. MARKWARD. That is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. In the end Browder was discredited?

MRS. MARKWARD. Yes.

MR. TAVENNER. And members of the national committee were forced to admit the previous error?

MRS. MARKWARD. That is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. Can you tell us what difference in policy there was, if any, during the period of the Communist Political Association and after that, with regard to strikes?

MRS. MARKWARD. During the Communist Political Association the Communists had supported wholeheartedly the no-strike pledge of the labor unions. I was not in attendance throughout the convention in Washington, but the part I did attend was absorbed mostly with a discussion of whether or not they would continue to support the no-strike pledge, which was still in effect due to the fact the war was still going on in the Pacific. I understand it was felt they should decide each call for a strike as it came along.

Mr. TAVENNER. When the change took place from the Communist Political Association back to the Communist Party, was there any substantial change in the leadership of the party in district 4.

Mrs. MARKWARD. There was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any convention held with regard to this subject when the members of the party were notified of the change of policy by the national headquarters of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. There was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was that convention held?

Mrs. MARKWARD. It was held in two sections in Baltimore. One was held for the purpose of electing delegates to the national convention, and one was held after the national convention to elect new leaders.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any special screening of those who were chosen, as to their views and ideas, and so on?

Mrs. MARKWARD. There was. The district leadership selected quite a large group of individuals, of which I was one—I believe there were at least 12 of us—and we met as a committee for several days in order to arrive at a slate for the new district leadership.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the controlling factor in their selection?

Mrs. MARKWARD. The degree of activity; the extent to which they had rejected the Browder ideas; and various minority groups were represented on the committee proper.

Mr. TAVENNER. During your connection with the Communist Party after the reestablishment of it in 1945, did you become familiar with the policies of the party relating to foreign policy of the United States?

Mrs. MARKWARD. They immediately became very critical of the foreign policy of the United States. It was the fall of 1945 when they picketed the State Department, I believe, in protest of the United States policy in regard to China.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell us more in detail about the picketing of the State Department with regard to the China policy in 1945?

Mrs. MARKWARD. My recollection of that is not enough, I believe, to go into any detail with it here.

There was a great demand to bring the boys back home from Europe. And they praised the new democracies in Europe and their relationship to the Soviet Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. You made reference to their policy toward affairs in Europe and the new democracies. Will you state that again, please?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, I say, of course, "Bring the boys back home," was a very popular expression. We saw American troops removed very rapidly, and immediately we found, in areas formerly occupied by Russian troops, new forms of government of a Socialist or Communist type.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it the policy of the Communist Party to support, through its own propaganda and its own teachings, the formation of those people's fronts in the so-called satellite countries?

Mrs. MARKWARD. They were heartily in favor of these new forms of government.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did they express that opinion freely and advocate it?

Mrs. MARKWARD. They did, in very many ways. Some who visited Europe came back and told how well the people were doing under it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any change in the attitude of the Communist Party here toward Marshal Tito following the break between Russia and Yugoslavia?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes. Tito's stock fell with American Communists to a great extent. Before the break he had been, next to Stalin, the most revered Communist leader, and immediately upon this break he was completely no good. He was considered in the same light as Browder was in the United States.

Mr. TAVENNER. How rapidly did that transition in thought take place?

Mrs. MARKWARD. It took place very rapidly upon the publication of the organization of the various Communist countries in Europe, and the fact that Tito was expelled. That was watched and discussed in the United States, and from that time on there was a rejection by the American Communists of everything Tito stood for and advocated.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you say these matters were discussed, were they discussed in the sense that there was freedom of choice by individuals in taking the stand that they chose to take, or was it a discussion that follows the dictation of the party line?

Mrs. MARKWARD. It was reported and agreed with. I never heard any differences in the discussions.

Mr. TAVENNER. So the discussion was limited to approval of the Communist Party line which had been handed down?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. After the rehabilitation of the Communist Party in 1945—that is, the conversion from the Communist Political Association back to the Communist Party—was there any difference in plan with regard to the organization of the cells of the party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. There was. During the Communist Political Association, in Washington the various cells and groups had been amalgamated into one city-wide group. But at the organizational meeting following the reestablishment of the Communist Party, the suggestion was made to organize the clubs among people with common interests, such as particular industrial groups or trade-unions.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was a marked departure from the previous plan of organization in this particular district?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that change consisted of a change from the cells being centered around civic projects to a plan by which the Communist membership was organized according to industrial and trade-union groups?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is true.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the reason for that change in policy?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, there were several reasons. It became necessary for someone in northwest Washington to know who were the members of a laborers' club which met in southeast Washington, usually. It also enabled them to do away with city-wide membership lists. The membership list of a particular club would be kept in the custody of the leadership of the club.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now will you describe a little more in detail the organization of the Communist Party in groups or cells under the trade-union plan. That is, was there any particular industry in which a special effort was made to organize clubs of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Speaking of Washington, D. C.?

Mr. TAVENNER. I mean in district 4.

Mrs. MARKWARD. In district 4, and particularly in Baltimore, the decision of the district committee was that the steel industry should be the primary concentration point; and the maritime industry should be the secondary concentration point, the maritime industry including seamen, longshoremen, and other related things. Also, electrical workers were to be organized.

In Washington, D. C., building trades were the primary concentration point.

Mr. TAVENNER. At this point, while we are considering the decision to place the emphasis upon steel, I am anxious to know how that matter was discussed, and where and by whom.

Mrs. MARKWARD. It was discussed in the city committee and city board, and I think the national committee participated in some of these discussions. It was felt that was the place where progress could be made.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of any members of the Communist Party who were working in the steel industry at that time who played any part in the organization of Communist cells or clubs within the steel industry?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Mike Howard. Frank Pinter. Roy Wood was a very active member in the steel industry, and he proclaimed himself publicly as a party member, and the industry expelled him. His brother, Bill Wood, was a member there. Phil Gran was a member there. Subsequent to this George Meyer was employed as a full-time labor secretary, and assigned to the steel industry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean labor secretary of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is in district 4?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that that he was labor secretary, do you recall?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I don't recall exactly. He had been in Cumberland, I believe, prior to that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he sent to this particular job in the Communist Party from Cumberland?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is my understanding.

Mr. TAVENNER. For the purpose of organizing the workers there?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is my understanding; and that it was his responsibility to see that the steel concentration was carried out.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to be certain that we have the names correctly spelled of those whom you have mentioned.

Mike Howard: Do you know whether the Mike Howard to whom you refer is the Mike Howard who was produced as a witness before this committee, and who refused to testify regarding alleged Communist activities?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I don't have personal knowledge of that, because I wasn't here and did not see him.

Mr. TAVENNER. A Mr. Mike Howard did appear before this committee. Will you give us a little more description, if you can, of the character of work he did do or was expected to do as a result of the conferences that you know of?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I did not participate in those particular conferences. The ones I participated in just discussed the over-all policy.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you are certain that he was assigned to the steel industry?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you spoke of a person named Frank Pinter. What is the correct spelling of his last name?

Mrs. MARKWARD. P-i-n-t-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you stated that Roy Wood had publicly announced that he was a member of the Communist Party and for that reason he had been expelled from the steel club?

Mrs. MARKWARD. No, from the steel industry.

Mr. TAVENNER. But that did not affect his membership in the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold in the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was a member of the district committee and also the district board.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position does he now hold in the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. He is now chairman of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia.

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to Bill Wood as being a member of the steel cell of the party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is he a brother of Roy Wood?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. This person William H. Wood appeared before this committee, but refused to admit any connection with the Communist Party.

You also mentioned Gran. What was his full name?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Phil Gran.

Mr. TAVENNER. Phil Gran was one of those who appeared before this committee. You say he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes. He was a member of the district committee and a member of the steel club.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did George Meyer have in the Communist Party in addition to being labor secretary?

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was a member of the district committee and of the district board.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of members of the trade-union commission who were known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I can't go into any great detail on that. It is my impression that Jack Zucker was a member of that commission during the time he was in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he an organizer of the UE?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell his last name, please?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Z-u-c-k-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the first name was Jack?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there any other persons whose names you can recall at this moment who participated, as a result of this plan and policy of the Communist Party, in organizational work in the steel industry; that is, Communist Party organizational work?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I can't recall any working in the steel industry. I do know that members of community clubs and white-collar clubs were asked to distribute Communist propaganda in the neighborhoods where steel workers lived, in order to influence non-Communist steel workers toward the Communist Party line.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that program was participated in, you say, by the white-collar groups?

Mrs. MARKWARD. And neighborhood clubs; all the nonindustrial clubs.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why was that plan adopted?

Mrs. MARKWARD. In order to reach as many people who worked in the steel industry as possible.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that was because the steel industry was considered the most important area of operations of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. POTTER. May I ask a question at this point?

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter.

Mr. POTTER. What was the purpose of the Communist Party in its activities in the steel industry?

Mrs. MARKWARD. They felt it was the most basic industry in Baltimore and was the one they wanted to colonize in.

Mr. POTTER. Was any discussion developed as to the purpose of the Communist Party members in the steel industry? What were their duties?

Mrs. MARKWARD. The chief purpose with which I was acquainted seemed to be to influence as many people as possible to follow the Communist Party line. If they could do that, they could control the trade-unions, too.

Mr. TAVENNER. And if they could control the trade-unions and the labor organizations, then they would have the steel industry practically in the palm of the hand?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And it took organization work of this kind to accomplish that?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. WALTER. That was for the purpose of bringing to the United States international communism and not the type of communism that Tito had embraced. Is that the fact?

Mrs. MARKWARD. From everything I observed, that seemed to be correct.

Mr. WALTER. In other words, the objective was to bring the American Government into the orbit of control from Russia, and not to set up a Communist form of government in the United States which would be independent of foreign dictation?

Mrs. MARKWARD. If you take the total picture, that is correct. It was stated repeatedly they could not attain their objectives under the present form of American Government.

Mr. WALTER. In other words, they were not interested in communism so much as in making the United States subservient to Stalin?

Mrs. MARKWARD. They said if you deviate from Stalin you are not a good Communist.

Mr. WALTER. In other words, it was a part of this international conspiracy; is that correct?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is the logical conclusion from what they were doing.

Mr. TAVENNER. I was asking you about the membership of the steel club. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Aaron Ostrofsky?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the steel club, or did he work in steel?

Mrs. MARKWARD. My acquaintance with him was not particularly as a person in steel. I remember him particularly when he was doing work in veterans' organizations.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ostrofsky was another of those who appeared as a witness before this committee, and I believe he did admit that he worked for Bethlehem Steel. Was he a person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of Joe Henderson?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he worked in steel?

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was not working in steel the last time I had direct knowledge of what he was doing.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you knew him, do you know where he was working?

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was working for the ILWU.

Mr. WOOD. Will you spell his name?

Mrs. MARKWARD. H-e-n-d-e-r-s-o-n.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. I do. He was a member in Washington during an early period, and transferred to Baltimore. Then I knew him there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Alfred McPherson was a worker in steel?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I knew Alfred McPherson. He was a prominent Communist in Baltimore. I don't particularly recollect his connection with the steel industry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where McPherson is at this time?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I do not. To the best of my recollection he was transferred out of Baltimore. I don't recall his coming back.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to what extent the Communist Party considered that its efforts in organizing the Communist Party within the steel industry were successful or unsuccessful?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, it was my understanding in the party meetings I attended that they felt they could never do enough, but I think they were very pleased with the progress they were making.

Of course, when the Ober law became the point of concentration in Maryland, the actual amount of activity had to be lessened to some

extent, but they seemed fairly well satisfied with the progress they were making under the handicaps they had.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to ascertain who were members of the executive committee of district 4 during the time that this cell was being set up. But before asking you to answer that, I would like to go back to the meeting which you told us was held in Baltimore when the delegates were elected to go to the national convention to consider the matter of conversion from the Communist Political Association to the Communist Party. That was in 1945. Who were the prominent leaders in district 4 of the Communist Party at that time?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Al Lannon was the district chairman.

At this time Albert Blumberg was still in the district, but I think he was being drawn more in the national organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that Dr. Albert Blumberg?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes. His wife, Dorothy Rose Blumberg, was very prominent.

Elizabeth Searle had been secretary and was one of the top people.

William Johnson from Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that William S. Johnson?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Herb Kransdorf, I believe, was there at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell his last name?

Mrs. MARKWARD. K-r-a-n-s-d-o-r-f.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known by any other name?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Herb Kay, K-a-y.

Doxey Wilkerson was still in the district at the time of our local convention, but then he was put on a national level after the convention.

I can't recall the others offhand. I don't want to be wrong. I would rather not say.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Charlotte Young on the district committee at that time?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I don't recall specifically.

Mr. TAVENNER. As the work of the party progressed—and you have told us how the cell in the basic industry of steel was set up and why it was set up—who were the members of the executive committee, as well as you can remember, at the time that action was taken?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I think it might be well to point out that this was something that developed more or less gradually. It was the program of the party since 1945. It was greatly intensified in 1947 and 1948. That is when they really went to work on steel and concentrated there.

The district committee was a very large organization. It was one that did not function particularly well as far as all the members were concerned. Should I rename the members I have just named?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, if they were members.

Mrs. MARKWARD. Al Lannon, Albert Blumberg, Dorothy Rose Blumberg, Elizabeth Searle, William Johnson, Mary Stalcup, James Branca—

Mr. TAVENNER. He was from Washington?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right. He was in the service at the time of the convention, but he was elected in absentia.

Milton Seif.

Mr. WOOD. Spell that name, please.

Mrs. MARKWARD. I always thought it was S-i-e-f. I was spelling it phonetically, though. Perhaps I am wrong.

Mr. TAVENNER. The staff is informed that the correct spelling is S-e-i-f. Can you tell us more about Milton Seif?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, he became particularly active in the time subsequent to 1945, as I recall. He was assigned particularly to youth work, in addition to his other activity in the Communist Party. He attended national level meetings in that connection. I recall also he had done commendable work in his community. He was at all times a very active and trusted party worker and a member of the district committee.

Gus Alexiou, from this city; Dorothy Strange; Hanna Freishtat; Boyd Coleman and Arthur Shusterman, of Cumberland, were members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Whitey Goodfriend a member?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes, he was. He was transferred out of the district sometime during this period, however.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where he was transferred to?

Mrs. MARKWARD. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know his first name?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Bernard, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall a person by the name of Calvin Cousins?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes. Did I forget him? He was a member from Washington, D. C.

I also think Joseph and Gertie Rinis were members from Washington, D. C.

That was the one elected in 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the spelling of the last name?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Rinis, R-i-n-i-s.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned earlier in your testimony Mike Howard. I don't recall whether you referred to him as a member of this committee or not?

Mrs. MARKWARD. To the best of my recollection he was. He was not too active in the committee, but I believe he was elected to the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. You also mentioned Joseph Henderson in the course of your testimony. Was he a member of this committee?

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was not elected to this committee at this time. His greater activity developed at a time subsequent to this.

Mr. TAVENNER. You also mentioned Alfred McPherson. Was he a member of this committee?

Mrs. MARKWARD. To the best of my knowledge he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Steve Sebo was a member of the International Workers' Order group?

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was a member of this committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was a member?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes, he was.

Mr. WOOD. May I ask at this point: Were the members of this committee elected in a convention?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes. We had a negotiating committee that drew up a slate, and the slate was elected at the convention.

Mr. KEARNEY. Was there ever any opposition to that slate?

Mrs. MARKWARD. None that I recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Selma Weiss?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she a member of this committee?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I can't recall specifically. She was always very active in the top leadership of the party. I think she was a member of the committee, but I can't state positively.

Mr. TAVENNER. With regard to Selma Weiss, what was her particular phase of activity in the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I believe she was an officer of the AYD in Baltimore, and was more or less in charge of youth work in the top councils of the party for youth.

Mr. TAVENNER. In referring to these various organizations, please use the names instead of the initials. AYD is American Youth for Democracy?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes. I am sorry.

Mr. TAVENNER. I asked you earlier about George Meyer. Will you spell his last name?

Mrs. MARKWARD. It is my understanding it is M-e-y-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know a person by the name of Jack Myer, M-y-e-r?

Mrs. MARKWARD. No, I didn't.

Mr. VELDE. Mrs. Markward, in the infiltration of the steel industry, was the subject of the non-Communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act ever discussed, as to whether Communist Party members who went into the unions should or should not sign the non-Communist affidavit?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I believe the decision on that was made in individual cases. I don't believe there was any member of the Communist Party in the steel industry who had to sign that affidavit. I don't think they were high enough in the trade-union councils.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 12:15 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. WALTER (presiding). The committee will be in order. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

TESTIMONY OF MARY STALCUP MARKWARD—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Markward, you told us this morning of the concentration of effort in organizing Communist Party cells and activity within the basic industry of steel in the Baltimore area.

Now, was the activity of the Communist Party more extensive than that? By that I mean, was any special effort made to infiltrate the steel industry with persons who were members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes. Every encouragement was given to—in fact, I think the flat request was made—for any party member who thought he possibly could, to go to work in the steel industry; and I am certain that certain individual party members were approached with the assignment, in fact, to go to work in the steel industry.

Mr. TAVENNER. You told us this morning that the most important matter to the Communist Party was the work in the steel industry and the organization of the party in the steel industry.

Then you said that the secondary concentration was the maritime industry.

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us more about the work in the maritime industry?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I know that, particularly during the war, they had a very extensive membership, particularly of seamen. Of course, they came in and out of the Baltimore port. Herbert Kransdorf was the primary person responsible for the work in the maritime industry. He was a full-time functionary and a part-time functionary, although occasionally he went to sea.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean a functionary of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. A functionary of the Communist Party. Occasionally he would be taken off the payroll and would go to sea as a seaman in order to work more closely with the seamen he would meet.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the correct spelling of Kransdorf is K-r-a-n-s-d-o-r-f?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there any further information you can give us about Communist Party activities within the maritime industry?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I can't give you too much, because the seamen were in and out of Baltimore. I wasn't in as consistent contact with the individual members as I was with some others. I know occasionally, when mass meetings were held, protection squads were organized among the seamen to see that none of the Communist Party members were molested. That was at public meetings after the general American public had begun to react against the Communists.

Mr. TAVENNER. Some mention was made this morning in your testimony about the so-called Ober law in Maryland relating to subversive activities within the State of Maryland.

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the policy of the Communist Party with regard to its attitude and conduct relating to that act?

Mrs. MARKWARD. This had a rather humorous angle to begin with. Philip Frankfeld, the district chairman, when this Ober antisubversive act was first under discussion, sent a telegram to the assembly approving the thing, because he said the Communist Party was not subversive. He got called on the carpet by the national office for that, and every effort was made to try to keep this law from being passed, and it was greatly feared by the Communist Party membership.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had Frankfeld succeeded Al Lannon as chairman of the district?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What action did Frankfeld take after he was reversed by national headquarters regarding his telegram to the State authorities approving the passage of the Ober law?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, propaganda leaflets and various things were put out to the general public in Maryland stating that the law was un-American; that their rights were being denied the Communist Party; that the things the law put forward were not true; and the

general party line in regard to antisubversive legislation was laid down in Maryland.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee anything about the manner in which the Communist Party fought the passage of the Ober law, other than by the distribution of pamphlets and literature?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I believe there was a citizens' committee set up in Maryland. I know this committee was not composed only of Communists, but they did operate to a great extent to support and aid what this committee was doing; and they worked particularly after the law was passed, to have it put to referendum. Every party member was required to take petitions into Maryland to be signed so that the law would go to referendum. That meant that every party member in Washington was required to go into Maryland to circulate this petition.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you state the text of the telegram sent with respect to the Ober law was to the effect that the Communist Party was not subversive in nature, and therefore they had no objection to the Ober law?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That was the initial telegram that was sent. I don't remember the exact date of the telegram, but it was prior to the time that the general American public had awakened to the menace of the Communist Party.

Mr. JACKSON. And the sender of the telegram was called on the carpet, so to speak, for his statement?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right, that he should never have made a statement that any such law should ever be passed.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the extent to which the Communist Party was responsible for the formation of the Citizens' Committee To Defeat the Ober Law?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I don't know exactly that it was entirely responsible for it. I know it did extend beyond the periphery of the Communists in what we normally know as to Communist organization. It did include other citizens who at least wanted to see the law put to referendum. They did not include themselves in this organization because they thought it would scare away the people who were more to the right, and therefore their names were not actually included with those associated with this committee. It was doing the job the party wanted done, so they aided to the greatest extent they possibly could.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, the work that they did was done at the direction of the party; that is, the work that the individual party members did was at party direction?

Mrs. MARKWARD. The work that the party members did was done at the direction of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you say that the Communist Party spear-headed the movement to defeat the Ober law in Maryland?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I think so.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did that work begin on the part of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. To the best of my recollection, it must have continued throughout a great part of 1948. I believe it was passed early

in 1949. And then they worked to get the petition circulated and so forth. In the spring of 1949 was when we were most active with that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the imminence of the passage of the Ober law or its passage affect the Communist Party in the State of Maryland and Baltimore, to your knowledge?

Mrs. MARKWARD. It caused them to greatly accelerate the setting up of security apparatus so that the party would not have to cease functioning if such law went into effect, but would be able to maintain continuity of activity in every respect.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was that accomplished, and how was it intended to accomplish that effect?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Through the setting up of the group system, where each of the top leaders had two or three lesser leaders they would consult with to pass the party line to, and each of these people would have two or three people under them. For instance, we would take an existing club, and the club chairman would take the members of the executive committee, the executive committee would take the rank and file, but no party member would know more than two or three other members they could positively say they had attended Communist Party meetings with.

Mr. TAVENNER. So that the effect of the Ober law in Maryland was to set up that group plan or system within the Communist Party in the State of Maryland?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes. The groundwork for that group system had been set up nationally prior to that, but it greatly accelerated it because it was needed at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that done at the direction of the Communist Party on the national scale, or on the national level?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I believe so; to the best of my knowledge it was. I was going to inject there that the aid of the Communists in Washington was greatly utilized after the passage of the Ober law, when they thought that there immediately would be arrests and so forth. The people who lived in Maryland were not used to pass literature, but the papers and literature came to Washington, and people from Washington went to Maryland on week ends to sell them. It was done that way because these people were not subject to the Ober law.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there any difference in the practice of holding meetings after the passage of the Ober law?

Mrs. MARKWARD. There was. Particularly I can speak of the higher level meetings. The district committee met under great security regulations, a similar method to the group system. Only one or two leaders would know of the place of the meeting before the time of the meeting. Certain other very trusted members were given sealed orders to be opened at an hour very, very close to the hour of the meeting, and they had made arrangement to contact four or five others. I know for one meeting we had a specific minute to arrive at the meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Please continue.

Mrs. MARKWARD. These various people who had the sealed orders were supposed to arrive down to the minute. I believe this meeting was before the Ober law was passed. It was to see if it could be done effectively.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the circumstances?

Mrs. MARKWARD. The meeting was in the basement of a place where we had never met before. I don't know the address yet.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Baltimore?

Mrs. MARKWARD. In Baltimore. As I say, there was some confusion. The people did not arrive at exactly the same time, and some who got there early, so many were circling the block that I think security was worse at that meeting than it had been at any prior one.

I think I should also say that at this and subsequent meetings nobody was allowed to leave the meeting until the meeting had adjourned, and everybody was allowed to leave at once.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us who were present at this meeting, as well as you can recall?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I can't recall specifically a great many people. There were 30 or 35 there, as I recall. Phil Frankfeld was there. I can do better with the people who went from Washington. There was myself; Charles Payne; Rob Hall; Roy Wood; Henry Thomas; Rose Clinton; and Bob Paul. And Arthur Berri, who was head of the white-collar section in Baltimore, was there. I believe those are all that I can specifically state at the present time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall anything out of the ordinary that occurred at that meeting?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes. This was at a time which was almost immediately subsequent to the time when the Communist Parties around the world had made announcements that their members would never bear arms against the Soviet Union, and the Communist Party nationally in America had made such a statement, and Phil Frankfeld had issued such a statement in the name of the Communist Party in Baltimore. This was already an accomplished fact, and what he did was to bring this fact to the attention of the people present at the meeting, and each and every one had to answer "Yea" that they approved of that statement that the members of the Communist Party would never bear arms against the Soviet Union; and that was adopted by everyone except Arthur Berri. He said he thought the Communist Party was in hot water enough in the United States as it was at that time, and this type of thing should not have been done at that time. He was referred to the district leadership for further conversation on the matter.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, he had to account to the leadership for his failure to agree in this discussion?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And this is another type of the discussions that occurred within the Communist Party meetings?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Was that reference to the leadership by vote of the meeting? Who referred him to the leadership?

Mrs. MARKWARD. The leadership suggested that he be referred to the leadership, and he was.

Mr. DOYLE. You mean the leadership of that meeting?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, the leadership of that meeting was the leadership of the party. Phil Frankfeld was the chairman of the meeting, and he made the statement.

I might also add that at this meeting the meeting decided that the leadership of the district committee should be self-perpetuating and

responsible for the security of the party, and anything that needed to be done—to put new members on the committee or remove members from the committee—would be in the hands of the top leaders, the district board, rather than the whole district committee having to vote on such things.

Mr. TAVENNER. This statement that had been published by Frankfeld, did that come down from the national party or national committee of the Communist Party, or from Foster?

Mrs. MARKWARD. The national secretary, I think Eugene Dennis was the spokesman, had issued the statement. I don't know that Phil Frankfeld was instructed to issue it, or was using his own initiative to issue it as the head of the district organization, but it was done immediately after the national statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. In any event, the policy was the national policy of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right, and we were acting in unison with them.

Mr. TAVENNER. And if Frankfeld made any mistake about it, it was in making it public rather than a mistake in policy?

Mrs. MARKWARD. No. The national party had made it public.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know if Mike Howard was present at that meeting?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I believe he was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. You believe he was not?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall if Bill Wood was present? Or did you say he went with you?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Roy Wood went with me. I am not certain Bill Wood was there. I don't recollect if Bill was there. I have no notes on that meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any action taken at that meeting to place members under oath, to make a sworn statement that they would not bear arms against the Soviet Union?

Mrs. MARKWARD. In effect I felt they were swearing to each other that they would not bear arms against the Soviet Union, and would carry this back to the membership they were supposed to be leading.

Mr. POTTER. What was the date of that meeting?

Mrs. MARKWARD. March or April 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. This was a meeting of the executive committee?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct. Just a second. A great many other active party leaders who were not members of the committee were in attendance at this meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Therefore it is logical to conclude that this party line or party principle was carried back to the rank and file of the Communist Party members?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Because of the representation at this meeting?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall any specific directions to take this back to the rank and file?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, there were general directions that decisions of these committees, the reason we made the decisions was so that they would be carried back to the rank and file.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was the method by which the Communist Party line was carried down to the rank and file, through information that the leaders obtained at these meetings?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Markward, we have had a number of instances when witnesses have appeared before this committee and have refused to state whether or not they would bear arms in the event of war with the Soviet Union, which would appear to be in conformity with instructions that were given at this period in the history of the Communist Party in this country.

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. Did any discussion take place in any of your meetings relative to what a party member should say should he be called before such a committee as this committee?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes; we did. We had an instance that grew up in Washington. Sometime subsequent to the appearance of the Hollywood Ten here, we had a party member in Washington who appeared in court in connection with something else. He was asked if he was a party member, and he had been a known party member for a number of years, and he denied being a party member. A letter of resignation was worked up for him dated back prior to the time he made that statement, and then he was re-recruited. But he was supposed to have taken the splendid example of the Hollywood Ten and refused to answer the question rather than say whether he was or was not a member.

Thereafter the members understood they were just not to answer the question.

I think it was the policy, when people were called before this committee, to meet with the leaders and discuss with them what their conduct was to be, and they were called back after their appearance and told to what extent they stood up as a Communist Party member before the committee.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is very revealing, because I would say in 100 percent of the instances they all have the same line, so in other words, it is the party line.

Mr. WALTER. Were they advised as to what they should do by counsel?

Mrs. MARKWARD. The first occasion I spoke of came up in a court and it was not planned by the party. The party didn't know it was going to come up. It had to do with a trade-union case.

After that, when individuals were called in, it wasn't decided in committee what they were going to do, but the individuals were called in and told what they were to do.

Mr. WALTER. Told by whom?

Mrs. MARKWARD. By the party leadership.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask one question there?

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Kearney.

Mr. KEARNEY. From your knowledge, did the Communist Party in this area have attorneys that represented them regularly?

Mrs. MARKWARD. During the latter days when I was a party functionary in the city, they were looking for "the" responsible attorney. They didn't really have anyone who was completely satisfactory to

them. Of course Maurice Braverman in Baltimore was a party member, and he did represent certain party people on certain occasions, but I believe they had done some business with a lawyer in Washington by the name of Sam Levine, but he apparently was not completely satisfactory to them, and they were trying to get someone more eminent to represent them in these cases.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did they finally get someone?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Not during the time that I was responsible. In 1949 when these people were being called up here, I was away ill, and the few weeks I was back I didn't have time to get familiar with all phases of the organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you given directions as to what to do in the event of legal difficulties?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was told to get in contact with this lawyer, Sam Levine. The Civil Rights Congress, of course, came into existence then, and we felt we could rely on them to obtain counsel also. Each party functionary was given the sum of \$25 to have in his pocket, I guess to make the telephone calls and necessary arrangements to get in touch with people so they would not have to stay in jail.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned that the Civil Rights Congress was of assistance. Will you tell the committee in what way they were of assistance?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, they were an organization that was in contact with legal aid. That was one of their purposes, to provide legal aid for people of the left-wing group when they got in trouble.

I remember particularly, the Young Progressives had a party and were arrested because they didn't have a license to sell liquor, and the Civil Rights Congress went to their defense and saw that bail was provided, and various things of that character.

Mr. TAVENNER. Could you pretty generally rely on the Civil Rights Congress to provide bail when Communist Party members got in trouble?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, I remember an occasion in the early days of the Civil Rights Congress when I was in the position of lending the Civil Rights Congress Communist Party money to put up for Communist Party members. They were actually Communist Party members, but were arrested under the guise of some other organization. I did put up the sum of \$200 because these young men were to go to jail if they didn't have it, but it was returned by the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. So, as a matter of fact, you let the Civil Rights Congress have Communist Party money to use as bail for Communist Party members involved with the law?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right. Then the Civil Rights Congress raised the money and repaid the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, that seems fair. Was that just an accidental matter that happened, or were you instructed to put that money up?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I did that on my own initiative at that time, because there was no party leader available to consult, and I was criticized for doing it because the Communist Party functionaries thought we would not get it back. Ordinarily when we gave money to the Civil Rights Congress it was gone.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there other occasions when you made donations to the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us about that.

Mrs. MARKWARD. I can't recall a specific instance.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you were called upon to donate or lend money to the Civil Rights Congress in specific instances?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, Communist Party members were acting as Civil Rights members also. I might say the National Negro Congress had preceded the Civil Rights Congress, and most of the money troubles had arisen in the National Negro Congress, prior to the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the Communist Party contribute money to the bail fund account of the Civil Rights Congress, if you know?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I know we raised a great deal of money for the defense of the 11 Communists, but I believe that was handled directly through the Communist Party apparatus. What happened to it when it got to the top leadership, I don't know. Of course bail was not the issue, particularly, at that time. I think the Communists who had bonds and so forth were asked to make them available to the Civil Rights Congress to use for bail from time to time.

Mr. VELDE. I notice you use the term "Communist Party apparatus." Was that a term generally used by members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I believe so. I am just thinking of the line of command when I am speaking of apparatus. There is a very definite form of organization, from the city to the district to the national level, and there are certain departments within each of these things.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to return to the instance you were describing of a Communist Party member denying in court in the District of Columbia that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mrs. MARKWARD. It was in Virginia.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Virginia?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mrs. MARKWARD. In Arlington.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Arlington. Who was the individual?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Casey Gurewitz.

Mr. TAVENNER. Spell the last name, please?

Mrs. MARKWARD. G-u-r-e-w-i-t-z.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was a person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say there was a device resorted to in this instance, by which he went through the formality of resigning and then being re-recruited into the party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us a little more about that, and who originated that device.

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, there was a specially called city committee meeting on a Saturday afternoon. This person was firmly criticized for not having had the knowledge and the reaction to not commit himself by denying being a Communist Party member, because he was well known as a Communist Party member.

After they made him realize he was wrong in denying being a party member, it was agreed by all present that he was not a party member

on the day when he stated that, and that he should be re-recruited into the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, it was a postdated affair?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a pure matter of form?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who took part in that meeting?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, it was at the home of William S. Johnson. I believe Phil Frankfeld was then the district chairman and that he was there. William Taylor was there; myself; Casey Gurewitz.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that William C. Taylor?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct. I can't definitely state what other people were there. It is on record, but I can't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. That seems to be quite a handy device, and one that could be used in many different ways. I am interested to know if it was used in connection with the signing of the Taft-Hartley affidavits where Communist Party members occupied positions in labor, and because of their positions were required to sign the non-Communist affidavit. Do you know anything about that?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I know in certain instances people who were required to sign the affidavit resigned their membership in the party in order to sign the affidavit. Supposedly these people no longer attended Communist Party functions, but I had no reason to believe they removed themselves from the influence of the party.

In the case of the cafeteria workers here in the District of Columbia, Richard Bancroft resigned his job as president of the union rather than sign the affidavit. In the case of Henry Thomas, he resigned from the party and kept his post in labor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of course, the situation in the Communist Party is different now than it was in 1947 and 1948 when cards were issued and registrations took place in the Communist Party.

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. You made reference to the hearings that were conducted here in 1947, known as the "Hollywood hearings," and the fact that the conduct of the witnesses at those hearings was held up as a model to the members of the Communist Party.

Now, there was a person by the name of Charlotte Young Oram who appeared in connection with the Hollywood 10 hearings and refused to testify.

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with her?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes; I am.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes; I do. I was in a meeting with her the night before she appeared here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was her conduct on the witness stand here in refusing to testify the subject of discussion at your meeting the previous evening?

Mrs. MARKWARD. No; because she didn't know she was going to testify the previous evening.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not, when she refused to testify, that action was taken pursuant to directions or instructions from the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. It is my belief it was. I do not have definite knowledge of a particular meeting with her. I know she said she had been criticized for not being belligerent enough to the committee. They felt she was too mild about the whole thing when she was here.

Mr. TAVENNER. So, the leadership instructs members of the party to be rather positive when they appear before this committee?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask who comes up to all the high standards required of witnesses?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I don't have a direct answer to that question. I think they found something to criticize about almost everybody who has appeared before the committee.

Mr. KEARNEY. Even including criticism of the committee?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Oh, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned the matter of security measures that were taken by the Communist Party, such as by the establishment of the group system, instructions about employing counsel, delivery of money, cooperation with the Civil Rights Congress. Was there any other measure of security taken, such as provisions regarding the substitution of leadership in the event of necessity?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I know that in 1949 there was under very definite consideration the setting up of a secondary leadership to take over in case the primary leadership was apprehended and taken out of activity. I do not know who, particularly, were the people who were chosen for that role, or if it was ever fully carried out during the time I was in the party.

One other thing they did: They ruled that not all the top party leaders should be at the same place at the same time; that is, at party meetings or in picket lines. Always somebody of the top party leaders should be at some other place, in case a raid should take place and everybody should be picked up at the same time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any instructions given to the membership, or to the leadership, as to what course to follow in the event the party had to go underground? I should say "further" underground.

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was instructed back in 1947—of course, this was before the group system was fully in good working order—that, in case anything should come up suddenly, I should not ignore the Communist Party as such, but should go to work in a front organization, where I would be contacted by the top party leadership for whatever activity they wanted me to do. As an individual Communist, I was instructed that in this front organization I would be asked to carry out activity to help the situation that the Communist Party was in.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any other security measures which come to your mind?

Mrs. MARKWARD. There were some funds which were not placed in the Communist Party bank account, so that they could not be seized and would be available to the party. There were certain things, like a mimeograph machine and a typewriter, which were removed from the party office and secreted elsewhere, where they would be available in case they were needed. And the clubs were urged to secure, buy, and store mimeograph paper to use under such circumstances. This was not carried out to any great extent, but the message was taken to the clubs that it would be desirable to do that.

Mr. TAVENNER. How was this special fund to be handled?

Mrs. MARKWARD. In Washington there was a legacy left to the party of \$1,500, and the local organization divided it with the district organization, and the part that the local organization retained was not kept in the party bank account. That was taken someplace. I never did know where that was. Only the city chairman knew where it was. I do know funds were borrowed from this account and returned to it, occasionally. And I do know that in 1949 there were attempts being made to raise additional funds to put with that. I don't know to what extent they had success with that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who left this \$1,500 legacy to the party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I believe the man's name was Coffin. I think his first name was Harry. I am not positive. We had some trouble with it with the heirs. They didn't want the party to get it. This was during the Communist Political Association, and the party had to prove to the court that they were the same organization as the Communist Party, whom he had named in the will.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask there, Was that in the Washington district court?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes; that is right.

Mr. DOYLE. About when?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I would say during 1944 or 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. So the Communist Political Association had to establish legally that it was the successor to the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the chairman of the city committee at that time?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Elizabeth Searle handled all the details in connection with this; so I imagine it was she. The money was delivered to the Morris Plan Bank when it finally did come through.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, while you were treasurer, you borrowed money temporarily from those funds?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I did not. I had nothing to do with this fund after it was put in this secret place, wherever it was. Elizabeth Searle or William Taylor had access to it and knew where it was, and I understand somebody in the District may have known where it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether there have been additions to that fund?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I know attempts were being made to raise money to make additions. I don't know that they were ever carried out.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who was the custodian at any time of that fund?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there any other matters of security that you can recall?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, I think we have noted that they were doing away with city-wide membership lists; and by 1947, 1948, or 1949, the clubs had all been persuaded to do away with club membership lists. It was in the heads of the club leaders, and there were no membership lists in writing. We kept track of the members by knowing there were 14 members in a particular club, and we could go to the club leader to know who they were. If one dropped out or a new member was recruited, a number was subtracted or added.

During the Communist Political Association it was common practice to send notices by mail, and very often we followed it up by telephone calls. But after 1945 this was brought to a halt. There was nothing by mail, and they were told not to use the telephone at all. No notices of any meetings were to be sent out by mail or given by telephone. Everybody had to be contacted in person.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned the name of Maurice Braverman as an attorney for the Communist Party in Baltimore. Was he a member at any time of the executive committee of which you were a member?

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was a member of the district committee. He was the lawyer who handled the business of the legacy for the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Braverman is also one of those who has appeared before this committee, I believe back in 1948, and refused to testify. Do you recall any of the circumstances about his appearance; that is, as to discussions about the position he would take when he appeared before this committee?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I don't recall. I wasn't involved in that especially.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe I have not asked you with regard to Sam Gordon?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know him?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I do.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. I do. He was a very trusted member of the district organization. He was a member of the district committee and of the district board, I believe, during all the time I was connected with the organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. This particular Sam Gordon was a resident of Baltimore; was he not?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have asked you about the membership of the district committee, and you have also spoken of the district board. Will you distinguish between the functions of the district board and the district committee?

Mrs. MARKWARD. The district board was composed of members of the district committee, but it was a sort of executive-type organization. It was smaller in number than the district committee; it was easier to get a few people together when they needed to make a decision. I don't recall of any instance where a decision made by the district board was ever questioned by the district committee. In fact, in matters of confidence, such as an individual who needed to be brought to a conference, he was brought to this body instead of a larger meeting. The district board in reality was a higher body than the district committee, although it wasn't set up that way.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was the top group of functionaries of the party in district 4?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct. Not necessarily functionaries, but the leading people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the district board?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was from the fall of 1945 until 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of those who served with you from time to time as members of the district board?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Al Lannon was the chairman while he was here. He was replaced by Phil Frankfeld.

Elizabeth Searle was a member.

Dorothy Strange was a member, and when she was removed I took her place.

William Johnson was a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. William S. Johnson?

Mrs. MARKWARD. William S. Johnson, from Washington.

Henry Thomas was a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. The reason I mention William Johnson's middle initial, there are other William Johnsons.

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right; there are a lot of William Johnsons.

Bill Taylor was a member after he came to Washington.

Elsie Smith was a member after she became associated with the Washington leadership.

Mr. TAVENNER. She is now deceased?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

Did I mention Sam Gordon?

Dorothy Rose Blumberg was a member.

Albert Blumberg was a member after he got active in the district, but he was assigned to a national activity and did not participate on a local level so much.

Maurice Braverman often attended the meetings of the board, particularly during election campaigns. He was particularly active with the political-action committee of the organization.

Roy Wood was a member of the district board.

Mr. TAVENNER. The William C. Taylor to whom you referred is now in Los Angeles?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. The William S. Johnson to whom you referred was the business representative of Local 209 of the American Federation of Labor?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which is the cafeteria—

Mrs. MARKWARD. Pastry cooks and bartenders, I believe. Was it kitchen employees? Pastry cooks and kitchen employees.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Markward, I want to ask you regarding the Communist Party membership of other persons in the Baltimore defense area.

Mrs. MARKWARD. All right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with an individual by the name of Pete Forrest?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. F-o-r-r-e-s-t, who is employed at the American Smelting & Refining Co. in Baltimore.

Mrs. MARKWARD. I am acquainted with him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of your own knowledge whether he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. He is another of those who has appeared as a witness before this committee in the past week or so, but who has not enlightened the committee on any material part of his activities.

Are you acquainted with Isidore Schwartz?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes, sir; I am.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes; he was. He was a delegate to the national convention in 1944; either a delegate or an alternate.

Mr. TAVENNER. He has likewise appeared before this committee, and has testified that he was a former employee of the city of Baltimore.

Mrs. MARKWARD. I know he was doing something in a white-collar capacity. He was not of the open-party membership in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. He, too, has refused to enlighten the committee on those phases of his experience. Do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I say he was in 1944. I didn't have anything to do with him in the latter days during 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with his wife, Florence Schwartz?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes; more or less the same circumstances.

Mr. TAVENNER. It has appeared in the testimony here, through her husband, that she was a notary public before whom the corporation papers were signed for the Book Shop Association of Baltimore, and that she was a member of it and an employee of it. Do you know whether or not she was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I said she was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Levy Williamson?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was. He attended meetings of the district committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. He, too, has appeared before the committee as a witness. Do you recall whether or not he was employed by Bethlehem Steel?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I am not positive of that of my own knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Robert W. Lee?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether he was also a member of the party here in the District of Columbia as well as in the city of Baltimore?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes; he was. He was here immediately subsequent to the war, and I had some acquaintance with him. He was doing some technical work for the party, and I had occasion to meet him in that regard. Then I knew he transferred out, and at a later date he appeared at various meetings in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the nature of the technical work?

Mrs. MARKWARD. His club was addressing envelopes when we were doing mass mailing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he became a worker in the steel industry?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I think he did.

Mr. DOYLE. Did they use machines of any kind to address the envelopes?

Mrs. MARKWARD. No. We did it all by hand. That is what made it such a job.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Irving Winkler?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with his wife, Sally?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. She was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee what the nature of the Communist activities was of either the husband or the wife?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Both of them were active in youth work. Both of them worked with some of the so-called front organizations as well as the Communist Party itself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Herbert J. Nichol?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not he represented the Communist Party in the hearing conducted on the Ober law—I am mistaken about his representing the Communist Party—represented the UE in a hearing regarding the Ober law. Do you recall that?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I do not recall that. I am sorry. I recall him in district committee meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you the March 6, 1949, edition of the Washington Post, which has the photographs of various persons appearing in the hearing relating to the Ober law in Maryland. The second picture from the right is alleged to be, there is a notation here, "Herbert J. Nichol, union objector."

Will you look at the photograph and state whether or not he is the same person to whom you referred?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes, he is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known by any other name?

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was also called Herb Silver, I believe, at least on one occasion.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of William Blank?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes, he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Martin Dean?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time you knew him, was he employed in the shipyard industry in Baltimore?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was never certain of his employment. I did meet him at various Communist Party meetings in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you knew him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Irving Kandel, K-a-n-d-e-l?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you have occasion to know that?

Mrs. MARKWARD. He attended district committee meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. He is also one of those who has appeared before the committee and refused to answer.

Mr. Sam Fox is another witness who appeared before this committee. I am not certain whether he admitted that he was a candidate of the Progressive Party for the United States Senate in Maryland in 1950 or not.

Mr. KEARNEY. I think, Mr. Counsel, he refused to answer that question on the ground he might incriminate himself.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is my recollection, that he refused to answer whether he was a candidate. Do you know whether he was a candidate or not for the United States Senate in 1950?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was not acquainted with his activities at that time. I read about it in the newspaper.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you had acquaintance with him in the past?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I had.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you know that?

Mrs. MARKWARD. He attended meetings of the district committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with his wife, Ruth Fox?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. She was.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the time that you knew Mrs. Ruth Fox, was she at any time employed by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was not familiar with her employment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Louis Pearlman is another person who appeared recently before this committee and refused to testify. Were you acquainted with him?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. He was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what his employment was in Baltimore when you knew him?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was not fully acquainted with that. He did allow us to use his home at the time of this convention. It was one of the places where our committee met. That was the reason I knew him in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us more about the meetings you attended in his home.

Mrs. MARKWARD. This was the conference I told you about. I was on the nominating committee, and his home was used for the meeting all day Friday. I knew more about him after he came to Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you know about him in Washington?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, the last knowledge I had, he was running a grocery store in the 1800 block of G Street NW., and he lived in the 1800 block of Irving Street NW., and his home was a continual place of meetings for the youth group, because his daughter was associated with that group. He was a member of the Petworth Club.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his daughter's name?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Thelma.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know other members of the family?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I knew his wife, Rebecca. She was a member of the Petworth Club. I knew Willie, a member of the Southeast Club; and Albert, a member of the Youth Club. I think Albert dropped out in 1949 because he was unable to be active, but he continued to give financial aid to the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell us any more about the activities of Louis Pearlman in the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I don't know too much of his activities, except I knew he was a financial supporter of the party and apparently was a member in good standing of his club.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what way do you mean he financially supported the party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. When we had fund drives, which was often, he made contributions; paid his dues.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you mention a son by the name of Albert?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Mrs. Chase Isaacs?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I am. She was also known as "Mama" Isaacs.

Mr. TAVENNER. "Mama" Isaacs. Do you know whether or not she was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I know that she was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of her activities in the party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. She apparently was very close to the seamen. I imagine that is where she got the nickname "Mama," but I don't know just exactly what she was doing. She was one of the most trusted and revered members that I came in contact with in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Julia Kotelchuck, K-o-t-e-l-c-h-u-c-k?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. She was.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you know this?

Mrs. MARKWARD. She was one of the members who was elected to the district committee in 1945. She was listed as a housewife on the party records. She only attended one or two meetings of the district committee after that. In 1946, in the fall, she was removed from the district committee without prejudice because they felt that for security reasons she should not have been put on there in the first place.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee is in possession of information indicating that Connie Jackson, formerly of Baltimore, is now in the city of Philadelphia. Were you acquainted with her?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. She was a Communist Party paid functionary.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the character of her duties?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I think she was membership director for Baltimore. I think she carried district-wide duties also in that connection.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Lou Gilbert?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us briefly what you know about him?

Mrs. MARKWARD. My association with him was on this leadership nominating committee, particularly. I understood he was a functionary in the Furniture Workers Union in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. International representative; wasn't he?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I didn't know what post he held. He transferred out of the district sometime subsequent to the 1945 convention.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to committee information, he is now in Philadelphia. Is that correct?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I don't know anything about him after he left Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have mentioned Mr. Herb Kransdorf.

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with his wife?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Not personally acquainted.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have also mentioned Jack Zucker, who was an international organizer in Baltimore of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, and I believe you have already testified that he was known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with his wife?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. She was. I knew them in Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall her first name?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Anne.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Esvand Jones, E-s-v-a-n-d?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I am. E-s-v-e-n-d.

Mr. TAVENNER. E-s-v-e-n-d?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your association with Esvend Jones?

Mrs. MARKWARD. She was the wife of George Jones, who was a student at George Washington University, a very active and militant student there, and after he was recruited and became such a good party member, she was recruited. I met with her on the District Youth Commission repeatedly during 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where Esvend Jones is now?

Mrs. MARKWARD. The last of my knowledge she was in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Oscar Roberts?

Mrs. MARKWARD. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know his wife, Mary Roberts?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I knew Mary Roberts in Baltimore.

MR. TAVENNER. Was she a member of the Communist Party to your knowledge?

Mrs. MARKWARD. She was.

MR. TAVENNER. How do you know that?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I saw her at various district committee meetings and at district conventions.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you know the name of Al Lannon's wife?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Elva, I believe.

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

Mrs. MARKWARD. I know that she was.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you know the name of the wife of Phil Frankfeld?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Jean.

MR. TAVENNER. Was she known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. She was.

MR. TAVENNER. You have told us that you remained at your post of work from 1943, I believe, until October 1949?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. And that you stopped because of the condition of your health?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct. I was out for a little while during the summer of 1949, and went back, and then had to stop permanently.

MR. TAVENNER. Now that you have had the opportunity to tell publicly the experience that you have had in the Communist Party, at least at the present time partially, because your other testimony was in executive session, have you anything further to say regarding your experience, working as an undercover agent over this period of nearly 7 years?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, I want to say that I definitely became convinced during this period that I was doing something that needed to be done; that this was an organization that was a threat to our American form of government; and I definitely reported everything as I saw it, not as I wanted to think, but as it occurred, and these facts convinced me of the fact that this was an organization that was not in the best interests of this country. I mean, that was the reason I stuck out this activity for as long as I did, because I thought it was necessary for our Government to be acquainted with the aims and what this organization was doing.

MR. TAVENNER. You testified in executive session, and it seems that that testimony found its way into the press last week, and the committee intends to call you back at a later time regarding the general over-all subject of that testimony, which we have not gone into today. But when the testimony was printed, there was not printed with it the foreword, which had not been actually prepared at that time, but probably was on that very day prepared, and I think, inasmuch as it refers to you, I should read this into the record at this time. This foreword was intended to accompany that testimony if it was ever to be published aside from a public hearing. [Reading:]

The committee wishes to commend the Federal Bureau of Investigation for its foresight and efficiency in employing the witness, whose testimony appears herein, as a confidential undercover operator. It is to the credit of the Bureau that, through its foresight in employing the witness, the committee is able to present a complete exposé of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia.

Of course you have been talking about Baltimore today. [Continuing reading:]

The committee wishes also to commend the witness for her courage and fortitude in performing efficiently a highly patriotic service.

In its desire to cooperate with the executive branch of the Government, the committee has purposely omitted the names of several individuals identified as Communists by the witness, because of the fact that prosecution against certain of these persons may be entertained in the near future.

I want to add my personal commendation to that, because I personally am very proud of the fact that your antecedents stem from my part of the country.

Mr. KEARNEY. May I make a personal observation?

Mr. WALTER. I think, in view of the premature release of the statement, it will be in order for the present occupant of the chair to call the witness' attention to the fact that she mentioned the names of Irving Studenberg, Dan Crystal, and Natalie Lamken as having been employed by United States News and World Report.

The managing editor of that magazine informs me that these people were never members of the staff of the magazine United States News and World Report, but that they were employed by a publishing company that publishes its periodicals. I think that letter should be made a part of the record at this point.

(The letter above referred to is as follows:)

UNITED STATES NEWS AND WORLD REPORT,
Washington, July 9, 1951.

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE,
House of Representatives, Washington 25, D. C.

(Attention: Hon. Francis E. Walter, acting chairman.)

GENTLEMEN: Our attention has been drawn to the testimony on June 11, 1951, before a subcommittee of your committee by Mrs. Mary Stalcup Markward. In the course of her testimony she referred to Communist activities and mentioned the names of Irving Studenberg, Dan Crystal, and Natalie Lamken as employed by this magazine, United States News and World Report.

This is to advise that none of the three persons mentioned above has ever been a member of the staff of this magazine, United States News and World Report.

I am advised that the publishing company which issues our magazine did employ the three persons mentioned—one as a printer and the other two in a reference service organization which was sold by our publishing company to other owners in 1946. Hence, the persons mentioned above have not since 1946 been employees of any organization or business owned by our publishing company.

We ask that this be made a part of the printed record.

Sincerely yours,

CARSON F. LYMAN, *Managing Editor.*

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Kearney.

Mr. KEARNEY. Following the remarks of counsel, I just wanted to add my own personal thanks for your testimony here today, and to say that in my humble opinion the people of this country owe you many, many thanks. It does take courage to do what you have done, and we are deeply grateful.

Mr. WALTER. I believe several members of the committee want to ask some questions.

Mr. Doyle, have you any questions?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, please.

I made some notes as you went along.

I think when our counsel worded his appreciation, he certainly included me in the commendation.

As near as I could, I made exact notes of the parts of your testimony that I want to question you about. You said something like this, "After the revitalization of the Communist Party." I think no date was fixed at which you used that term "revitalization." What did you refer to?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was speaking of the change back to the Communist Party from the Communist Political Association. In Washington the convention was held October 14, 1945. We had prior conventions nationally and in the district.

Mr. DOYLE. You used this kind of language, "the revolutionary part of it was turned down because it was believed a peaceful revolution could not be attained." I think that is pretty much your own words. What did you mean by the revolutionary part being turned down and their belief that a peaceful revolution could not be attained, as far as the United States was concerned?

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe the witness said "toned" down.

Mr. DOYLE. What did you mean by that?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I meant that in Communist Political Association days the policy of the need for a revolution in this country was not the center of interest. The education was on books Earl Browder was writing and on current events, rather than on the party classics. Upon the return to the Communist Party line, reemphasis was placed on the revolutionary writings of Marx and Lenin and the things they put forth.

Mr. DOYLE. What sort of revolution?

Mrs. MARKWARD. It was the teaching of the party members that the things they want to attain can never be attained under the present form of government in the United States; that the only way they are going to have the utopia they are dreaming about is to transform our form of government to a Communist form of government, of which the Soviet Union is the example.

Mr. DOYLE. Were they projecting into the program at that time that if need be there should be any violent revolution?

Mrs. MARKWARD. The way they said it was that it was necessary that it take place, and they did not think the Government would let it take place peacefully, so violence would be necessary, because our present Government would not give up peacefully.

Mr. DOYLE. From what you observed up to the time you left the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was it the feeling of the members of the Communist Party whom you knew personally, that as long as it could not be obtained peaceably, that they would use force if necessary?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That was the general feeling. Of course the phase they were in at this time was building friends so that if they had to use force they would have it to use. They weren't ready to do that yet, so they didn't go into details about the things to take place.

Mr. DOYLE. You said, "It was agreed it was necessary to go back to the more revolutionary program of the Communist Party."

That is the way I wrote it down. I wrote it down so that I could ask more direct questions and be more exact in my questions.

I wonder if you are familiar with the text of the law under which this committee functions? Have you ever read it?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I have not read it.

MR. DOYLE. You realize, I suppose, that we are directed to investigate and make report of any subversive conduct in this country which emanates from any foreign country or domestically within our own country.

Do you feel, from what you know, that the revolutionary program you referred to here when you said they felt it was necessary to go back to the more revolutionary program of the Communist Party, did that emanate from the Soviet Union?

MRS. MARKWARD. It emanates from the classics of Marx, Lenin, and Engels, and the basic premise in everything the Communist Party has done, to my knowledge, is that the Soviet Union is always right in policies and in their application of what Marx and Lenin have done. Therefore, I think we can almost say they are taking the dictation of the Soviet Union.

MR. DOYLE. Am I to understand from your testimony that the rank and file of the Communist Party as you know it in this country is willing or does always take the Soviet Union policy and program in preference to our own American ideals and programs?

MRS. MARKWARD. They believe that the Soviet Union has the correct form of government, that it is the government of the people, and therefore it is correct; and that the United States has a capitalist form of government that is not the government of the people, and therefore it is necessarily wrong.

MR. DOYLE. In your testimony you stated that there was a time when they all agreed they would not bear arms against the Soviet Union. I didn't get the date of that, unless it was in March and April 1949.

MRS. MARKWARD. It was somewhere close to that.

MR. DOYLE. And is that still the edict of the Communist Party in the United States?

MRS. MARKWARD. I have never heard of any change. I might mention here that these things came out more forcefully in 1948 and 1949. The whole membership of the Communist Party became involved then. Prior to that a great many naive people were recruited into the party, and a great many left the party when they found out what they were trying to do.

MR. DOYLE. You stated that various minority groups were represented on the committee also. What groups did you refer to by minority groups?

MRS. MARKWARD. In Washington and Baltimore the Negro people were particularly emphasized. Women are also considered a minority group by the party. They had to have a few women on the committee.

In Baltimore various national groups—some of the Slovak groups, particularly, and the IWO, composed particularly of some Jewish people—were represented as minority groups.

MR. DOYLE. Why, if you know, was the emphasis upon having representation of the minority groups, especially the Negro people?

MRS. MARKWARD. That was the way to gain ground and talk to these people. If you can keep impressed on a person that he is a Negro instead of an American, and tell him how he is not treated right in America, rather than telling him how things could be made better in America, you can make friends with those people, and sometimes they will think the Communist Party has the answer to their problems.

Many people were fooled into joining the party, and many left when they found out the party program did not follow through with these things.

Mr. DOYLE. You stated an agreement was made after the last war to leave the way clear for the new democracies in Europe. Am I to understand from that that the Communist Party of the United States was definitely backing the projection of Soviet communism in the nations in Europe right after the war, and that is what the Communist Party of the United States wanted to be done?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I think that is true. During the war and immediately afterward there were discussions of how much of the world was controlled by Communists. I think Russia controlled one-sixth. Then they could expand this with China.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you ever attend any meetings, or know of any meetings, where any Russian Communists came to this country and spoke at your Communist meetings in this country?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I had no direct knowledge of that. I recall one occasion when a Communist from India came and addressed the city committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Did any of the Communists with whom you were acquainted go to Russia and then return?

Mrs. MARKWARD. No.

Mr. DOYLE. These Communist Party leaders you referred to, were any of them paid salaries for the work they did for the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. What party leaders?

Mr. DOYLE. Any of them.

Mrs. MARKWARD. Phil Frankfeld was; Al Lannon was; George Meyer; Herb Kransdorf; Elizabeth Searle; Roy Wood; William Taylor; William Johnson.

Mr. DOYLE. What kind of salary?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Moderate. Elizabeth Searle—you must realize she worked from 10 in the morning until at least 12 at night—was getting \$25 a week. I think Roy Wood was getting \$75, with three children and a wife to support. They put a minimum a person could get along on, and paid them that.

Mr. DOYLE. What group determined the salary to be paid?

Mrs. MARKWARD. The district committee and the city committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Where did the money come from to pay these salaries?

Mrs. MARKWARD. A certain percentage of the dues was kept in the district, and all members were urged to make contributions over and above their dues, and to ask non-Communist friends to make contributions to the party. We had regular fund drives where a percentage of the money raised was kept in the district, and the rest went to the higher organization.

Mr. DOYLE. By "higher" you mean the national organization?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. You referred to Mr. Meyer as labor secretary. Was he on salary?

Mrs. MARKWARD. To the best of my knowledge.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know what his salary was?

Mrs. MARKWARD. No.

Mr. DOYLE. In several places in your testimony you referred to youth groups. I am asking about Communist youth groups. What

ages of children did they try to group together in order to promulgate Communist teachings?

Mrs. MARKWARD. During the period of my association with them, the youth were rather old. They considered anybody up to 35 a youth, and most of them were over 25, I would say.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, then, the term "youth" was a misnomer, wasn't it?

Mrs. MARKWARD. It was, but their aim was to reach the younger people.

Mr. DOYLE. Did they reach the younger people below 25? I think of youth as teen-age children.

Mrs. MARKWARD. The American Youth for Democracy did, but it was not considered by the Communists as a very active organization.

When the Young Progressives of America was organized, the Communists tried to the best of their ability to take it over. In Washington they pretty well succeeded in doing that.

Mr. DOYLE. You said Milton Seif was more or less assigned to youth work. Was he full time?

Mrs. MARKWARD. No. He was a responsible member of the district committee who was assigned from the district committee to give particular attention to this phase of work.

Mr. DOYLE. I believe you said he attended national meetings of youth organizations?

Mrs. MARKWARD. What I said was, when the national board called conferences on youth problems, he was often sent from the district to attend them and give the district point of view and bring back the national point of view.

Mr. DOYLE. I am trying to get an elaboration of points I think very important which you did not have an opportunity, under the questioning of our worthy counsel, to go into.

What emphasis, if any, was being placed, as you last knew it, by the Communist Party on youth work? By youth work I don't mean over 25; I mean teen-age children.

Mrs. MARKWARD. Emphasis was being placed on reorganizing the entire youth organization. This was in the works prior to the conviction of the 11 top Communist leaders, and it was a desirable thing to do. It was to replace the old YCL, in effect, and be not quite so Red, but in essence the same type of organization.

When the 11 top Communists were being tried, it was felt foolish to set up an entire new organization which would probably be liquidated under the Smith Act. So it was held off.

In 1949 a conference was called in Chicago at which a new organization, Labor Youth League, was organized. The national board of the Communist Party selected Charles Payne to represent Washington, to see that the Labor Youth League was set up.

When he returned to Washington he was asked why it was called a Marxist youth organization rather than a Marxist-Lenin organization. He said Marx laid down the principles, but Lenin had the action program, and in that way they thought they could avoid prosecution under the Smith Act.

Mr. DOYLE. They are now realizing they must get to the youth of America; is that true?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is true.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know if they have increased their budget or the number of their personnel in this regard?

Mrs. MARKWARD. They didn't immediately increase their budget, because \$15 to \$30 a month had almost constantly gone to the youth organization.

Mr. DOYLE. I hope the committee will labor with me a moment or two more. I think the work we are doing in regard to the youth of America is probably as important as in any field.

You said, "I am certain that certain individuals were assigned to go to work in the steel industry." You didn't name those individuals. Why were those individuals, in your judgment, selected to go in the steel industry?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Because it was so foreign to the work they had been doing. Robert Lee, for example, had been a white-collar man.

Mr. DOYLE. Why would he be selected to go to work in the steel industry? I remember his appearing before this committee.

Mrs. MARKWARD. Evidently because they thought he had leadership capabilities. A Communist is judged by the number of other people he can lead.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I interrupt at this point?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the Charles Payne to whom you referred Charles F. Payne?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I don't know his middle initial. He was referred to as "Top" around the party organization.

Mr. DOYLE. Are they doing anything in regard to Negro youth? Do they include them with the other?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes, indeed, Negro, working-class youth, any youth was bait.

Mr. DOYLE. You said the ground work for the group system had been set up before the passage of the Ober law. Do you remember that?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. What condition was it that made the Communist Party set up a group system nationally before the passage of the Ober law? What condition were they trying to meet?

Mrs. MARKWARD. We saw a tightening up on the part of our Government against Communist activities. The group system must be something that has been tried all over the world in the Communist Party over the years. They used it here as an administrative agency, to collect dues and so forth, and then it was ready when it was needed from the security angle.

Mr. DOYLE. In regard to this resignation which was dated back to accommodate the legal needs of the party you referred to, do I understand from your testimony that when this particular party had this resignation dated back as you related, if he then testified he had resigned prior to the time of the hearing in court, he was not telling the truth in court; wouldn't that be the effect, according to the facts as you know them?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is true.

Mr. DOYLE. Then he lied to the court?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes. He was a Communist the day before and the day afterward, and he was at that time.

Mr. DOYLE. Was it the practice of the Communists to use that device on the courts to protect Communist members?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I don't think they desired to do it. From the association I had with them, I thought they would be more apt to use it in the case of a person who was not so openly a Communist.

Mr. DOYLE. In your judgment—I feel this is a fair question; if you don't, just say so and don't answer it: When known Communists come before this committee, and we know in advance they have been issued certain Communist Party cards, and know from the records they are Communists in many cases, and in answer to our question whether or not they are members of the Communist Party they refuse to answer on the ground the answer might incriminate them; do they thus answer because they are so instructed at Communist Party meetings such as you have described, and I think you attended one or two?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I believe the original direction was not to use the ground of self-incrimination in refusing to answer, but to use the constitutional grounds of the first and fifth amendments. They didn't want to say being a Communist Party member was incriminating. But since they have found the Supreme Court upholds the self-incrimination end of it, they use it more freely.

I think that was the criticism of some of the witnesses who appeared here, that some used one angle and some another.

Mr. DOYLE. I suppose this is technical, but I always look up and remember the definition in Webster's dictionary of the term subversive. I suppose you know it means the overthrow; utterly ruin; to undermine the morale, allegiance, and faith of.

Do I understand from your testimony that the Communist Party in our Nation would be willing to go to that limit to achieve its purposes?

Mrs. MARKWARD. From everything I have been able to find out from my association in the Communist Party, it fits the definition pretty well.

Mr. DOYLE. I am from California. I will ask you this: Do you know of any Communist activities that we should know about? Is there any project from the east coast to the west coast? Do you know any Communist Party members from this area who have gone to California to live?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Well, two former paid functionaries from Washington were in Los Angeles the last I heard.

Mr. DOYLE. Is it fair for me to ask who they are?

Mrs. MARKWARD. William C. Taylor went there and assumed the post formerly held by Pettis Perry. And Elizabeth Searle went to California for her health, and she was to live with William Taylor—I mean his family, him and his wife—when she left here.

Mr. DOYLE. Again I thank you, and I hope my long questioning has not unduly tired you.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Frazier.

Mr. FRAZIER. Do you know to what extent the Communist Party was successful in infiltrating its membership into the steel industry?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I believe I stated that they did not have such a large number of members here. I think they were going slowly and surely. When the Ober law became such a hot issue in 1949, that and the trial of the 11 and other things overshadowed their work in the steel industry, and it slowed them a little bit, but they were going ahead slowly and surely.

Mr. FRAZIER. Thank you very much for your testimony.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Velde.

Mr. VELDE. You mentioned a while ago you were a delegate to a national convention in New York. In what year?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes. I was a visitor in 1944. That is when the Communist Party was changed to the Communist Political Association.

Mr. VELDE. You were not a delegate?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I was not.

Mr. VELDE. Will you briefly describe the procedure at that national convention of the Communist Party—who were the big shots, and so on?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I believe this convention was different from the others held, so it is probably not a good pattern. To this convention I believe there was an enlarged delegation from Baltimore. I would say 12 went from our district, delegates and alternates. I think anybody who had recruited as many as 12 members was invited. So it was wide open.

Mr. VELDE. That is the convention where the Communist Political Association was first formed?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. However, it was decided in meetings prior to that time?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. VELDE. Was Earl Browder present at that convention?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes. He chaired the meeting and made the motion that the Communist Party be dissolved. There was general applause for quite a period of time, about 10 minutes, and then a motion was made to form an organization under the policies of the Communist Political Association. I think the actual name Communist Political Association was adopted later.

Mr. VELDE. Was the hammer and sickle flag evident?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I believe not.

Mr. VELDE. You had never attended any Communist Party conventions prior to that time?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. VELDE. I understand prior to that time the hammer and sickle flag was very much in evidence.

I want to ask you one more question relative to your knowledge of Communist Party infiltration into educational institutions in Maryland. Do you know if there was any attempt made to organize youth groups in schools and colleges in Maryland?

Mrs. MARKWARD. There was.

Mr. VELDE. Tell about that.

Mrs. MARKWARD. The youth group of the University of Maryland was under the students of the city of Washington rather than the State of Maryland. I believe there were only four members at that university, and through transportation difficulties they were not too active in carrying out the policies of the party.

There was a group at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. This group was under the leadership of the white-collar section in Baltimore, the professional group.

After the 1948 convention attempts were being made to bring these people under the influence of the youth director, then under the influence of the white-collar section of the party.

Mr. VELDE. Do you know of any other infiltration, either of students or faculties, in schools and universities in Maryland?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is all the information I have.

Mr. VELDE. As to the Communist Party connection with the Progressive Party, could you describe that briefly?

Mrs. MARKWARD. The Progressive Party?

Mr. VELDE. Yes. Was the Progressive Party infiltrated by the Communist Party after it was organized, or was the Communist Party responsible for the beginning of the Progressive Party organization?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I don't believe the Progressive Party could have been organized without the energy and activity of various Communists in Maryland and the District of Columbia. They decided it was a desirable organization, and put everything they had to see that it was organized. Several committees, known as political action committees, were set up on city and district levels, and the people on those committees were to see that the Progressive Party did function.

Mr. VELDE. Did any of the funds of the Communist Party go into the campaign of the Progressive Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I don't know one way or another.

Mr. VELDE. In Maryland?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I don't know.

Mr. VELDE. I certainly appreciate your testimony. It was very enlightening.

Mrs. MARKWARD. Thank you.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you happen to know where in California the two functionaries you mentioned went?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Los Angeles, I believe.

Mr. JACKSON. I was afraid of that.

We hear a great deal from witnesses before this committee with respect to hysteria. The committee is hysterical; the American people are hysterical; everybody is hysterical except the witness and members of the Communist Party and fellow travelers.

What is your experience with respect to hysteria in general?

Mrs. MARKWARD. My observation is that the Communists are hysterical. This, I believe, is a planned function of the Communist Party, particularly during 1949 when the party was on trial. In order to maintain the loyalty of their membership, it became an emotional thing. They couldn't appeal to reason, so they appealed to the emotions of the members.

Mr. JACKSON. In the meetings?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Within the Communist Party meetings as well as mass meetings. This was done by one leader after another. You can hear the things they say from now to doomsday, but unless you see their facial expressions and the tones of their voices, you cannot know the effect of such appeals.

(Representative John S. Wood, chairman of the committee, entered the hearing room.)

Mr. JACKSON. Much like the old-fashioned camp meetings—hitting the sawdust trail?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is the impression I got.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you believe there are today in Washington and Baltimore Communist cells which are functioning?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I believe so.

Mr. JACKSON. From your own observation and experience, would you say you consider the Communist Party and its activities to be in the nature of a conspiracy?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you believe that the policies as carried out in the community groups are dictated by the district committee, the national committee, and that those orders are in turn received from a foreign power?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I believe, through observing the functioning of the organization, that the people in the lower levels of the American Communist Party dare think only what they have been told to think by the higher committee. The logical conclusion is that somebody is giving the word on how the people at the top are thinking.

Mr. JACKSON. Are all Communists to take those instructions without question?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That has been my experience.

Mr. JACKSON. As between a policy of the Communist Party and a law of regulation of the United States, what would be expected of a Communist Party member?

Mrs. MARKWARD. He would be expected to follow the rule of the Communist Party first.

One of the things that comes up in the election of Communist Party officers is whether he has been tested, and the test seems to be how many times he has been arrested. If he didn't talk about this committee, that would be a test he did not pass.

Mr. JACKSON. We have had many passing grades.

Is it your considered opinion that the Communist Party believes in the overthrow of every constitutional form of government over the world that does not agree with it?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is my belief.

Mr. JACKSON. By force and violence if necessary?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. You have read newspaper stories and heard a lot of the witnesses who have appeared before this committee and who have refused to answer the questions put by committee counsel. Have you known any of the witnesses who have appeared before this committee?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Have they acknowledged their party membership?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I have never known one who would. Henry Thomas is one who has.

Mr. WOOD. The witness named several this morning who had appeared and refused to answer questions.

Mr. JACKSON. They hold on to their constitutional rights the same as a wrestler in serious trouble holds on to the ropes.

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you feel that the Communist Party, in its appeals to minority groups, is as primarily concerned with the welfare of the minority groups as it is in attaining its end goal?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I do not believe they are primarily interested in the welfare of the minority groups. It is like having a gnat in your eye, and if you keep rubbing it and rubbing it can hurt an awful lot.

Mr. JACKSON. Certainly I think the record of the Soviet Union in regard to minorities in the Soviet Union should be proof to the minorities in this country that they have no interest in the minority groups.

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is true. During the war they said the Negro people had decided to become assimilated; then when they decided to go back to their more anti-American organization, they decided the Negro people have not decided yet, but possibly they should decide they want to set up a separate nation in the United States, to be separate from the United States of America.

Mr. JACKSON. In spite of the change or alleged change from the Communist Party to the Communist Political Association—one of those 90-degree rapid turns which leaves the enthusiastic supporter suspended in midair for a period of time—was there any substantial change from the ultimate goal of the Communist Party as delineated by Marx and Lenin?

Mrs. MARKWARD. I never saw any.

Mr. JACKSON. What would you estimate the membership in district 4, the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia, to have been at its peak?

Mrs. MARKWARD. In Washington the top active party membership was around 230. At the end of a recruiting drive it was higher, and at times it was lower. During 1949 it was about 210. I think a few of those people are perhaps not so active now. They are probably afraid to be members. But I don't see many willing to come forward and testify in favor of the United States.

In Maryland the top figure was around 400.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any knowledge of the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Mrs. MARKWARD. No. That has been since my association.

Mr. JACKSON. You were speaking of an alternate group of functionaries to take over in the event that the top leadership was suddenly taken from the party. In the light of the recent FBI round-up of the second echelon, is there basis for belief that a third echelon has taken over the functions of the Communist Party?

Mrs. MARKWARD. In the Communist Party, no matter how many are taken out of the party, there are always others prepared to take over. Every Communist is supposed to be able to rise to the occasion and take over leadership if necessary.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you believe from your experience that the Communist Party should be outlawed in its activities?

Mrs. MARKWARD. That is a debatable question. Due to the fact that it is so very underground now, I don't know that outlawing it would change the situation very much.

Mr. JACKSON. The argument has been advanced that to outlaw the party would drive it underground.

Mrs. MARKWARD. The McCarran Act, which was to require them to register, I believe, had the same effect as outlawing the party. I am not completely acquainted with that act or with any of the others which are proposed. This is just a quick explanation.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you very much, Mrs. Markward. I would like to join with other members of the committee in expressing my thanks to you for the very splendid and the very valuable work you have performed on behalf of the country.

There is perhaps nothing in the world that is more difficult to do than to cut oneself off from friends and associates, and from the sort of life one has led theretofore, and I certainly believe that not only this committee but 150 million Americans owe you a very great debt of gratitude, and I congratulate you upon the very splendid work you have done.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter.

Mr. POTTER. Mrs. Markward, I have been interested in knowing the reaction by your friends and your relatives to you personally after you became involved and associated with the Communist movement. What was their reaction to you as an individual?

Mrs. MARKWARD. Actually, it was pretty much according to what their reaction was to me before I took up the activity. If they liked me and had any regard for me, from what I could tell, most of them could not believe I was a Communist, and I never did try to influence any person outside of the persons I met within the Communist organization. I was a very good Communist with them, but did not try to influence people not already under the influence of the party.

The people who didn't have much confidence in me anyway, I understand, have been denouncing me, but I never had anyone face me and say "You are a Communist" and try to do something about it.

Mr. POTTER. I would imagine it was quite trying on your husband, this association. I assume he knew of your association?

Mrs. MARKWARD. He did, and I think he deserves perhaps more credit than I do. I at least was interested in what I was doing, and he was facing all the hardships of lack of association with friends, and the gossip, and so forth, and he certainly has been of great assistance to me. I am sure I could not have carried forward what I was doing if he had not cooperated with me in everything I did so well.

Mr. POTTER. You know, in a field of battle, a person who performs heroic service is honored by his country by receiving medals of various kinds denoting honor, and I think that the service that you have performed for your country merits any award on the same basis and in the same rank as a man who performs heroic service on the battlefield. The committee and the country are greatly indebted to you for your service.

Mrs. MARKWARD. Thank you.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Counsel, do you have further questions at this time?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Permit me to join with the other members of the committee in expressing to you my very deep appreciation for your coming here and giving us this information.

Following the usual rule of this committee, I would like to make the announcement that there have been some names mentioned in the course of this testimony of individuals as being connected with the Communist Party or the Communist movement, particularly in this area, and each and every one of them is invited to come before this committee and make such response thereto as he or she may desire.

With our very sincere thanks to you, Mrs. Markward, you may be excused from further attendance on the committee unless you are later called to come back.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest she be released subject to call, but not discharged.

Mr. WOOD. That is what I said. You are excused temporarily, until such time as you may be notified to come back, if that happens; and, should you change your address, I would appreciate your keeping the staff informed.

Mrs. MARKWARD. I will, sir.

[Applause from audience.]

Mr. WOOD. On account of the late hour, Mr. Counsel, I think we will not take another witness today, and the committee will stand at recess until 10:30 in the morning.

(Thereupon, at 4:20 p. m. on Wednesday, July 11, 1951, an adjournment was taken until 10:30 a. m. Thursday, July 12, 1951.)

HEARINGS RELATING TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE DEFENSE AREA OF BALTIMORE—PART 1

(Based on Testimony of Mary Stalcup Markward)

TUESDAY, JUNE 19, 1951

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

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities continued the hearing on the above date, at 3:30 p. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.¹

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Morgan M. Maulder, Clyde Doyle, James B. Frazier, Jr., and Charles E. Potter (appearance noted in record).

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. Wood. Whom do you have, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Herbert Kransdorf.

Mr. Wood. Will the witness stand and be sworn. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I do.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I notice there is not a quorum of the committee present.

Mr. Wood. We are operating under a subcommittee.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. We wish the record to show we are proceeding under protest due to the absence of a quorum.

Mr. KRANSDORF. Mr. Chairman, I have a statement I would like to read.

Mr. Wood. You may file your statement with the committee.

(The statement referred to was filed with the committee.)

TESTIMONY OF HERBERT KRANSDORF, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, MAURICE BRAVERMAN

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name?

Mr. KRANSDORF. Herbert Kransdorf.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I am.

¹ Testimony of the preceding witness heard by the Committee on Un-American Activities on this day, Walter McManamon, is printed in another volume under same main title, pt. 3.

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

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Maurice Braverman, 119 West Mulberry Street, Baltimore, Md. I am a member of the Maryland bar.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Kransdorf, when and where were you born?

Mr. KRANSDORF. New York City, N. Y., May 17, 1917.

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

Mr. KRANSDORF. High-school graduate.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee how you have been employed since that time?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you graduate from high school?

Mr. KRANSDORF. Around the middle 1930's.

Mr. TAVENNER. Around the middle 1930's.

Mr. KRANSDORF. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live now?

Mr. KRANSDORF. 648 West One Hundred and Sixtieth Street, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever live in Baltimore?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean the fact you may have lived at one time in your life in Baltimore would likely subject you to criminal prosecution?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you desire the committee to seriously consider your claim, will you state to the committee some reason or some basis for your contention that your association with the city of Baltimore might subject you to criminal prosecution, because it would be the committee's function, I take it, to determine whether or not it would incriminate you.

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me. However, I have the highest regard for the city of Baltimore and its institutions and people. I am also aware of my rights under the Constitution, particularly the fifth amendment, to refuse to answer questions which I feel may incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in New York City?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been employed by the National Maritime Union?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me, and I resent the intrusion of questions relating to my union activities.

Mr. WOOD. Just answer the questions asked you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take part in a radio program on April 2, 1947, over radio station WFBR in Baltimore, Md., in which you were interviewed by Mrs. Dorothy Rose Blumberg, educational director of the Communist Party of the city of Baltimore?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Mr. Frankfeld also on the same program?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you introduced in that radio program as city chairman of the Communist Party for Baltimore?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me, and other questions along that line which I cannot answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Kransdorf, I hand you a photostatic copy of a letter signed by Dorothy Rose Blumberg, secretary-treasurer of the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia, dated February 25, 1946.

The first paragraph of this letter, as you will note, refers to an enlarged session of the regular district committee meeting to be held March 3, 1946. Did you attend the district committee meeting on March 3, 1946?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

(Representative Charles E. Potter entered hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Kransdorf, according to information in the possession of the committee, there was circulated in 1946 among certain members of the Communist Party of the city of Baltimore a breakdown of the membership of the Communist Party for Baltimore City, giving the names of the various Communist Party cells and their membership, and the standing of the membership as to payment of dues as of March 1, 1946, which I desire to read into the record and use as the basis of further questioning.

The figures that I will cite represent the registered membership as of March 1, 1946, of the following units or clubs or cells of the Communist Party:

Youth.....	20	AFL.....	17
Tom Paine.....	57	Steel.....	22
Fred Douglas.....	24	Ship.....	20
Lincoln.....	39	Seaman.....	29
Dorie Miller.....	31	Longshore.....	9
Dundalk.....	12	White Collar.....	77
Liberty.....	10	Unassigned.....	13
Unity.....	39		
Foster.....	15	Total.....	434

The committee is also in possession of information that at that time, March 1, 1946, you were a functionary in the Communist Party in Baltimore.

Will you examine that list and state whether or not it is, according to your recollection, a list that was circulated?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you identify the chairmen of the respective units or cells named in the circular?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me, and I certainly do not intend to allow myself to be a stool pigeon before this committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. As you will note, the last item states there are 13 unassigned individuals. What is meant by the term "unassigned"?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at one time city chairman of the Communist Party for the city of Baltimore?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you presently employed in any manner by the Communist Party?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you presently employed?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

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

Mr. WOOD. I am not sure I got your answer correctly. Do you mean to say you decline to answer a question as to what your present employment is on the grounds it may tend to incriminate you?

Mr. KRANSDORF. My answer was, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WOOD. You understood the question was as to your present employment?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I understood the question perfectly.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Where did you reside in Baltimore in 1946?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. What were your duties in connection with the National Maritime Union in Baltimore in 1946?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you a married man?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I am.

Mr. DOYLE. What is your answer?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I am.

Mr. DOYLE. What is your wife's name?

Mr. KRANSDORF. Jean.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you any children?

Mr. KRANSDORF. Two.

Mr. DOYLE. What are their names and ages?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Are your children of school age? Do they go to school?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me, and I wouldn't care to have my children or their names brought into this discussion here. I consider my family life is my own personal private property.

Mr. DOYLE. What organizations are you a member of, if any?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you a member of the Elks?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you a member of any church of any denomination; if so, what one?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you a member of any labor organization; if so, what one?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me, particularly today when even membership in a labor union becomes grounds for victimization. That has been the line of this committee.

Mr. WOOD. I would like you to confine your answers to the questions asked. The committee is not concerned with your opinions. It is concerned with the facts.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand from your answer with reference to Baltimore and where you resided there in 1946, that you believe giving the address where you resided in 1946 might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. KRANSDORF. That was my answer, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. How old are you?

Mr. KRANSDORF. Thirty-four.

Mr. DOYLE. Where were you born?

Mr. KRANSDORF. New York City, N. Y.

Mr. DOYLE. Where? What address?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I don't remember the address now. It was some hospital.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you ever know it?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I might have known it some years ago. I don't know it now.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you employed at this time? I am not asking you where. I am asking if you are employed.

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you ever been a member of any organized labor committee or group?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you ever been an officer in any organized labor group?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you ever attended night school of any sort since you finished your high-school course?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. You understand my question?

Mr. KRANSDORF. Perfectly.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you attended any educational institution since you graduated from high school, by going to night classes?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Frazier.

Mr. FRAZIER. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. FRAZIER. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to put in evidence the release referred to, and ask that it be marked "exhibit 1."

Mr. WOOD. Let it be admitted.

(The paper above referred to, marked "exhibit 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter.

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Kransdorf, you seek the protection of the fifth amendment when asked the question: Are you a member of the Communist Party? You realize, of course, that there is no necessity for seeking the protection of the fifth amendment if you are not a member of the Communist Party; not only is there no necessity, but it would be illegal to utilize the fifth amendment if you are not a member, because there would be no self-incrimination. You are cognizant of that fact?

Mr. KRANSDORF. What was that question again?

Mr. POTTER. If you are not a member of the Communist Party, when asked the question, "Are you a member of the Communist Party," not only would there be no necessity of utilizing the fifth amendment, but it would be illegal to utilize the fifth amendment, because there would be no self-incrimination if you were not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KRANSDORF. I am not at all sure of that point. It is rather involved. However, I am fully aware of my constitutional rights, and am well aware of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and am aware that whether or not I did admit membership, the committee here does not limit itself to any one group or organization or members of any one particular party, but seems to—

Mr. POTTER. When we ask the question, "Are you a member of the Communist Party," it seems to me it is very limited.

Mr. KRANSDORF. I answered the best way I could.

Mr. POTTER. I wanted to be sure you were fully aware of your answer. You claim you are a man 34 years of age. I assume that you were in the fight against nazism during the last war?

(The witness and his counsel conferred.)

Mr. POTTER. Do you care to answer my question?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Will you repeat the question?

Mr. POTTER. Were you in the fight against nazism during the last war?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I was.

Mr. POTTER. I assume you were in the service?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I was.

Mr. POTTER. If you were called today to fight communism in Korea, would you heed the call of your country and assume that responsibility that is yours?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me. However, I think my record in the past war against nazism more than indicates my loyalty to my country and its institutions.

Mr. POTTER. And you would fight as hard against communism as you fought against nazism in the last war?

Mr. KRANSDORF. My answer is the same, that I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me. I think the question is intended to get me to say something on a hypothetical question.

Mr. POTTER. If you were called to fight in Korea, would you go and fight the Communist forces in Korea?

Mr. KRANSDORF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me, and I consider that my loyalty to my country and its people speaks for itself.

Mr. POTTER. I can't see that it speaks for itself if you wouldn't fight for our country in Korea. That loyalty is pretty flighty as far as I am concerned.

Mr. KRANSDORF. I stand by my previous answer.

Mr. POTTER. No further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why this witness should not be excused?

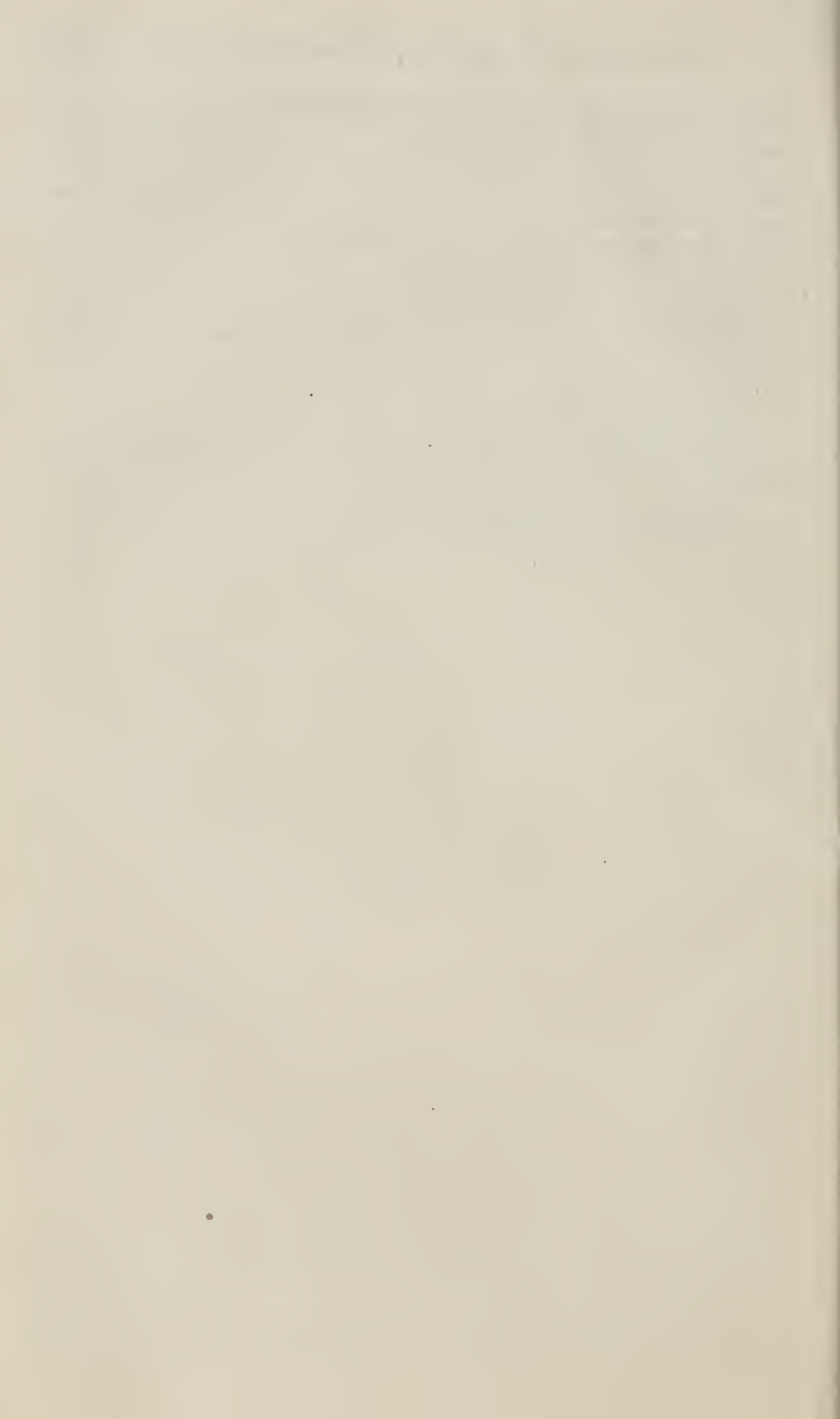
Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. He may be excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. WOOD. Until 10 o'clock in the morning, the committee stands adjourned.

(Thereupon, at 4:05 p. m. on Tuesday, June 19, 1951, an adjournment was taken until Wednesday, June 20, 1951, at 10 a. m.)



HEARINGS RELATING TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE DEFENSE AREA OF BALTIMORE—PART 1

(Based on Testimony of Mary Stalcup Markward)

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20, 1951

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

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities continued the hearing on the above date at 3 p. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.¹

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Clyde Doyle, and Donald L. Jackson.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; John W. Carington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WOOD. Will you call the witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Mike Howard.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Howard, will you hold up your right hand and be sworn, please. Do you solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HOWARD. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL HOWARD, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, MAURICE BRAVERMAN

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

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I notice that there is not a quorum present. I wish to make an objection to the absence of a quorum.

Mr. WOOD. There is a quorum here. In fact, the whole subcommittee is here. We are operating under a subcommittee composed of Messrs. Doyle, Jackson, and myself. We are all here.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I would like to make an objection for the sake of the record and state that we are proceeding under protest due to the lack of a quorum of the full committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Howard, what is your full name?

¹ Testimony of the preceding witnesses heard by the Committee on Un-American Activities on this day, Irving Dvorin and Milton Unterman, is printed in another volume under same main title, pt. 3.

Mr. HOWARD. Michael Howard.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. HOWARD. I am.

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

Mr. BRAVERMAN. I am Maurice Braverman, 119 West Mulberry Street, Baltimore 1, Md. I am a member of the Maryland bar.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Howard, when and where were you born?

Mr. HOWARD. New York City, N. Y., February 12, 1915.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state briefly your educational background, please?

Mr. HOWARD. I had about 2 years of college training.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you outline your employment record?

Mr. HOWARD. I have been a steelworker the past 10 years, then I have had odd jobs covering about 3 more years of work in steel mills.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was your work performed in the steel mills during the past 10 years?

Mr. HOWARD. At the Bethlehem Steel Co. in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where are you living now?

Mr. HOWARD. In Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you engaged in work at the Bethlehem Steel Co. at this time?

Mr. HOWARD. Up until yesterday I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by that?

Mr. HOWARD. I don't know whether I have a job to go back to as a result of being called before this committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have not been notified of any discharge or any termination of your services?

Mr. HOWARD. No; I haven't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then so far as you know you are employed now at the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HOWARD (after conferring with his counsel). That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the nature of your employment with the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HOWARD. I am a second helper.

Mr. TAVENNER. Describe that a little more in detail.

Mr. HOWARD. My job is to prepare the metalloids that go into the steel to meet the customer's analysis, to see that they are properly weighed, broken up into the appropriate size for proper melting, placed where they are in the proper places; to tap the furnace when the steel is ready; and to help put the metalloids and alloys into the ladle as the steel is going into the ladle; and other duties connected with that job.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first become employed at Bethlehem Steel Co. in Baltimore?

Mr. HOWARD. In July 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you living just prior to your employment there? Were you living in Baltimore?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had you lived in Baltimore prior to your employment?

Mr. HOWARD. Roughly, about 10 years. I don't know exactly off-hand.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed before 1942?

Mr. HOWARD. I had a number of jobs. I was a sign painter for a while. I was a steelworker in another plant for a while. I was a shipyard worker for a while. Anything I could pick up to earn a living.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Howard, the committee is in possession of information that there existed at the Bethlehem Steel Corp. a cell or club of the Communist Party. Do you know whether such a cell does exist at the Bethlehem Steel Corp., or did exist?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mr. Frank Pinter, employed at Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time served on the State or city committee of the Communist Party from Baltimore?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Mr. Frank Pinter has at any time served on the State or city committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Mr. Phil Gran, G-r-a-n, employed by the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know if Mr. Gran at any time served on the State or city committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Levy Williamson, employed by Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know if he served at any time on the State or city committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Aaron Ostrofsky, O-s-t-r-o-f-s-k-y?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he is employed at the Bethlehem Steel Corp. plant?

Mr. HOWARD. Who is that?

Mr. TAVENNER. Aaron Ostrofsky. Do you know whether or not Aaron Ostrofsky is employed by the Bethelalem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HOWARD (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. Do I understand you to say that to tell whether or not you know that such and such a person is employed by Bethlehem Steel is a matter of possible self-incrimination; that it would subject

you to criminal charges if you admitted that you know that this man is employed by Bethlehem Steel? Is that your contention?

Mr. HOWARD. I am sorry. This photographer is distracting me.

Mr. WOOD. By the way, do you object to being photographed?

Mr. HOWARD. No. I am trying to see Mr. Jackson and the photographer is in the way.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Now would you repeat the question?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes. You have pleaded possible self-incrimination in refusing to answer a question as to whether you know that a certain person works for Bethlehem Steel.

Mr. HOWARD. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it your contention that you would subject yourself to possible criminal prosecution if you admitted that you know that a person works for Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. HOWARD. I am making no contention. I am acting on advice of counsel.

Mr. JACKSON. On what grounds do you refuse to answer?

Mr. HOWARD. On the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. It might tend to incriminate you on a criminal charge if you admit you know this individual is an employee of Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. HOWARD. You are putting words in my mouth.

Mr. JACKSON. No, I am not. What are the grounds?

Mr. HOWARD. I am simply acting on counsel's advice, which I have confidence in. What I am subject to, I don't know.

Mr. WOOD. When you say you are claiming protection under the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution, on the grounds your answer would subject you to self-incrimination, are you basing that on advice you got from counsel, or on your own opinion?

(Witness proceeds to confer with his counsel.)

Mr. WOOD. I would like to have your answer to that.

Mr. HOWARD. May I confer with counsel? I have had a number of conferences with counsel.

Mr. WOOD. You have a right to confer with him, but I would appreciate very much having that information from you rather than from your counsel, because your counsel has been before this committee too, and was given the same privilege.

Mr. HOWARD. Counsel is representing me, and I insist upon my right to confer with him.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOOD. Is it your opinion that you would be subjected to self-incrimination if you answered the question that has been asked you?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Or is it your counsel's advice?

Mr. HOWARD. When the nature of the question asked is not quite clear to me, I seek counsel's advice.

Mr. WOOD. Then it is your own view?

Mr. HOWARD. My own view.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Howard, are you required to sign a non-Communist affidavit in connection with membership in your union?

Mr. HOWARD. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Mr. Aaron Ostrofsky has signed a non-Communist affidavit with the Steelworkers' local?

Mr. HOWARD. That would be beyond my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is the committee's information that he has signed such an affidavit. Do you know anything of the circumstances under which he signed the affidavit?

Mr. HOWARD. No, sir; not a thing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not Mr. Ostrofsky resigned from the Communist Party before signing the affidavit?

Mr. HOWARD (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he was advised by the Communist Party or members of the Communist Party regarding the signing of the non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your local union, that is, the local union to which you belong?

Mr. HOWARD. Local 2610, United Steelworkers of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. 2610. Is that the same local as that to which Mr. Aaron Ostrofsky belongs?

Mr. HOWARD. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the number of your local?

Mr. HOWARD. 2610.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many locals of the Steelworkers' union are in that plant, do you know?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes. There are two locals in the plant, plus a railroad local, all of which are affiliated.

Mr. TAVENNER. But there are only two Steelworkers' locals?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Do you know the number of the other one?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, sir; 2609.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know which of the locals Mr. Aaron Ostrofsky is a member of?

Mr. HOWARD (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are not an officer in your local union, are you?

Mr. HOWARD. No; I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what the bylaws and the constitution of your local provide as to the signing of a non-Communist affidavit on the part of officers of your local?

Mr. HOWARD. No. I haven't seen a copy of the latest bylaws.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the provision with regard to the non-Communist affidavit in the last copy of the bylaws and constitution which you did see?

Mr. HOWARD. The last copy I saw had nothing in it about non-Communist affidavits.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Joe Henderson employed by Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with John Goodell while he was employed by the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer on the same grounds mentioned previously.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Robert W. Lee, formerly an organizer for the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers, presently employed by Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HOWARD (after conferring with his counsel). I must refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WOOD. It isn't what you must do, because you are under no compulsion here. What do you do? Do you decline to answer?

Mr. HOWARD. I do, sir.

Mr. WOOD. I want to modify that statement. You are under no compulsion here. I accept the compulsion of your oath.

Mr. HOWARD. I understand that.

Mr. WOOD. And under that you decline to answer?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Howard, I noticed when counsel asked you that question you then conferred with your counsel, which, of course, is your privilege, and you didn't answer the question until after you conferred with your counsel, which you always have the privilege of doing. I take it from that, that your answer was as a result of your conference with your counsel; or was it your own independent opinion?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if I may—

Mr. DOYLE. Are you relying on legal advice, or what is the basis of your opinion?

Mr. BRAVERMAN. May I object?

Mr. WOOD. Let the witness answer.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course you have the right to legal counsel also. I noticed you did not answer that question until you first had consulted with counsel.

Now I am asking you, is your answer that you just gave the result of your conference with counsel, which you have a right to have, or is it your own independent opinion that you might incriminate yourself by saying whether or not this particular man asked about is an employee of Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. HOWARD. There is an inference in your question, Mr. Doyle, that has me stopped. Whatever answer I give is my own independent judgment. I may seek counsel's advice from time to time; however, I don't want the committee here to get the impression that counsel is telling me what to say, but I seek counsel's advice from time to time when I am in doubt as to the nature of the question or the way to formulate my reply. That is all I am giving you here, my own independent judgment.

Mr. DOYLE. This man about whom our counsel has asked you, is he to your knowledge a man of bad reputation or ill repute so that you are afraid to identify him as a person you know, or to identify him as to where he works? If that is your own independent answer, you can just state it. In what way would your statement as to whether or not you know if this man about whom our counsel has asked you is working at Bethlehem Steel involve you in possible self-incrimination?

Mr. HOWARD. I disagree with you, sir. I think it will, or it might.

Mr. DOYLE. I am not urging you to waive your right.

Mr. HOWARD. I understand exactly how you put the question, and perhaps under happier circumstances I might have some other repl-

but in this particular case I can't see any other answer to make and still protect my own interests.

Mr. DOYLE. All right. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mike Clifford?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Pete Forrest?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not Sam Gordon was a member of the State or city committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Irving Winkler employed by Bethlehem Steel Corp. and by Rustless Steel Corp.?

Mr. HOWARD (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that my answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Howard Bernard Silverberg, S-i-l-v-e-r-b-e-r-g, employed by Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Mr. Howard Bernard Silverberg has been active as a functionary of the Baltimore County Committee for Peace?

Mr. HOWARD (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you associated in any way with the Baltimore County Committee for Peace?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. How would it tend to incriminate you to be associated with or affiliated with the Baltimore County Committee for Peace? What is the basis for your statement? The committee is entitled to know the general nature of your claim if you are to be permitted to claim the fifth amendment as grounds for your refusal to answer.

Mr. HOWARD. Well, I refuse to answer your second question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been connected in any way with the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Mr. HOWARD (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What part has the Communist Party or members of the Communist Party played in the creation and in the work of either of these organizations, that is, the Baltimore County Committee for Peace or the Maryland Committee for Peace, if any?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have asked you about the names of a number of persons employed in Bethlehem Steel Corp. Do you know the name of the president of Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HOWARD. The president of the corporation?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Who is the president of Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HOWARD. You have got me. It used to be Mr. Grace, but he has stepped down, and I don't know the name of the president now.

Mr. JACKSON. What was the name?

Mr. HOWARD. Eugene Grace. He stepped down last year.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you know Mr. Grace?

Mr. HOWARD. I never had the pleasure of meeting him.

Mr. JACKSON. There is no self-incrimination in knowing Mr. Grace?

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the name of your superior at the plant? You said you were second helper?

Mr. HOWARD. Second helper; yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is the first helper?

Mr. HOWARD. I think you are under a misapprehension.

Mr. TAVENNER. That may be, because I know nothing about the organization of the work there. Who is your supervisor, your superior?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOOD. Let's get along.

Mr. HOWARD. Too long?

Mr. WOOD. No. Let's get along. You were simply asked who your supervisor is.

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WOOD. You think that might be doing him an injustice?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, sir. I am not offering that as a justification for my refusal, but I certainly think it might be doing him an injustice.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you have a paymaster at Bethlehem Steel, or a pay office, where you get your pay? Who is the head of that department, do you know? Who is your paymaster?

Mr. HOWARD. I wouldn't know, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Who is the superintendent of the entire plant, do you know?

Mr. HOWARD. We have a plant manager.

Mr. DOYLE. Who is the plant manager?

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Clark.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know his first name?

Mr. HOWARD. No; I don't.

Mr. DOYLE. Why don't you claim the privilege of self-incrimination in giving his name? He is employed by the same company by which you are employed. Wouldn't it incriminate you just as much, in your own mind, to give his name as an employee of the company as to give the name of your own supervisor?

Mr. HOWARD. I am sorry to go over this point again and again. I see your reasons for asking the question, but I must insist that my reasons for refusing to answer on the grounds that I might incriminate myself are reasons which seem sufficient to me.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course you are entitled to have those reasons, but I am trying, as one man to another, to understand why in this instance you are not claiming the privilege of the Constitution and are giving the name of Mr. Clark, but you claimed the privilege when we asked the name of your supervisor. They are both employed by the company.

Mr. HOWARD. I ask your indulgence. There is a difference in my mind.

Mr. JACKSON. I don't think we should leave the supervisor in a state of suspended animation. I respectfully suggest that perhaps you are doing him more damage than not by refusing to give us his name.

Mr. HOWARD. I didn't refuse to answer in order to shield my foreman. I refused to answer on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me. However, I thought there was another question directed to me as to whether I thought it might be an injustice to him, and I thought it might be. But my refusal to answer had nothing to do with shielding or protecting my foreman.

Mr. JACKSON. I say you are perhaps doing an injustice to your supervisor, inadvertently, by leaving this suggestion that any connection between the two of you would have the effect of incriminating him.

Let me put another question: Is your supervisor, to the best of your knowledge, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. I can certainly see where it could tend to incriminate the supervisor, but I can't see how it would tend to incriminate you. I have no further question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Sam Fox, formerly assistant business agent of local 43 of the shipworkers, and later an organizer for the United Furniture Workers?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Isidore Schwartz serve at any time on the State or city committee of the Communist Party in Baltimore?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Max Weinstock, an organizer for the Furniture Workers?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Ruth Bleier, B-l-e-i-e-r, head of the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Thelma Gerende, G-e-r-e-n-d-e?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Louis Shub, S-h-u-b?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Gunther Wertheimer?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Alfred MacPherson serve at any time on the city or State committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Steve Sebo, S-e-b-o, employed by Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he served at any time on the State or city committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Selma Weiss¹ serve on the State or city committee of the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mrs. Alverta Parnell²?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she serve at any time on the State or city committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Howard, I show you a photostat of a letter dated February 25, 1946, signed by Dorothy Rose Blumberg, secretary-treasurer of the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia. You will notice from the first paragraph of Mrs. Blumberg's letter that the Communist Party was to hold an enlarged session of the regular district committee meeting on March 3, 1946. I would like to ask you if you received a copy of that letter?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend the March 3, 1946, rally of the Communist Party?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee is in possession of information that at a May Day rally on May 1, 1946, at 1029 East Baltimore Street, that you were present and engaged in the rally. Is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that you worked in various jobs and positions. Did you ever work for the United States Government?

Mr. HOWARD. No, sir.

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

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Howard, at the beginning of your testimony, when you were asked what your present employment was, you expressed some misgiving as to whether you were still employed. I have been a little curious as to whether that misgiving you indicated is predicated on the fact you were subpoenaed by this committee, or the testimony you give before this committee? Is it your thought that this com-

¹ See footnote, p. —.

² See footnote, p. —.

mittee is complete anathema to the officials of Bethlehem Steel, so that a man subpoenaed before the committee jeopardizes his job, or is it the nature of your testimony which gave you the misgiving?

Mr. HOWARD. Reading the first release to the press on either Monday or Tuesday morning, it was a clear invitation for employers to fire employees who were labeled as Communists by this committee; with the additional remark in this release that this committee was going to stand on its legal immunity in connection with those charges, which I interpreted as a clear invitation to employers to fire anyone appearing before this committee and answering in such a way as not to please this committee, without any evidence as to that person's identification.

Mr. WOOD. For your information, I will state to you that the only release this committee has made was made by the chairman concerning these hearings, and that was that we were going to conduct investigations into Communist infiltration into areas in the vicinity of Baltimore. That was all that there was in the release. It was a very brief release.

Obviously, we can't conduct an investigation without subpoenaing witnesses. Is it your thought that any witness subpoenaed should come here with the assumption he would be discharged by his employer?

Mr. HOWARD. I am not assuming anything. My employer might act in accordance with the obvious inference in the press release I read in the Baltimore Sun.

Mr. WOOD. Do you think your employer would be more interested in the release, or in the testimony you give here, or refuse to give? Which would be the more impressive?

Mr. HOWARD. I should think my 10 years of service would be the thing on which he would make the decision.

Mr. WOOD. Assuming your employers are loyal American citizens and do not believe in the philosophy of communism in government, don't you believe they would be more interested in what a man said or refused to say under oath as a witness than in what a press release said?

Mr. HOWARD (after conferring with his counsel). Mr. Wood, I really am totally ignorant of what my employers' reactions will be or what they will base their decision on. I hope for the best. I hope I do have a job when I get back.

Mr. WOOD. That is not responsive to the question I asked you. The question I asked you was, proceeding upon the hypothesis that your employers are loyal American citizens and do not believe in the philosophy of communism as an agency in government, proceeding on this hypothesis, don't you believe they would be more interested in what a witness said or refused to say under oath before this committee than in what a press release said?

Mr. HOWARD. I understand your question and I still say I don't know.

Mr. WOOD. I hope you will at least do this committee the fairness to refrain from leaving an inference, as you have sought to do here, that you have been badgered into making statements that you preferred not to make, because you have been shown every courtesy.

Mr. HOWARD. I certainly haven't been badgered into making any statements I didn't want to make.

Mr. WOOD. I know of no more courteous way in which a man could be questioned than the way in which counsel for this committee has questioned you.

Mr. HOWARD. I concur in that.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions?

Mr. JACKSON. Upon the appearance of these press releases to which you took exception, did you deny in any way to the press or to this committee any inference that might be left from those press releases? Did you take occasion to deny them in any way?

Mr. HOWARD. There was no occasion to deny any inference I may have had from the press release.

Mr. JACKSON. You took no action?

Mr. HOWARD. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any reason to believe there is an international Communist organization or conspiracy, as some prefer to call it? Do your own thoughts and logic lead you to any conclusion in that regard?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOOD. Is there any comment you desire to make in connection with the question that has just been asked?

Mr. HOWARD. I feel that the question is asking me for a personal opinion which is not subject to inquiry by this committee. However, I am willing to stand on my right to refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. You do refuse to answer?

Mr. HOWARD. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any reason to believe there is an organized Communist movement in this country?

Mr. HOWARD. I must refuse to answer that question. I do refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you know of any organized Communist cell or apparatus within the Bethlehem Steel plant?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you consider an individual Communist to be an agent of a foreign conspiracy, or a loyal American citizen?

Mr. HOWARD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you believe a Communist should be permitted to have employment in a United States defense plant working on prime or subcontracts?

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Jackson, aren't you invading a very personal liberty of mine?

Mr. JACKSON. If you don't wish to answer, so state.

Mr. HOWARD. I have tried to answer every question to the best of my ability. I do feel this is an invasion of my personal liberty to think my own thoughts.

Mr. JACKSON. The end goal of this committee is to seek such information, opinion, and otherwise, as to enable it to intelligently legislate against subversive activities. So opinions are very important, opinions of people who are in position to make an evaluation of communism. Therefore I think that an opinion on your part, if you care to give it, is extremely important. If you don't wish to give it, you have your constitutional right.

Mr. HOWARD. If I don't care to give my opinion?

Mr. JACKSON. That is perfectly all right.

Mr. HOWARD. I don't think this is the time or place to discuss this thing.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you bear arms for this country in the Korean action now under way if you were inducted into service?

Mr. HOWARD. Certainly.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you report sabotage on the part of any person in the Bethlehem Steel plant who came under your sight, to the FBI, United States marshal, or other responsible official within the plant?

Mr. HOWARD. I certainly would do everything in my power to prevent sabotage and to turn such a person over to proper authorities.

Mr. JACKSON. You would immediately turn over to proper authorities any person you saw doing any unlawful act?

Mr. HOWARD. What do you mean by unlawful act?

Mr. JACKSON. Any act intended to wreck machinery or unlawfully slow down production.

Mr. HOWARD. I wish you would keep it to sabotage. There is a lot of horseplay which is not deliberate sabotage.

Mr. JACKSON. I am speaking of sabotage.

Mr. HOWARD. My answer to that is "Yes."

Mr. JACKSON. Any indication of sabotage you would report immediately?

Mr. HOWARD. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. If you were called to bear arms, would you bear arms in good faith for your country?

Mr. HOWARD. If I were called upon I would act as any ordinary citizen.

Mr. WOOD. Would you in good faith bear arms for your country?

Mr. HOWARD. I would.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will stand at recess until 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 4:10 p. m. on Wednesday, June 20, 1951, a recess was taken until Thursday, June 21, 1951, at 11 a. m.)

HEARINGS RELATING TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE DEFENSE AREA OF BALTIMORE—PART 1

(Based on Testimony of Mary Stalcup Markward)

THURSDAY, JUNE 21, 1951

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

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 11 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, Clyde Doyle (appearance as noted in transcript), James B. Frazier, Jr. (appearance as noted in transcript), Bernard W. Kearney (appearance as noted in transcript), Donald L. Jackson, and Charles E. Potter.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk, and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. Wood. The committee will be in order, please.

For the purposes of this hearing let the record disclose that I have set up a subcommittee composed of Messrs. Walter, Jackson, Potter, and Wood, who are all present.

Before calling the first witness I would like to make a little announcement.

The staff of this committee has been in contact with Gen. Charles A. Willoughby over a period of more than a year relating to the activities of American citizens in connection with Communist activities in the Far East, with particular emphasis upon their association with Richard Sorge.

On April 28, 1951, a subpoena was issued upon him for his appearance as a witness to appear before this committee on these subjects and for the production of certain records before the committee.

General Willoughby agreed to appear and accepted service of the subpoena.

Following this, General Willoughby advised the committee that he would like to spend some time at this home in New York before appearing in response to the subpoena.

The committee agreed to this. However, I was advised this morning that General Willoughby has been served with a subpoena by a Senate committee, and I am, therefore, setting the date for General Willoughby's appearance before this committee as June 28, 1951.

Who is the first witness this morning, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Joseph Henderson.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Henderson, will you stand, raise your right hand, and be sworn, please?

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

Mr. HENDERSON. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat.

Mr. BUCHMAN. First I would like to enter a protest as to the absence of a quorum of the committee, sir. I note that for the record.

Mr. WOOD. The full subcommittee is present.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH P. HENDERSON, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, HAROLD BUCHMAN

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

Mr. HENDERSON. Joseph P. Henderson.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are represented by counsel, I assume?

Mr. HENDERSON. I am.

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

Mr. BUCHMAN. Harold Buchman, 213 Tower Building, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Henderson, when and where were you born?

Mr. HENDERSON. Halifax County, Va., July 26, 1912.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational background?

Mr. HENDERSON. Eighth grade.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now live?

Mr. HENDERSON. 725 North Avondale Road, Baltimore County, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Baltimore County?

Mr. HENDERSON. It will be 6 years in July—sometime in July 1945. (Representative Bernard W. Kearney entered hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to July 1945, where did you reside?

Mr. HENDERSON. In Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Washington?

Mr. HENDERSON. D. C.

Mr. WOOD. Let the record show the presence of Mr. Kearney.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live in Washington?

Mr. HENDERSON (after conferring with his counsel). Approximately 4 or 4½ years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, how were you employed when you were a resident of Washington?

Mr. HENDERSON (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the ground that the answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WOOD. Will you speak a little louder so we can hear you up here?

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, when did you move to Baltimore?

Mr. HENDERSON. In July of 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. What employment did you have in Baltimore at that time, at the time you moved there?

Mr. HENDERSON (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

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

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time a member of the State committee of the Communist Party, which is the governing body of district No. 4, encompassing Maryland and the District of Columbia?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you hold membership in or do you have a policy with the International Workers' Order?

Mr. HENDERSON (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee is in possession of information indicating that you attended a meeting of the Communist Party at Communist Party headquarters, 201 West Franklin Street, Baltimore, where plans were discussed regarding the operation of the bookshop and also plans were discussed for the May Day rally which was to be held on May 1, 1946.

This meeting is alleged to have occurred on April 22, 1946. Were you present at such a meeting?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state whether or not any of the following-named persons, to your knowledge, were present on April 22, 1946, at the Communist Party headquarters, 201 West Franklin Street, Baltimore? That is in the year 1946, April 22.

Bill Taylor?¹

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Phil Frankfeld?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Belva Dean?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as given before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dorothy Rose Blumberg?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Connie Jackson?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Kay Burton?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Bernie Burton?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Jean Kransdorf?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

¹ In 1946, Bill Taylor resided in Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. Margaret McCadden?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Whitey Goodfriend?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time present at a meeting of the Communist Party at which there was a discussion of the action that should be taken regarding the disbanding of Steel Clubs of the Communist Party which included the employees at Bethlehem Steel and Ship Clubs in the Bethlehem Shipyards and the splitting of this membership into clubs known as Lincoln Club, the Highlandtown Club, and the Liberty Club?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

(Representatives Clyde Doyle and James B. Frazier, Jr., entered hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you a photostatic copy of a letter signed by Dorothy Rose Blumberg, secretary-treasurer of the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia, dated February 25, 1946. The first paragraph of this letter refers to an enlarged section of the regular district committee meeting to be held on May 3, 1946.

Will you examine the letter and state whether or not you received a copy of it?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to ask you whether or not, to your knowledge, any of the following named persons attended the meeting of March 3, 1946, which was called by this letter of February 25, signed by Dorothy Rose Blumberg, secretary-treasurer of the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia.

Albert Blumberg?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dorothy Blumberg?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Connie Jackson?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Maurice Braverman?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tom Conner?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Pete Forrest?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Lew Gilbert?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Sam Gordon?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Phil Gran?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Herbert Hall?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. A. McPherson?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Milton Newman?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Bill Taylor?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I may give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Incidentally, was Bill Taylor present at the meeting of April 22, 1946, which was held at 201 West Franklin Street, Baltimore?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Boyd Coleman?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Whitey Goodfriend?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. and Mrs. Parnell?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Andy Moreland?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Jimmy Branca?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where Jimmy Branca lived, whether it was in Washington or Baltimore?

Mr. HENDERSON (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Gus Alexiou?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Elizabeth Searle?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Virginia Gardner?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds as stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Bill Johnson?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mike Howard?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Gladys Whittaker?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as stated previously.

Mr. TAVENNER. Minnie Stambler?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Henry Fink?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might make might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. John Horsey?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds as stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Bob Meyers?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Jean Coppack?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Elva Lannon?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not Elva Lannon is the wife of Al Lannon?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tom Keenan?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Martin Dean?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. and Mrs. Frank Pinter?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Jorge Seigal?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Alice Milborne?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as given before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Claire Newman?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Carrie Saunders?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Joe Shill?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Jake and Rena Kline?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Grayson Ponder?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Robert Brenner?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Hy Gordon?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Ray Barshak?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mary Miller?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Julia Samuels?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Jay Green?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Thelma Gerende?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Sally Winkler?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Eleanor Jaffee?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mildred Matchar?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mary Roberts?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Aaron Ostrovsky?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Herbert Kay?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Herbert Kay also uses the name Kransdorf?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Herbert Kransdorf?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Saul Levine?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Virginia Smith?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Anthony Vega?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Lil Levine?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dorothy Salamini?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. C. Isaacs?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what the initial "C" stands for in the name Mrs. C. Isaacs?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I asked a question regarding the meeting on April 22, 1946, of the Communist Party at the Communist Party headquarters at 201 West Franklin Street, and whether or not there was discussed at that meeting the holding of a May Day rally on May 1, 1946.

Did you attend the May Day rally on May 1, 1946?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Daily Worker of May 25, 1947, at page 9, sets forth an article which identifies 550 union officials who were assailing Red hunts.

Signing this petition, which was released by the Civil Rights Congress, is Joseph Henderson, international representative, Baltimore, of the International Longshoremen's Workers' Union.

Were you an international representative of the International Longshoremen's Workers' Union in May 1947?

Mr. HENDERSON (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What unions were you a member of in 1947?

Mr. HENDERSON (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

However, I resent bringing the unions into this. In my opinion, it seems to be trying to attack the unions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I have not indicated that membership in the Longshoremen's Union of itself is anything to be criticized for, but it is your answer that leaves that inference.

I am asking you if you were at any time a member of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask a question?

Does the witness mean that asking if he was ever a member of a certain union is an attack upon the union?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

Mr. POTTER. The question of where you were born certainly wouldn't be an attack upon your mother, would it? So this question of whether you belonged to a union certainly is not an attack upon you.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. I might say further that our idea and purpose is to expose communism, whether it be in the union, whether it be in the Government, or where it is. That is the work of this committee, and it is done for the purpose of helping the unions, not for the purpose of injuring them or damaging them.

I will refer you again to the letter of Dorothy Rose Blumberg of February 25, 1946, which is in point on this very question which you have raised. The next to the last paragraph reads as follows:

Since our party's participation in the strike movements in Maryland and our direct assistance to the strikers, our comrades have found a wonderful new opportunity for meeting and recruiting workers into the party. Now is the time to take advantage of this opportunity and build the party of Maryland and the District of Columbia into a strong representative fighting organization.

Now, are you acquainted with the work of the Communist Party in any labor union that you were a member of?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you attempted to recruit workers into the Communist Party in the labor union of which you were a member?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were speaking a moment ago of interference with the labor unions, you meant interference with Communist activities in labor unions. That is what you presented that this committee was doing, didn't you?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer in evidence the photostatic copy of the letter of Dorothy Rose Blumberg, and I ask that it be marked "Henderson Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. It may be admitted.

(The photostatic copy of letter of Dorothy Rose Blumberg, dated February 25, 1946, was marked "Henderson Exhibit No. 1," and received in evidence.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Where are you employed now?

Mr. BUCHMAN. He would like to see the letter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; it is the same letter that I presented to you to examine a few minutes ago.

How are you employed now, Mr. Henderson?

Mr. BUCHMAN. Will you read the question back, please?

(The pending question, as above recorded, was read by the reporter, whereupon the witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Aren't you employed at the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HENDERSON. Yes. I was just conferring with counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. You felt it necessary to confer with counsel before answering that question?

Mr. HENDERSON. I think it is my privilege to confer with counsel at any time.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been employed by the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HENDERSON. A little better than 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the nature of your duties?

Mr. HENDERSON. Just labor work, general labor.

Mr. TAVENNER. As an employee there, are you a member of a union?

Mr. HENDERSON (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you hold an official position in any union, or have you held any official position in a union?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you signed a non-Communist affidavit in connection with union activities?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that you were engaged as a laborer. At what type of labor are you engaged at Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HENDERSON. Just general labor, just pick and shovel, wheelbarrow labor, brick tunnels, and unloading work.

Mr. TAVENNER. What particular unions are the bargaining agents for the employees who occupy positions such as yours?

Mr. HENDERSON. 2610, United Steel Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the only one?

Mr. HENDERSON (after conferring with his counsel). Will you repeat that last question, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. What are the locals, if any, who would be the bargaining agents for persons employed in the same capacity that you are employed in?

Mr. HENDERSON. I don't know that there is another.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am just asking you whether there is.

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are you a member of the union just referred to?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. Would belonging to a union incriminate you in some way?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't there another union known as 2609?

Mr. HENDERSON (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not asking you whether you are a member of it. I am asking you whether there is such a union in your plant?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you hold an official position in any union which would require your signing a non-Communist affidavit either by the

constitution or bylaws of the particular union or under the terms of the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, I referred you a few moments ago to an article appearing in the May 25, 1947, issue of the Daily Worker relating to a petition or release by the Civil Rights Congress in which you were identified as the international representative of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

You refused to state whether or not you were a member of such a union.

I would like to ask you to tell the committee the circumstances under which you signed the release issued by the Civil Rights Congress, if you did sign the petition or release as stated in this article.

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Another person whose name appears in the release in connection with that Civil Rights Congress is Jack Myers, international representative of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers.

Do you know Jack Myers?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Jack Zucker whose name also appeared in connection with that petition and who is an international representative of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse—

Mr. TAVENNER. Of Baltimore.

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Robert W. Lee, international representative of the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers of Baltimore, whose name is also signed to that petition?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Robert W. Lee is now employed by the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Max Weinstock, United Furniture Workers, Baltimore, whose name is also signed to that petition?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Irving Dvorin, port agent of the Marine Cooks and Stewards, who testified here yesterday?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. And whose name also appeared in connection with that petition.

Are you acquainted with Milton Seif, chairman of Local 24, Shipyard Workers, of Baltimore?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Henderson, have you served in the Armed Forces?

Mr. HENDERSON. No; I haven't.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you do so if drafted?

Mr. HENDERSON. If drafted, I would be glad to serve.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you serve in a war conceivably against the Soviet Union?

Mr. HENDERSON. If inducted to serve in the Armed Forces, I would serve.

Mr. JACKSON. If you observed a friend of yours committing an act of sabotage in a plant, would you report that individual to the Federal Bureau of Investigation or to the proper authorities within the plant?

Mr. HENDERSON. Immediately.

Mr. JACKSON. Can a man be employed at Bethlehem Steel without being a member of the union?

Mr. HENDERSON. He can.

Mr. JACKSON. He can be?

Mr. HENDERSON. I am sure he can be.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you speak a little louder?

Mr. HENDERSON. Sure he can.

Mr. JACKSON. Outside of an executive or supervisory capacity, he can be employed?

Mr. HENDERSON. He can be employed.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you, as a condition of employment, sign a loyalty oath or take a loyalty oath to the United States, if required to do so as a condition of employment?

Mr. HENDERSON. Well, that is a hypothetical question. It is speculative.

Of course, it depends on the type of oath and how it is worded. I don't know how you would word it.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Henderson, you are either loyal, or you are not loyal.

Mr. HENDERSON. I mean the oath.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you take an oath of loyalty as a condition of employment? That only requires a yes or no answer. Would you, or would you not?

Mr. HENDERSON. You say would I take a loyalty oath, sure.

Mr. JACKSON. You would?

Mr. HENDERSON. Sure.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you sign a non-Communist affidavit as a condition of employment?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Do you have anything further, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. I have one further question.

Were you accompanied here this morning by officials of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia and Maryland?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, who did accompany you?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you accompanied by any individuals?

Mr. HENDERSON. I refuse to answer that on the grounds that any answer that I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. You are excused.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. Will you call your next witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Phil Gran.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Gran, will you stand and be sworn, please?

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

TESTIMONY OF PHILIP GRAN, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, HAROLD BUCHMAN

Mr. KEARNEY. I didn't hear the answer to the putting of the oath to the witness, as to whether he responded, or not?

Mr. WOOD. He doesn't have to. He is bound by the rules of this committee.

Mr. GRAN. I said I do, sir.

Mr. WOOD. All right.

Mr. GRAN. I didn't say it loud enough.

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

Mr. GRAN. Philip Gran.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are represented here by counsel, I see?

Mr. GRAN. Yes, sir.

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

Mr. BUCHMAN. Harold Buchman, 213 Tower Building, Baltimore, Md.

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

Mr. GRAN. I was born in Poland, August 24, 1911.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you speak up a little louder, please, Mr. Gran?

Mr. WOOD. Would you mind speaking a little louder so we can hear you.

Mr. GRAN. I was born in Poland, August 24, 1911.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. GRAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you naturalized, and where?

Mr. GRAN. I was naturalized in the County of Kings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Kings County?

Mr. GRAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. New York?

Mr. GRAN. Right.

Mr. TAVENNER. When?

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You refuse to answer—

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Gran, there is no way on this earth that you could be incriminated by stating when you were naturalized as an American citizen. It hasn't gotten to the point in America where a man is guilty of any crime for being declared a naturalized citizen of America.

Mr. GRAN. I think it is 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. GRAN. 1929.

Mr. WOOD. We are operating with a full committee, with a quorum present. Let the record show that.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. WOOD. He said in 1937.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you arrived in the United States in 1929.

Mr. GRAN. 1929.

Mr. TAVENNER. Under what name were you naturalized?

Mr. GRAN. Philip Gran.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that your name prior to your naturalization?

Mr. GRAN. Right. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Is the correct spelling of that name Gran, G-r-a-n?

Mr. GRAN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time changed your name?

Mr. GRAN. I beg your pardon?

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time changed your name?

Mr. GRAN. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Philip Gran was the name given you at birth?

Mr. GRAN. As far as I know.

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

Mr. GRAN. Elementary school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you receive that training, Mr. Gran? In New York?

Mr. GRAN. Brooklyn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where are you now employed?

Mr. GRAN. Bethlehem Steel.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Baltimore?

Mr. GRAN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. What is the witness' age, please?

What is your age, please? How old are you?

Mr. GRAN. Thirty-nine.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you worked for the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). About 10 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the nature of your employment there?

Mr. GRAN. Pipe fitter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Pipe fitter?

Mr. GRAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to your employment there 10 years ago, how were you employed?

Mr. GRAN. In the plumbing line.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. GRAN. In Brooklyn; in New York, at times.

Mr. TAVENNER. By whom were you employed?

Mr. GRAN. I couldn't remember the names, sir. They were small employers.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work in that capacity?

Mr. GRAN. I don't remember.

Mr. WOOD. We still can't hear you up here, Mr. Gran.

Mr. GRAN. I worked in a gasoline station for a while.

Mr. TAVENNER. I merely wanted to know how long you had worked at the plumbing trade in New York prior to your going to Baltimore.

Mr. GRAN. About 6 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, during the 10 years that you have worked at the Bethlehem Steel Corp., what union, or unions, have you been affiliated with?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). I belonged to the Steel Workers, local 2610.

Mr. TAVENNER. You will have to speak a little louder.

Mr. GRAN. This is my natural voice. I am sorry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Try to make an effort to speak a little louder.

Mr. GRAN. I belonged to the Steel Workers, local 2610.

Mr. TAVENNER. 2610?

Mr. GRAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held any official positions in the local?

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you, as a member, or as an official of that union, required by the constitution and the bylaws of that union to sign a non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. GRAN. Will you repeat that question, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you, as a member, or an officer in that union, required by the constitution and bylaws to sign a non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). To my knowledge, the bylaws of the union require that an officer sign an affidavit.

Mr. TAVENNER. But not a member?

Mr. GRAN. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you signed such an affidavit?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer might incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you repeat that. I can't hear you.

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might incriminate me.

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

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. WOOD. On the same grounds? What grounds?

Mr. GRAN. That my answer might incriminate me, might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, are you acquainted with Henry Thomas?

If I may identify him for you, Harry Thomas was a member of the state committee of the Communist Party from Washington. He was identified as the president of local 74 of one of the unions, one of the laborers' unions, I understand, here in the District of Columbia.

Are you acquainted with him?

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Henry Thomas, as president of that union, was subpoenaed before this committee and very frankly told the committee of his own Communist Party membership and his Communist Party activities, and frankly disclosed to this committee what he knew about them.

In the course of his testimony he identified you as a member of the state committee of the Communist Party. The state committee is the governing body of the Maryland and District of Columbia section, district No. 4.

Are you willing to show the same amount of patriotism and frankness as Henry Thomas did by testifying as to whether or not his testimony was correct, or as to whether it was false?

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the testimony that I referred to, identifying you as a member of the state committee, true or false?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

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

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter, any questions?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Doyle, any questions?

Mr. DOYLE. Are you acquainted with your foreman of the shop at Bethlehem at which you work?

Mr. GRAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. What is his name?

Mr. GRAN. Mr. Seckford.

Mr. DOYLE. How do you spell that?

Mr. GRAN. To my knowledge it is spelled S-e-c-k-f-o-r-d.

Mr. DOYLE. In what shop do you work at Bethlehem? What is the number of the shop?

Mr. GRAN. There is no number. There is a department.

Mr. DOYLE. What department?

Mr. GRAN. It is C-Y.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you a steward in that shop, or have you ever been?

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. What is the name of the Bethlehem Steel Co.'s manager? Do you know his name?

Mr. GRAN. I wouldn't know, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. What organizations, if any, are you a member of which are not the Communist Party, or any affiliate of the Communist Party? Are you a member of the Elks or the Moose, or are you a member of the Masons, or are you a member of any church organization and, if so, what organizations?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). I would rather answer that question individually.

Mr. DOYLE. All right, you answer it any way you want to. You tell me what organizations you are a member of without my questioning you, if that will save your time.

Now, I am not asking you whether you are a member of the Communist Party, because you have already refused to answer that question when you were asked it. Other than the Communist Party, what organizations are you a member of, Mr. Gran?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me; my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I will ask you in a different way, then.

Are you a member of any organizations in your own community, any committees, or any organizations, or any civic organizations, any lodges?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me; my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you pay dues to any organization or any committee?

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you a member of the Elks?

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. DOYLE. I beg your pardon?

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer might incriminate me, any answer I would give to it.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, as I understand it, then, you are claiming your privilege, under the Constitution, on the grounds that if you were a member of the Elks in this country, any lodge of Elks, it might subject you to criminal prosecution if you were, and if you answered frankly that you were. Is that the import of your answer? Is that what you mean?

I notice that you are conferring with counsel. That is your privilege, but I merely wanted to know whether or not you are claiming this privilege as a matter of good faith, or what?

That is, of course, for me to conclude. I can't see how in heaven it is going to involve you in criminal embarrassment to be a member of the Elks.

Mr. GRAN. I didn't specify any organization. I said I refused to answer the question about belonging to any community organizations on the grounds that my answer might incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Reporter, will you please read my last question? I thought I asked specifically whether or not he was a member of the Elks or any lodge or chapter of it.

(The portion of the record referred to, heretofore transcribed, was read by the reporter.)

Mr. GRAN. No; I do not belong to the Elks, if that is the question.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you a member of any Masonic fraternity in your town?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). What do you mean by Masonic organizations? I don't know of any.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you a member of any committee or group of citizens, either born in Poland, or who have Polish parents, or speak the Polish language, in your own community in the United States?

Mr. GRAN. It would be hard for me to answer such a question, sir. I don't know.

Mr. DOYLE. You were born in Poland?

Mr. GRAN. Yes; but it would be hard for me to answer any question like that. How do I know where the people are born, or—

Mr. DOYLE. Are you a member of any group or any committee, or any community organization of people who claim to have been born in Poland, or who claim that their parents were born in Poland?

Mr. GRAN. I don't understand that question, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. You were born in Poland. You so testified. Then you became naturalized, you claim, in this country.

Now, are you a member of any Polish society or Polish committee in this country?

Mr. JACKSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Such as the National Polish Congress, which is one instance?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DOYLE. Do you have to ask your counsel whether or not you are?

Mr. GRAN. No; I am consulting with my counsel on my legal rights.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, you are entirely permitted to do that, but you are taking so long about it that I am wondering whether or not it is a legal question.

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you an officer of any Polish society or any society which has the name "Polish" or "Poland" in it in this country?

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you ever been a member of any society, or committee, or group?

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. I may be mistaken, but my impression is that perhaps most people who were born in Poland, or who are of Polish ancestry, are generally considered to be members of the Catholic faith. In asking this question, I don't mean to infer any criticism of that faith, you understand, the same as people with the name of Doyle are generally considered to be Irish, and I am proud of it.

Now, I am asking you whether or not you are a member of any Catholic society in your community, and, if so, what?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). Sir, I think that question is probably delving too much into my private beliefs and religion, and I don't think it is a fair question.

Mr. DOYLE. Are we to say that whatever your answer was, whether you were or were not, I would naturally not ask anything about your faith. The import of my question was not directed at what you believe, but was simply a question as to whether or not you were a member. I want the record to show that.

I notice you are consulting with your counsel. That is all right, but I will ask you now whether you are a member of the Knights of Columbus? That is a great organization of Catholic men which we all respect. Are you a member of that organization?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). I think there is only one faith for the Knights of Columbus: isn't that a fact?

By answering that question, I would have to divulge my religion.

Mr. DOYLE. It is not a matter of religion. As far as my question is concerned, we all respect the Knights of Columbus, which is a great organization of great American men.

Now, are you a member of that organization, or are you going to claim the constitutional privilege that it might be a crime to be a member of that?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). I don't belong to the Knights of Columbus, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Frazier, do you have any questions?

Mr. FRAZIER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Kearney, any questions?

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you believe in the existence of a Supreme Being?

Mr. GRAN. I think that is a——

Mr. KEARNEY. Would that answer tend to incriminate you?

Mr. GRAN. That delves into my beliefs, and I would object to that question.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. How did you enter the United States Mr. Gran?

Mr. GRAN. Through a reserve quota. What do you mean by "How did I enter the United States?"

Mr. JACKSON. What was your port of entry?

Mr. GRAN. The port of New York.

Mr. JACKSON. Upon entry were you in possession of a legal immigration quota number?

Mr. GRAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. When did you file your first citizenship papers, and where?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. WOOD. Let's get along, gentlemen. You were asked when you filed them and where.

Mr. GRAN. I was going to answer excepting that I can't remember the date. I have all of this in my documents at home, naturally.

Mr. WOOD. Give us the best recollection you have of the approximate date.

Mr. GRAN. Did you ask where?

Mr. JACKSON. When and where.

Mr. GRAN. Well, I think I filed for the first papers immediately, I mean within a short period after I entered this country.

Mr. JACKSON. Where?

Mr. GRAN. In Kings County.

Mr. JACKSON. When did you receive your final citizenship papers?

Mr. GRAN. 1937.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you been abroad since that time?

Mr. GRAN. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. You have heard the questions I directed to the previous witness. I am going to direct the same ones to you.

First of all, do you believe a naturalized citizen, if anything, owes perhaps more loyalty to this country than a native-born citizen?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). I don't know that he owes more. I believe he owes the same loyalty.

Mr. JACKSON. You believe he owes loyalty to the country.

Mr. GRAN. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you think that one can be a member of the Communist Party and be a loyal American citizen at the same time?

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you mean to tell me that if you were to say that one could not be a Communist and good American citizen at the same time, that would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. GRAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. If during the course of your work in the plant you saw an act of sabotage committed, would you immediately report that sabotage to the proper authorities?

Mr. GRAN. I would.

Mr. JACKSON. The Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. GRAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Even though it involved a friend of yours, or one with whom you might be intimately associated?

Mr. GRAN. I would.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you served in the Armed Forces?

Mr. GRAN. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you serve in the Armed Forces if you were drafted?

Mr. GRAN. I would if called upon.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you register for the draft for the last war?

Mr. GRAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you serve this country in a war against a nation which practiced communism, or the communistic philosophy as a system of government?

Mr. GRAN. Would you repeat that question?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Would you fight in a war against the Soviet Union?

Mr. GRAN. I would fight in a war against any country that would attack this country.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you sign a loyalty oath, and an oath of loyalty to this country?

First of all, let me ask you this: Did you sign, as a part of your naturalization process, an oath of loyalty to this country?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). I don't remember now what is required, but I fulfilled all the requirements as required.

Mr. JACKSON. You fulfilled all the requirements of naturalization?

Mr. GRAN. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you sign a loyalty oath as a condition of employment?

Mr. GRAN. I would sign if I had to.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you sign a non-Communist affidavit as a condition of employment?

Mr. GRAN (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions by counsel?.

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. You will be excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. WOOD. The committee will have to recess now. What time will be best?

Mr. TAVENNER. Any time that suits the committee.

Mr. WOOD. I can be back at 3 o'clock. Can the other members be back at that time?

Mr. WALTER. Can you make it earlier?

Mr. WOOD. Two-thirty, then.

The hearing is recessed until 2:30 this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the hearing recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p. m., same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The hearing reconvened at 2:45 p. m., upon the expiration of the recess.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order.

Do you have some additional witnesses, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. William H. Wood, please.

Mr. WOOD. Let the record show that for the purpose of the examination of Mr. Wood, under the authority of this committee, I have set up a subcommittee, composed of Messrs. Walter, Doyle, Frazier, and Wood, all of whom are present.

Mr. DUBOW. We wish to object to proceeding without a quorum of the committee, sir.

Mr. WOOD. There is a quorum here.

Mr. DUBOW. We would like the record to show that we are proceeding under protest.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Wood, will you stand and be sworn, please?

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

Witness WOOD. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM H. WOOD, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, MITCHELL A. DUBOW

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

Witness WOOD. William H. Wood.

Mr. TAVENNER. I take it you are represented by counsel?

Witness WOOD. I am.

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

Mr. DUBOW. Mitchell A. Dubow, 213 Tower Building, Baltimore, Md.

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

Witness WOOD. June 30, 1918, Boise, Idaho.

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

Witness WOOD. I had elementary school, high school, and I completed an associate's art degree in the Boise Junior College, in Boise, Idaho.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that? When did you complete that?

Witness WOOD. I cannot recall the exact date without references. It was—I was around the age of 21, I believe. I would not want to be held to the date.

Mr. TAVENNER. That would make it approximately what year?

Witness WOOD. 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now live?

Witness WOOD. 7219 Martell Avenue, Baltimore 22, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you employed in Baltimore?

Witness WOOD. I am employed by the Bethlehem Steel Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been employed by Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Witness WOOD. Five and a half years in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time how were you employed?

Witness WOOD. I served in the United States Army.

Mr. TAVENNER. For what period of time?

Witness WOOD. Three and a half years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to your going into the Army, you were employed how? Does that take you back to about the time of the completion of your schooling?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer the question on prior employment on the ground that it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you hold a Reserve commission in the Army?

Witness WOOD. I should like to outline my military service.

I served 3½ years in the Army. I was wounded. I was decorated for heroism in action. I was commissioned overseas. I was given a certificate of service and along with my enlisted men an honorable discharge.

I have whatever status that leaves me in.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now hold a Reserve commission?

Witness WOOD. I judge I hold a commission in the inactive reserves.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what rank?

Witness WOOD. Second lieutenant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you reside in Los Angeles at any time?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is Roy Wood a brother of yours?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

I resent the bringing of my family into this hearing.

Mr. WOOD. The committee is not concerned about your resentment, sir.

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I might make to it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you to look behind you in the audience to the fourth row and the second person from the right, looking straight at you, and I ask you if that is your brother, Roy Wood?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is your brother, Roy Wood, chairman of the Communist Party for the District of Columbia?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the nature of your employment at the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Witness WOOD. I am a mechanical helper.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you identified with one of the labor unions in that plant?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might make might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you taking the position that your membership in a labor union would tend to subject you to prosecution for some criminal offense?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me.

The history of labor unions is one of long difficulties with having members prosecuted and blacklisted for criminal offenses for the mere exercise of rights that belong to unions that bargain with their employers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of a union?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer that I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not the union in the Bethlehem Steel Corp. which would have jurisdiction over persons employed in a capacity similar to that in which you are employed provides by its constitution or bylaws that an officer of the union shall sign a non-Communist affidavit?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might make to it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where is the plant located at which you work?

Witness WOOD. That is Sparrows Point, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether there is a cell or a club of the Communist Party organization among the employees at that plant?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might make might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you, Mr. Wood, ever engaged in organizational work for the Communist Party among employees at the Bethlehem Steel Corp. plant?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you attended Communist Party meetings of a group organized within the Bethlehem Steel plant at Sparrows Point?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know Mr. Robert W. Lee?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time attend the meeting of the Communist Party, that is, among the trade-union members of the Communist Party, at the York Hotel in Baltimore?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Howard Bernard Silverberg?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mr. Silverberg's wife?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time been a member of, or affiliated in any way with the Baltimore County Committee for Peace?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might make might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What connection, or what part, did the Communist Party play, if you know, in the formulation and in the operation of the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Phil Gran?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with any of the other persons whose names I will mention to you? If you are, I would like for you to state whether or not they were members of the Communist Party, if you know, or whether they are members of the Communist Party, if you know:

Michael Howard?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I might give to it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you——

Mr. WOOD. What about reading the list of names, and then interrogating him about the whole list? That will save a lot of time.

Mr. TAVENNER. There are only about four or five of these, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. All right, go ahead.

Mr. TAVENNER. Frank Pinter?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Frank Pinter?

Witness WOOD. I still refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Levy Williamson?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Joseph Henderson?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Aaron Ostrovsky?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not any of the persons whose names I have mentioned to you were members of the Communist Party?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you participate in the May Day rally of May 1, 1946?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to go back again and ask you to describe more definitely the character of your work at the Bethlehem Steel Corp. plant.

Witness WOOD. I work as a mechanical helper. I help one or another mechanic in repairing machinery and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. What type of machinery?

Witness WOOD. Any type of machinery that is given to us to repair.

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

Mr. TAVENNER. What type of machinery is that?

Witness WOOD. It is machinery that operates a blast furnace, the blast furnaces department.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you received instructions from the Communist Party to slow up the operation of your work as a mechanical helper in that plant, would you do it?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

I would not slow up my work in the plant on anybody's instructions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you would not do so if you received such instructions from the Communist Party? Is that what you mean?

Witness WOOD. The way the question is worded, I refuse to answer it on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you take directions from the Communist Party in connection with the performance of your duties in the plant?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

I would take directions from nobody but my superiors with regard to my duty in the plant.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WOOD, by your superiors, you mean your employers?

Witness WOOD. I mean my employers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Wood. Mr. Philip Frankfeld, until recently chairman of the Communist Party for Maryland and the District of Columbia, announced in the March 13, 1949, issue of the Worker that the Communist Party supports the statements of William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis to the effect that they would not take up arms against the Soviet Union.

I hand you the article so that you may see it for yourself.

Do you support that statement?

Witness WOOD. Will you rephrase the question? To that statement I will say "No" on the grounds that it is not my statement.

I support my own positions on things.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, would that be your position, or not?

Witness WOOD. I believe that it is possible to achieve peace by negotiation among the great powers and that it is the highest patriotism to fight for that kind of peace. A world war serves no one's interests, not that of the common people of America.

That is my position.

A war will destroy hundreds of millions of people, many of them in America. It would destroy American cities, and there would in the end have to be a negotiated peace anyway. There would be victory for nobody. The highest patriotism is achieved by fighting for peace and for being for peace, and in that way we protect our own country.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, is it peace according to the Communists' plan that you are interested in?

Witness WOOD. It is a peace according to the wishes and desires of the American people.

Mr. WOOD. I don't believe the statement made by the witness is responsive to the question that was asked of him. Suppose you repeat the question that was originally asked.

(The pending question, as above recorded, was read by the reporter.)

Witness WOOD. It is a peace according to the American people.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask a question?

Do you believe, Mr. Wood, that the Soviet Union is pursuing a course designed to bring about a peace of that kind?

Witness WOOD. I have no knowledge of the inner intentions of the Soviet Union. I believe it is possible to negotiate peace with the Soviet Union.

Mr. WOOD. In the event that it isn't, and this country becomes embroiled in a conflict of arms with the Soviet Union, would you support the Armed Forces of America in such a conflict?

Witness WOOD. I believe that is a hypothetical question. It is possible to achieve peace.

Mr. WOOD. It is purely hypothetical, but I am asking you to answer it.

Witness WOOD. As an American citizen, I am required to do certain things, and I have certain obligations. I will fulfill my obligations of citizenship.

But I regard such an occurrence to be the greatest tragedy for the American people, and I think patriotism involves every effort on the part of the American people to achieve peace, because I think that is the thing that marks a patriot at this time.

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

Mr. WOOD. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Wood, do you feel you are familiar with the Communist proposal for a negotiated peace? Do you feel you are familiar with that?

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

I need to be familiar with no program to understand that peace is something that must be worked for and gained at every possible effort when there are atom bombs which can destroy the whole world.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, Mr. Wood, I want you to know that the only difference between you being a decorated veteran and my son being a decorated veteran is that he died for his country, and you are still alive. He was decorated, too. So as to any question I ask you as a living veteran, I want you to know that I am not trying to embarrass you or argue with you. I am talking with you as one man to another.

We are just as much interested in peace as you are. So when I asked you that question it was designed to see whether or not you could go further and help us understand your viewpoint as a man who has been decorated by our country.

I want you to feel this, if you will, please: Don't feel that this committee is antagonistic toward peace. We are not fighting against peace. We are trying to uncover men or organizations who are de-

terminated, by subversive misconduct, to destroy our form of constitutional government.

Now, I just assumed that you, as a man who wears decorations from my country, for which my son died in uniform, have patriotism enough, for every reason, to be frank and honest and fair with the committee.

If you are prejudiced by reason of what you have read or what you have heard or what you may think you have seen, I hope you will open up your mind and remove your prejudice, if you have it, against this committee's functioning, and that you will believe me when I say that you are not more concerned with trying to get world peace than we are.

But we are concerned that this country shall not be undermined by men or by groups, whoever they are, who would destroy our form of government.

I try to be fair in that sort of statement to you because I respect the fact that you are a decorated veteran.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed.

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

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

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

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Doyle, any further questions?

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Wood, are you a member of the American Legion or of the Veterans of Foreign Wars? You served in the Army with distinction, according to your testimony.

Witness WOOD. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WOOD. Pardon me at that point. I can't let go unchallenged the insinuation that being a member of the American Legion would incriminate anybody.

I happen to have the privilege of being a charter member of that organization myself, and I deny the statement that being a member of the American Legion would tend to incriminate anybody.

Proceed.

Mr. DOYLE. I appreciate the chairman making that remark. Of course, I am surprised that a decorated veteran would not give an honest, open, and frank answer to that, even if you admitted you were not a member of the American Legion or of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Do I understand that you mean that if you were a member of the American Legion or of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, that might incriminate you in some criminal relationship that has nothing to do with the Communist Party?

Witness WOOD. I still refuse to answer the question on the grounds that the answer might tend to incriminate me.

All kinds of organizations are having all kinds of allegations thrown at them without hearings. One doesn't in the present atmosphere know what organization may be doing what is called subversive, and for that reason I still refuse to answer the question on the ground that anything I may say, any answer I might give, might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. In this present situation, Mr. Wood, you are getting a hearing, and you have your able lawyer next to you. We are glad he

is here because we believe that every person before this committee not only has the right, but we urge them to have counsel. That is the right of every American citizen, as contrasted to the rights, or with reference to certain legal rights in certain countries. There is quite a contrast.

Now, you are having an open hearing here, aren't you? Do you feel we are pressuring you to answer contrary to your own best judgment and your legal advice?

Witness Wood. Mr. Moulder—

Mr. DOYLE. No, I am Doyle. I happen to be seated in Moulder's seat.

Witness Wood. I feel you are conducting an inquiry trying to throw allegations against honest working people who are trying to earn a living in various industrial plants, all of whom are probably loyal citizens.

I do not think that the way in which these kinds of hearings have been conducted is fair. It was printed in the Baltimore press and promised that witnesses would be fired from their jobs on the basis of libel-free evidence. That is the way the Baltimore Sun put it, which, to me, is slander covered by congressional immunity.

I don't think these hearings are a fair type of hearings.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, I realize that when you make that sort of a statement, you anticipated an opportunity to make that sort of a statement.

In other words, you are now glad that you have had that opportunity to make that statement, because I realized from your other testimony—at least I feel from your other testimony—that it was your considered opinion before you came in the room.

I am glad you got that off your chest.

But now may I say this to you, Mr. Wood—

Mr. Chairman, I feel the privilege and the obligation of saying to this young man just this:

This committee is not trying to destroy organized labor, or your union. We have no antipathy toward them. For instance, I, as a Member of Congress, am always supported in southern California by conservative AFL unions and by conservative CIO unions. I am not ashamed of that. I believe in organized labor.

I think all of us believe in collective bargaining, and the necessity of it.

I make that statement to you because I can see from your testimony that you are prejudiced by what you have read. You have not the facts nor the truth before you. I don't want you to go out of this room as a decorated veteran without it being pretty clearly pointed out to you that you have been misinformed as to what this committee is trying to do.

I can understand the sources from which you get that information, and those dirty lies.

Now, may I just call your attention to the section of the law under which we function?

One of our duties, assigned by the United States Congress, which is your Congress, states that we shall investigate the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries, or within our own country.

Now, may I ask you what is your own definition of "subversive conduct," as you understand, say, Webster's definition?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DOYLE. May I state for your help in understanding my question that, as I understand it, the definition of Webster of "subversive" means to destroy, to undermine. Therefore, we are undertaking, as part of our assignment to investigate the people or groups who intend to destroy our constitutional form of government.

Have you any objection to us doing that? That is our assignment, sir. Don't you want us to perform our duty under the law?

Witness WOOD. I will answer by saying that I want you to perform your duty under the law.

Mr. DOYLE. Well that is our duty, the express language under the law.

Would you favor us doing any less than 100 percent of our duty, or less than a 100-percent job in trying to uncover people, or groups who are interested directly or indirectly in destroying our form of government.

Do I understand that that is your position, that you criticize this committee for doing that?

Witness WOOD (after conferring with counsel). I have already expressed my objections to the method by which the committee has conducted the inquiry. It is attacking working people. It is attempting to set up a blacklist and get people fired from their jobs. That is certainly not in my mind combating this word which you say "subversion."

Mr. DOYLE. Well, now, may I just state to you in closing, Mr. Wood—and I feel perhaps I have taken more of your time, and of the committee's time than I should have—but you are a young man and a decorated veteran, and therefore, sir, your relationship to the country is quite distinct, and I hope you appreciate that it is. It is quite different and quite distinct from the average man who served in the military forces, either living or dead.

But I want to say to you that when you say we are trying to blacklist working people, it is absolutely false. We make no distinction between any American as far as this committee is concerned, and if we can uncover subversive misconduct at any level of American life, we will do it. We have no antipathy toward the working people.

I am the son of a blacksmith. I used to lead horses out of a horse-shoeing shop. I want you to know that when you come here with the mental attitude that you have, of prejudice against this committee, on the theory that we are attacking working people, it is absolutely false.

I invite you to get the facts instead of swallowing a lot of misinformation and communistic propoganda designed to undermine our Government.

That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any further questions, Mr. Frazier?

Mr. FRAZIER. Mr. Wood, where were you born?

Witness WOOD. Boise, Idaho.

Mr. FRAZIER. Did you live there until you were grown?

Witness WOOD. Yes.

Mr. FRAZIER. Did you attend the public schools out there?

Witness WOOD. I did.

Mr. FRAZIER. What college was it that you went to?

Witness WOOD. I went 1 year to Reed College in Portland, Oreg. I went for something over 2 years to the Boise Junior College, in Boise, Idaho, which gave me a degree called an associate of arts, I believe.

Mr. FRAZIER. Associated arts?

Witness WOOD. Associate of arts.

Mr. FRAZIER. No further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. The witness may be excused.

(The witness was excused).

Mr. WOOD. We won't have time for another witness this afternoon.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like the following persons who have been subpoenaed to stand up if they are in the room, please:

Mr. Levy Williamson. Mr. John Goodell. Mr. Robert W. Lee.

Mr. WOOD. The only purpose in calling your names at this time was to ascertain whether you are present because the committee is not going to be able to reach you today.

I am going to excuse the witnesses until Tuesday morning of next week at 10 o'clock. You are excused until that time from further attendance on the committee.

The further proceedings of the committee this afternoon will be in executive session.

(Whereupon, at 8:30 p. m., the hearing recessed, to reconvene at 10 a. m., Tuesday, June 26, 1951.)

HEARINGS RELATING TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE DEFENSE AREA OF BALTIMORE—PART 1

(Based on Testimony of Mary Stalcup Markward)

TUESDAY, JUNE 26, 1951

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

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met pursuant to call at 10 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood, Francis E. Walter, Bernard W. Kearney, and Charles E. Potter.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order.

Mr. DUBOW. For the record, we would like to protest that there is not a full committee present, and we would like the record to show that we are proceeding under protest.

Mr. WOOD. Let the record disclose that under the authority creating this committee I, as chairman of the full committee, am appointing a subcommittee today consisting of Messrs. Walter, Kearney, Potter, and Wood, who are all present.

Mr. DUBOW. We would still like the record to show that we are proceeding under protest.

Mr. WOOD. Who is the first witness this morning, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Levy Williamson.

Mr. WOOD. Will you hold up your right hand, Mr. Williamson, and be sworn?

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

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LEVY WILLIAMSON, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, MITCHELL A. DUBOW

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

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Levy Williamson.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are represented here by counsel, I understand.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. That is right.

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

Mr. DUBOW. Mitchell A. Dubow, 213 Tower Building, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Williamson, will you state when and where you were born?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I was born in South Carolina, June 5, 1915.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational background?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Fifth grade.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. 204 Fleming Drive.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Baltimore?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Baltimore 22, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Baltimore?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Ever since 1924.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1924?

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Counsel, I cannot hear what the witness is saying. (Addressing the witness:) If you will take the gum out of your mouth, I think we might be able to hear you.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Baltimore?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I came to Baltimore in 1924.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you lived there continuously since 1924 or were there periods when you moved away to other places?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. One time. I went to New York for about 5 or 6 months to work.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. That was around in 1937, 1938.

Mr. TAVENNER. What type of work did you take up in New York when you went there at that time?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Factory work, spring factory.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the company for which you worked?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. At the time I was in New York?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. It was Marcus Spring.

Mr. TAVENNER. On your return to Baltimore, how were you employed?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I went back to Comfort Spring.

Mr. TAVENNER. Speak a little louder, please.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I went back to Comfort Spring.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the name of the company for which you worked?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work there?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I don't know exactly. I would say about 5 or 6 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then what was your next employment after that?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Bethlehem Steel, Sparrows Point.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been working there ever since?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the character of your work there?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I am a ladle liner, in other words, a bricklayer. I don't get the rating of bricklayer. I get ladle liner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Williamson, are you now a member or have you ever been a member of the State committee of the Communist Party—and by “State committee” I mean the committee comprising the area of district 4, which is the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia.

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say might tend to incriminate me.

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

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Henry Thomas?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Henry Thomas testified before this committee in December of 1950 that you were a member of the State committee of the Communist Party, and by “State committee” I again refer to the committee for the area of district No. 4.

Was that testimony by Mr. Thomas true or false?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did a person by the name of Mike Howard ever serve on the State committee of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is true, is it not, that he is an employee of the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as stated.

Mr. KEARNEY. How would the fact that you knew him to be an employee of the Bethlehem Steel Corp. incriminate you in any way?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. How was that?

Mr. KEARNEY. Will the stenographer read the question, please?

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

Mr. WILLIAMSON (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. In other words, you just refuse to answer the question? Is that the answer?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. On the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will you explain to me how the fact that you knew the individual to be working for the Bethlehem Steel Corp. could incriminate you, that is, your answer as to whether you did or didn't? Is there anything funny about it?

Mr. WILLIAMSON (after conferring with his counsel). I still refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you speak a little louder, please?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. I still insist, Mr. Chairman, that the witness has not given any answer to the question I asked him.

Mr. WOOD. To the contrary, he has declined to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Sam Gordon serve as a member of the State committee of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Alfred McPherson, of the Shipworkers' Union, serve on the State committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Steve Sebo serve on the State committee of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he employed at the Bethlehem Steel Corp. plant at any time you were employed there?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Pete Forrest serve on the State committee of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he was formerly employed by the American Smelting & Refining Co.?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether he is presently employed at that plant?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Frank Pinter serve on the State committee of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Iz Schwartz serve on the State committee of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he was employed up until as late as 1949 by the city of Baltimore?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Selma Weiss serve on the State committee of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Tom Connor of the Shipworkers Union serve on the State committee of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Lou Gilbert, an organizer for the Furniture Workers, serve on the State committee of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Phil Gran serve on the State committee of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he employed by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Milton Newman¹ serve on the State committee of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not Milton Newman, while employed by the Social Security, was an officer of the Federal and Public Workers?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mrs. Alverta Parnell serve as a member of the State committee of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I might say might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Aaron Ostrofsky, an employee of the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Howard Silverberg, employed by the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Roy Wood, formerly employed by the Bethlehem Steel Corp. and presently alleged to be the chairman of the Communist Party for the District of Columbia is a brother of William Wood who is now employed by the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before given.

Mr. KEARNEY. Is there anyone you know or anyone of your associates that you can name without incriminating yourself?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there a cell of the Communist Party now existing in the Bethlehem Steel Corp. at Sparrows Point?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that what I may say may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Milton Seif?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as before given.

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

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Kearney?

¹ Protested hearings; gave address as 1616 Dartford Road.

Mr. KEARNEY. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Potter?

Mr. POTTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. The witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

(Testimony of next witness on this general subject, John F. Goodell, is printed in another volume under same title, pt. 3.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. WOOD. Let the committee be in order, and let the record disclose that for the purpose of this investigation this afternoon I, as chairman of the committee, have set up a subcommittee consisting of Messrs. Walter, Doyle, Kearney, and Wood. We are all present.

Who is your first witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Robert W. Lee.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Lee, will you hold up your right hand, please.

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

Mr. LEE. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat, sir.

Mr. BUCHMAN. Just for the sake of the record, I wish to note my objection to the absence of a quorum.

**TESTIMONY OF ROBERT W. LEE, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
HAROLD BUCHMAN**

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

Mr. LEE. Robert W. Lee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. LEE. I am.

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

Mr. BUCHMAN. Harold Buchman, 213 Tower Building, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Lee, when and where were you born?

Mr. LEE. Washington, D. C., March 26, 1914.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational training?

Mr. LEE. I have the equivalent of a high-school education.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. LEE. I reside in Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. What address, please?

Mr. LEE. 1206 Bolton Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the name of the street?

Mr. LEE. B-o-l-t-o-n, Bolton.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Baltimore?

Mr. LEE. At the present time, since 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you lived there prior to that time?

Mr. LEE. Yes, I had.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was that?

Mr. LEE. 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you there in that period?

Mr. LEE. I was there until the time that I entered the service.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that was from 1939 to what date?

Mr. LEE. 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. And prior to your moving to Baltimore in 1939, where did you live?

Mr. LEE. I lived in Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you went to Baltimore in 1939, how were you employed?

Mr. LEE (after consulting with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have employment in Baltimore between 1939 and 1941?

Mr. LEE. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you employed by the Federal Government at any time between 1939 and 1941?

Mr. LEE (after consulting with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you mean that employment by the United States Government might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. LEE. I still refuse to answer the question for the previous reasons.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do I understand that you contend that it might endanger you to criminal prosecution to testify that you worked for the Government? Do I understand that?

Mr. LEE. I refuse to answer the question that you asked on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me, as before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give to the committee, or state to the committee, your reasoning for your contention that it might tend to incriminate you to admit having worked for the United States Government?

Mr. LEE (after consulting with his counsel). I understand my constitutional rights, and I understand that I do not have to answer the question, and I refuse on the same grounds as before, that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me. I am aware of my rights under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you married?

Mr. LEE. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your wife's name?

Mr. LEE. Gentlemen, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me, and further, the relationship of marriage is a private relationship and I don't want my wife's name brought into this.

Mr. WOOD. If you refuse to answer, there is no reason to press any further grounds.

(Consultation between Mr. Wood and Mr. Tavenner.)

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Lee, the question asked you a while ago was whether you were employed by the United States Government in any capacity between the years 1939 and 1941, inclusive. As chairman of this committee, I direct that you answer that question.

Mr. LEE (after consulting with his counsel). Will you be precise about the dates, 1939 and 1941?

Mr. WOOD. I will ask if at any time since the beginning of 1939 you have been employed by the United States Government, and I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. LEE (after consulting with his counsel). Did you say any time since 1939?

Mr. WOOD. Since the beginning of the year 1939, since January 1, 1939, up to today.

Mr. LEE. I think it is a matter of record that I was in the Armed Forces from April 18, 1941, until June 26, 1945. I had 4 years and 2 months in the service. I served overseas for a period of 28 months, and I was discharged honorably. I am proud of my record in the service.

Mr. WOOD. Is that the only service you have had with the United States Government since 1939?

Mr. LEE (after lengthy consultation with his counsel). I still refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WOOD. I direct you to answer the question as to whether or not, since January 1939, you have had employment with the United States Government in any capacity other than military service?

Mr. LEE (after consulting with his counsel). I am sorry, sir, I have to refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have given before.

Mr. WOOD. You don't have to refuse. You don't have to do anything but die. We all have to do that. But what do you do?

Mr. LEE. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds that any answer I give may tend to incriminate me, and I feel that you are also intimidating me, sir.

Mr. WOOD. There is no intimidation here. I simply directed you to answer the question. You declined to do so. As far as I am concerned, I have no further questions. Do you, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. I have no questions.

Mr. WOOD. Do you, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. You are excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. WOOD. Call the next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Louis Pearlman.

Mr. FORER. Mr. Chairman, I object to the absence of a quorum of the full committee.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Pearlman, will you raise your right hand, please? Do you solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Let the record show that a subcommittee composed of Messrs. Walter, Doyle, Kearney, and Wood has been set up by me as chairman of the committee, and we are all present.

Mr. FORER. May the record show that we are proceeding under protest, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WOOD. Yes. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

**TESTIMONY OF LOUIS PEARLMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
JOSEPH FORER**

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Louis Pearlman.

Mr. TAVENNER. L-o-u-i-s is the spelling?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Yes, sir.

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

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer, 711 Fourteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

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

Mr. PEARLMAN. I was born in Russia about 1889, according to the old books that we have found at home.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. PEARLMAN. 1910.

Mr. WOOD. I wonder if you would raise your voice a little so that we can hear you up here?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you naturalized?

Mr. PEARLMAN. In Baltimore, around about 1917 or 1918, or maybe it was 1919. I couldn't recollect the exact date.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the name Louis Pearlman your name prior to your naturalization?

Mr. PEARLMAN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you outline to the committee your educational training?

Mr. PEARLMAN. My educational training was some Jewish and going to night school in the United States. I learned how to read and write.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you presently reside?

Mr. PEARLMAN. 1817 Irving Street, Northwest.

Mr. TAVENNER. What city?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Washington, D. C.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Washington?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Five years.

Mr. TAVENNER. For 5 years?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. And prior to that time where did you live?

Mr. PEARLMAN. In Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you reside in Baltimore?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Different places.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live in Baltimore?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Thirty-six years in Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. How have you been employed in the city of Washington?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Employed in a grocery store.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you employed there, or is it a business owned and operated by you?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Well, up until last year I was part owner. Now I am just employed part time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where are you employed now, you say part time?

Mr. PEARLMAN. L & W Market, 1221 North Glebe Road, Arlington, my son's store there.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say you were coowner in the store up until a year or a year and a half ago?

Mr. PEARLMAN. About that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you still a part owner?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Part owner. I gave him some money to go in business with.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is still your business, isn't it, or at least partly so?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Partly so, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the only business that you have been engaged in in Washington?

Mr. PEARLMAN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you own a place of business at more than one location?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Never; not in Washington.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your business in Baltimore prior to your moving to Washington?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Prior to my moving I had a grocery store also.

Mr. TAVENNER. For how long a period of time did you have the grocery store?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I had a grocery store for a year, and prior to that I ran a cab about 8 months, and prior to that I had a grocery store.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you operated the cab, did you operate it individually, or did you work for someone?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I worked for the Sun Cab Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the cab company?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Sun.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Sun Cab Co.?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you living on May 4, 1946? Were you in Washington or in Baltimore at that time?

Mr. PEARLMAN. May 4, 1946. I think I was still living in Baltimore. I am not sure.

Mr. WOOD. That was 5 years ago last month.

Mr. PEARLMAN. Yes. I moved to Washington 5 years ago, but I can't recollect the month.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have a place in the basement of your house that you referred to as a club cellar?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I had a basement, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you entertain people frequently in the basement of your cellar?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I think I refuse to answer this question. It may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was your home located at that time?

Mr. PEARLMAN. You mean before I moved to Washington?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. PEARLMAN. 2400 Liberty Heights.

Mr. TAVENNER. 2400 Liberty Heights?

Mr. PEARLMAN. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to ask you if the following people met at your home, in the club cellar of your home at 2400 Liberty Heights, Baltimore, on May 4, 1946: Belle Hancoff?

Suppose you answer to each one. State whether or not Belle Hancoff was in your home at that time, if you can recall.

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer that question. It might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Morris Hancoff?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Louis Pearlman? Your name is Louis Pearlman?

Mr. PEARLMAN. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Albert Pearlman.

Mr. PEARLMAN. Albert Pearlman is my son.

Mr. TAVENNER. He is your son. Was he present in the club cellar at the time the gathering took place?

Mr. PEARLMAN. He was present in my home all the time since he came from service.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he there at a meeting of any kind in the club cellar on May 4, 1946?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer that question. It might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you stand behind your constitutional privilege in regard to your son also?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I stand behind my constitutional privilege; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Albert Blank?¹

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question. It might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Lillian Levine?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer the question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Rosanna Kaplan, K-a-p-l-a-n?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question also for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Julia Levine?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Rose Shenk, S-h-e-n-k?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question for the same reason, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Betty Kaufman, K-a-u-f-m-a-n?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Rae Barshak, R-a-e B-a-r-s-h-a-k?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question for the same reason, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Hy Barshak, H-y?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question for the same reason, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dorothy Rose Blumberg?

¹ Protested hearings; gave address as 4105 Springdale Avenue.

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question for the same reason, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Albert Blumberg?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer the question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. William Pearlman?

Mr. PEARLMAN (after consulting with his counsel). William Pearlman is my son. He doesn't live with me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not asking you whether these people live with you. I am asking you whether they were in your club cellar on Saturday, May 4, 1946.

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Phil Frankfeld?

Mr. FORER. How big was that cellar?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer the question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. The question has been suggested: How large is your club cellar? How large is it?

Mr. FORER. How large was it?

Mr. TAVENNER. I assume it is the same dimensions now as then.

Mr. PEARLMAN. About this size [indicating].

Mr. TAVENNER. Would it hold the number of people I have named?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question. It might tend to incriminate me. I won't answer something that I am not sure.

Mr. TAVENNER. Jean Frankfeld?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Joseph Levine?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer that for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of lodge 215, International Workers' Order?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question. It might tend to incriminate me, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know any of the officers of the International Workers' Order, that is, of the State council of the order?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question, sir. It might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at one time a member of the city central committee of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question, sir. It might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or were you a delegate to that council?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question for the same reason, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Pearlman, the committee has information that there was issued to you Communist Party Book No. 58703 by the Communist Party of the city of Baltimore for the year 1946. Is that correct?

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question, sir. It might tend to incriminate me.

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

Mr. PEARLMAN. I refuse to answer this question for the same reason, sir.

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

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused from further attendance on the committee?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. You may be excused.

Mr. PEARLMAN. Thank you.

(Testimony of the next witness, Oscar Roberts, is printed in another volume under same title, pt. 3. The hearing then continued with testimony of Peter Edward Forrest.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Peter Forrest.

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

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

Mr. FORREST. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Mr. Chairman, I wish the record to show that we are proceeding under protest, due to the absence of a quorum.

Mr. WOOD. For the purpose of hearing this witness, let the record show that the chairman of the committee has set up a subcommittee composed of Messrs. Walter, Doyle, Kearney, and Wood. We are all present.

TESTIMONY OF PETER EDWARD FORREST, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, MAURICE BRAVERMAN

Mr. TAVENNER. State your full name, please?

Mr. FORREST. Peter Edward Forrest.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. FORREST. I am.

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

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Maurice Braverman, 119 West Mulberry Street, Baltimore, Md.

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

Mr. FORREST. Mathews, Va., May 22, 1900.

Mr. TAVENNER. What educational training have you had?

Mr. FORREST. Finished public school, or free school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. FORREST. 2322 Etting Street, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Baltimore?

Mr. FORREST. Thirty-one years.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed in Baltimore?

Mr. FORREST. In the copper industry.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the name of your employer?

Mr. FORREST. American Smelting & Refining Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you worked for the American Smelting and Refining Co.?

Mr. FORREST. Twelve years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the nature of your duties, or your work?

Mr. FORREST. Cement finisher.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you presently hold an office in Local 625 of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union?

Mr. FORREST. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever held an office in that union?

Mr. FORREST. I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. What office was that?

Mr. FORREST. Vice president.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you vice president?

Mr. FORREST. In 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held any other office in that union?

Mr. FORREST. I was trustee in 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. In addition to those two offices, have you held any other?

Mr. FORREST. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, that is, the international organization with which your local 625 is affiliated, has been expelled from the CIO as an organization which follows the Communist Party line. Is that correct?

Mr. FORREST. I refuse to answer that question on grounds that it may tend to incriminate me later.

Mr. TAVENNER. It has been expelled from the CIO, has it not?

Mr. FORREST. I still refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may incriminate me later.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Walter McManamon?

Mr. FORREST. For the same reason I refuse to answer that question, on the grounds that it may incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of the other officers of your local at that time you were vice president in 1948?

Mr. FORREST. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may incriminate me later.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of a letter from Dorothy Rose Blumberg, secretary-treasurer of the Communist Party of the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia, dated February 25, 1946, and I will ask you to look at it.

In this letter which you have before you, you will note that Mrs. Blumberg announced that there would be an enlarged session of the regular district committee meeting.

Did you receive a copy of that letter?

Mr. FORREST. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that whatever answer I give may incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. The letter refers to and invites attendance at a meeting to be held on March 3, 1946. Did you attend that meeting?

Mr. FORREST. For the same reason I refuse to answer that question, on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you working for the American Smelting & Refining Co. at Baltimore in February 1946, the date of that letter?

Mr. FORREST. I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee whether or not there was a Communist Party cell at that time, in 1946, among the employees of the American Smelting & Refining Co.?

Mr. FORREST. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

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

Mr. FORREST. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why this witness should not be excused from further attendance on the committee?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. That is all. You are excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. WOOD. Does this conclude the program for examination of witnesses this afternoon?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. I ask the members of the subcommittee to meet with me in chambers for executive session immediately after the recess.

Until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, the committee stands in recess.

(Thereupon, at 3:05 p. m. on Tuesday, June 26, 1951, an adjournment was taken until Wednesday, June 27, 1951, at 10 a. m.)

HEARINGS RELATING TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE DEFENSE AREA OF BALTIMORE—PART 1

(Based on Testimony of Mary Stalcup Markward)

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27, 1951

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

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met pursuant to adjournment at 10:50 a. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Bernard W. Kearney, Donald L. Jackson, and Charles E. Potter (appearance as noted in transcript).

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WOOD. The committee will be in order.

Whom do you have, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Aaron Ostrofsky.

Mr. WOOD. For the purposes of hearing this witness, let the record disclose that, acting under the authority vested in me as chairman of this committee, I have set up a subcommittee composed of Messrs. Kearney, Jackson, and Wood. We are all present.

Mr. DUBOW. We would like the record to show we are proceeding under protest because there is not a quorum of the full committee.

Mr. WOOD. The record will so show.

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

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat.

TESTIMONY OF AARON OSTROFSKY, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, MITCHELL A. DUBOW

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

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Aaron Ostrofsky.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I am.

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

Mr. DUBOW. Mitchell A. Dubow, 213 Tower Building, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ostrofsky, when and where were you born?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I was born in Rumania, December 6, 1919.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you speak a little louder, please.

Mr. WOOD. We can't hear you up here, so if you would elevate your voice we would appreciate it.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I came when I was about 11 months old, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized citizen?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you naturalized?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I have derivative citizenship under my father's papers.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was your father naturalized?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I wouldn't remember the exact date, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Approximately?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. It must have been in the thirties, I figure.

Mr. WOOD. We still can't hear you.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I say it must have been in the 1930's. I don't know the exact date.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the committee a brief statement of your educational training?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I went to public school, junior high and high school, and took some courses in an evening college.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you attend high school?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. And where did you attend college?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the college?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Brooklyn Evening College.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I am employed as a welder in the Bethlehem Steel Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you presently reside?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. 3438 Auchentoroly Terrace, A-u-c-h-e-n-t-o-r-o-l-y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Baltimore?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you resided in Baltimore?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Approximately 10 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time where did you live?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I lived in New York City; Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before coming to Baltimore, how were you employed?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. The period immediately prior to coming to Baltimore, I was unemployed.

Mr. TAVENNER. While living in Brooklyn before coming to Baltimore, where were you employed?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I had odd jobs, they didn't last long; temporary jobs. I was mostly employed doing hat work, men's hats.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you came to Baltimore, where were you first employed?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. As a welder in the shipyards.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the Fairfield plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I worked there and I worked at the Maryland Drydock Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which place did you work first?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I believe Maryland Drydock.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you began working there about when?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I believe it was in May of 1940 or 1941. I think it was 1941.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long did you work in that position?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I worked in that plant approximately 3 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. And then how were you employed at the end of that time? How were you employed after that?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. After that I went to the Bethlehem Shipyard.

Mr. WOOD. I wish you would try to remember that we are some distance away from you, and elevate your voice, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. You then became employed at the Fairfield Shipyard of the Bethlehem Steel Corp. sometime in 1941?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long did you continue to work there?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I worked there until approximately 1944, and then I went into the service in May 1944, and while in the service I received the Purple Heart, Combat Infantry Badge, and after I came out, in 1945 I believe, I went back to the shipyard again.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you go back to the same position that you held when you went in the service?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. That is right, a welder's position.

Mr. TAVENNER. That of a welder?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you still hold the same position?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I am still a welder.

Mr. TAVENNER. Maybe I misunderstood you. Did you go back to the shipbuilding branch of the Bethlehem Steel Corp. when you came back from the service?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I went back to the same place I was in before I went in the service, the same location and same place.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work there?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I worked there until the final date that the place existed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember when that was?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I believe Bethlehem Fairfield Shipyard closed in November 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. And since November 1946 how have you been employed?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Then I was unemployed for a while; then I got a job at the Bethlehem Steel Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. At what plant of the company?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Sparrows Point.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where you are now employed?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Where I am now employed.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the general nature of your work at Sparrows Point?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. The welder's duties are to fabricate pieces of metal together, and anything that breaks in the plant, to fix it up immediately so that the plant can operate.

Mr. TAVENNER. The normal duties of a welder?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. The normal duties of a welder and burner.

Mr. TAVENNER. From your statement of your work, it is apparent that in 1943 you were working at the Fairfield plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to a paper known as the Fairfield Yardbird, there was an election of officers of local 43 in that year, and the photographs of candidates for the various offices appear in the July 17, 1943, issue of that paper. Also, the issue of July 14, 1944, of the Fairfield Yardbird contains photographs of candidates for various offices in the election in that year.

I hand you first the issue of July 14, 1944, and I will ask if you see there the photograph of Harold Tyree, "candidate for vice president; chairman of the second shift at Fairfield; shop steward of burners; chairman of organizing committee" of the local. Do you see the photograph?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Yes, I see the photograph.

Mr. TAVENNER. Please speak a little louder. Do you see the photograph?

Mr. DUBOW. Yes, there is a photograph with the name.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not asking you. I am asking the witness.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I see the photograph.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Do you know Harold Tyree?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are unwilling to identify Harold Tyree as a candidate for office in local 43 of the Marine Shipbuilding Workers Union?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you to examine the paper again and see if you see the photograph of Leon Bessowitz. It is in the lower left-hand corner, I believe, on the front page.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I see the photograph.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position was he a candidate for, according to the paper?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. You want me to read it to you?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. OSTROFSKY (reading):

Organizer of Hopeman employees; member of local 43 25 months; elected steward in 1942; reelected in 1943 and 1944; one of the negotiators of all union shops and recent negotiation on Hopeman contract; delegate to national IUMSWA convention and State CIO convention; day-shift chairman. Trustee of local 43—CIO."

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a candidate for election as trustee of the union at that time, according to the newspaper?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Can I read it again?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I just read it, but I didn't study it.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. According to the newspaper, it says he is a candidate for trustee.

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

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you see the photograph of Whitey Goodfriend?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Yes, I see it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us a description, according to the newspaper, of his record and what position he was candidate for?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. According to the newspaper, it says:

For trustees, vote for two only. He is a charter member and former officer of the local; he is also a veteran of this war, having been in the invasion of Sicily, and Salerno, Italy. Twice been torpedoed as a merchant seaman.

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

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

(Representative Charles E. Potter entered hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you now the issue of July 17, 1943, of the Fairfield Yardbird, to which I referred, and ask you to identify the photograph appearing in the upper right-hand corner.

Mr. OSTROFSKY (after conferring with his counsel). According to the newspaper here, the caption is Aaron Ostrofsky under the photograph.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that your name?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. My name?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSTROFSKY (after conferring with his counsel). That is my name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that your photograph?

Mr. OSTROFSKY (after conferring with his counsel). Yes, that is my photograph.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the office that the paper recites you were a candidate for?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. According to the newspapers, it says:

Transferred from local 31, shop steward of welders—

I am sorry.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want you to read that too, so go ahead.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I misunderstood your question.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all right.

Mr. OSTROFSKY (continuing reading):

Shop committeeman; member of Victory production committee; delegate to Baltimore Industrial Union Council, CIO. Also, member of United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what office does the newspaper state you were a candidate for?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. The newspaper says, "Candidates for grievance committee. Seven to be elected."

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a candidate for that office, the grievance committee?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I notice the paper says you were transferred from local 31. Where was local 31? In what company was local 31 organized and operating as the agent?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wasn't it organized in the Maryland Drydock Co.?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I notice according to the paper that you were a delegate to the Baltimore Industrial Union Council, CIO. Who were the officers of that council at that time, do you recall?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me. I might further add that it looks to me, from what I have seen yesterday and the proceedings now, it looks as if you are prosecuting people.

Mr. TAVENNER. No; this committee has nothing to do with prosecution, but this committee is charged with the responsibility of finding out and determining the extent of un-American activities. That is the purpose of our investigation, and we would like for you to cooperate with the committee and tell it all you know about the organization of the Communist Party in connection with any group you were associated with, whether that be in a union or some group established for some other purpose, or regardless of your association in any union or other group. Are you willing to give the committee the information that you have? That is what we are seeking.

Mr. OSTROFSKY (after conferring with his counsel). Will you break that question down for me? I don't understand the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. My question to you is this: Having stated, as you did, that you thought the purpose of this committee was to prosecute somebody, and having advised you that that is not the purpose of this committee nor its function, but that the purpose of this committee is to find out all it can regarding un-American activities within any group that you may have been associated with, will you cooperate with the committee in furnishing it that information, such as you have?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. What I gave is an opinion. I think I have a right to my opinion from the proceedings I saw and the newspaper articles I read, and I followed them pretty closely. I think I have a right to my opinion.

Mr. JACKSON. To whom did you refer when you said you thought the committee was prosecuting?

Mr. OSTROFSKY (after conferring with his counsel). I didn't refer to any particular individual. That was my opinion from what I saw yesterday and read in the newspapers.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you think you are being prosecuted when you are asked where local 31 was organized?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to this same issue of the Fairfield Yardbird, of July 17, 1943, you were a member of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO. Where were you working at the time that you were a member of that organization?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ostrofsky, the committee, in the course of its investigations, has found that 34 men who are identified in the fight against communism in local 43 were expelled for life from that local

union. That expulsion, as we understand, was alleged to have been for disrupting the war effort and the affairs of local 43. Did you have any part to play in the expulsion of those 34 members from your local?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Did you say local 43?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. If it be true that the Communist Party, through infiltration, was in control of local 43, and expelled various persons with whom it was in disagreement, what would be the effect upon the ability of those persons so expelled to again seek union cards, do you know?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Did you again mention the union in that question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; I mentioned the union.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you this: When a person is expelled from a union such as local 43, what are the regulations about his again joining the union?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the action that was taken in local 43 to expel the 34 men to whom I referred, did you confer with any members of the Communist Party with regard to that action prior to the action being taken?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Did you again mention local 43 in that question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Oh, yes; local 43.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did other members of your union, that is, local 43, confer with members of the Communist Party prior to the taking of that action in the expulsion of the 34 men?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you learn through any source that there existed at the Fairfield Yard of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corp. a Communist cell or group, organized among the employees at that plant?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Walter McManamon?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I refer you again to the July 14, 1944, issue of the Fairfield Yardbird, and ask you if you see there the photograph of Walter McManamon?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. According to the caption in the newspaper—do you want me to read the entire thing?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, just read that.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. According to the caption next to the picture, it says:

Walter McManamon. Business agent of local 43 for the past year; former second-shift chairman; former shop steward of the welders; treasurer of Balti-

more Industrial Union Council; member of organizing committee; member of the charter advisory committee of the city of Baltimore; past delegate to National IUMSWA convention and State CIO convention; leader of the opposition to AFL raiders; background of 11 years in labor movement.

(Representative Charles E. Potter left hearing room.)

Mr. KEARNEY. Is that the same person who on the stand the other day admitted he had been indicted for murder in Chicago?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you know any of the persons whose pictures appear in the copy of the newspaper you hold in your hand?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. Are you familiar with the publication you hold in your hand?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you know whether or not any publication of that sort was published in the shipyard during the time you were employed there?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WOOD. Because of a call of the House, we will have to suspend until 1 o'clock this afternoon.

Mr. SCRIBNER (David). Mr. Chairman, I wonder if I could make an application on behalf of one of the witnesses here?

Mr. WOOD. Not now, because this is the second bell. We have to go.

(Thereupon, at 11:15 a. m., a recess was taken until 1 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. WOOD. Let the record show that there are present the following members of the committee: Messrs. Doyle, Kearney, Jackson, and Wood, constituting the full membership of the subcommittee appointed this morning.

Mr. DUBOW. I would like the record to show that we renew our objection to proceeding in the absence of a quorum of the full committee.

Mr. WOOD. The record already so shows.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF AARON OSTROFSKY—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. My last question to you related to Walter McManamon. You looked at the July 14, 1944, issue of the *Fairfield Yardbird*, and I was asking you a question as to what material appeared in the newspaper opposite his photograph. Will you examine the photograph and material opposite it in the paper again and state for what position Mr. McManamon was a candidate during that election?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. According to the caption it says, "For Business Agent Vote for One."

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the date when the 34 men were expelled from local union 43?

Mr. OSTROFSKY (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call before the committee the two gentlemen sitting right on our left. Will you two gentlemen come up here?

If you will stand back a moment and you will come forward.

(One of the two persons referred to came forward.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ostrofsky, you see the gentleman just to my left. Was he one of the 34 men expelled from local 43 because he was anti-Communist?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know this gentleman?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the local with you?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now I would like to ask the gentleman to be sworn by the chairman and state his name. That is all I will ask him.

Mr. WOOD. Hold up your right hand, please. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SHRINER. So help me, God.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, sir?

Mr. SHRINER. George D. Shriner.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Will the other gentleman come forward, please?

(The person referred to came forward.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ostrofsky, do you see the gentleman standing immediately to my left?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Yes; I see him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he one of the 34 who were discharged from your local 43 because of his anti-Communist activities?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know this gentleman?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever seen him before?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like for this gentleman to be sworn, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Hold up your right hand, please, sir.

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

Mr. CONNOLLY. I do, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Mr. CONNOLLY. Francis J. Connolly.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Any questions, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. You were in the service, you stated?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. When did you enter the service?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I believe the correct date is May 17, 1944.

Mr. JACKSON. When were you mustered out of service?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I believe the date was November 12, 1945.

Mr. JACKSON. Where did you see service?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. In France and in Germany.

Mr. JACKSON. What was your rank?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. You mean when I entered?

Mr. JACKSON. When you left the service.

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Pfc.

Mr. JACKSON. Are you at present in the active or inactive Reserve?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. No; I am not.

Mr. JACKSON. Were any members ever expelled from any union or organization of which you have been a member?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Will you repeat that question, sir?

Mr. JACKSON. Were any members ever expelled from any union of which you have been a member, for any reason?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. Are you presently a member of any union?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it possible to work where you are presently employed without being a member of a union?

Mr. OSTROFSKY (after conferring with his counsel). It is.

Mr. JACKSON. It is possible to work there without being a member of a union?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it possible to be a welder without being a member of a union?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. It is.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you ever voted for officers in any union of which you have been a member?

Mr. OSTROFSKY. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason, Mr. Counsel, why this witness should not be excused from further attendance on this subcommittee?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. So ordered.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. WOOD. Before the recess some gentleman, I believe counsel for one of the witnesses, asked for permission to make some comment. I am sorry I had to delay you. I will be glad to hear you now.

Mr. DAVID SCRIBNER. Thank you very much.

I represent Mr. Herbert Nichol, who was subpoenaed for appearance today.

Mr. Nichol was served with the subpoena night before last, to appear this morning, and that comes exactly 48 hours before a major union

election to be conducted by the Government among employees of the Lock Corp. in Baltimore.

My application is to recess or adjourn the examination of Mr. Nichol until after this week, since the election is scheduled for Friday.

The reason I make this application is that it would appear, were there not an adjournment, that there would be some reason, other than merely to get information from this witness within the scope of the powers of this committee, for calling him. In other words, it would appear that the subpoenaing and calling of Mr. Nichol is in some way connected with the election.

Mr. WOOD. Appears to whom?

Mr. SCRIBNER. I say it would appear.

Mr. WOOD. To whom?

Mr. SCRIBNER. It certainly would appear to us, because we have had some experience along this line in connection with an East Pittsburgh plant.

Mr. WOOD. Is that the ground on which you are asking for a continuance?

Mr. SCRIBNER. All I am saying is that in the light of the campaign going on right now among employees of the Lock Corp., leading up to an election to be conducted by the Government on Friday, any evidence which would necessarily relate to the election, and which would be used for campaign purposes would make it wholly unwarranted for the hearing to be held at this time.

We respectfully ask that it be adjourned until any time next week, or any time after this week set by the committee.

Mr. WOOD. I am not sure I understand what you mean by saying that the testimony of this witness would influence the election.

Mr. SCRIBNER. We had an election in East Pittsburgh some time ago, and witnesses were called before this committee just about a week before this election. Conflicting groups were called down here just before the election, and those conflicting groups were able to air the matters of immediate and primary concern to the employees.

We feel any interference from any outside agency is wholly unwarranted, and certainly this committee would not want to be in a position where that could even be intimated.

We ask that the matter be adjourned. I had no opportunity to see the witness until this morning. I only knew about it yesterday. Yesterday I sent a telegram to you and to Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. WOOD. I have the telegram. It will be filed with the committee.

Mr. SCRIBNER. May I read it into the record?

Mr. WOOD. It is not the policy of the committee to incorporate such communications in the record. The telegram is here, and it is before the committee.

Mr. SCRIBNER. It is part of my application.

Mr. WOOD. I will say to the gentleman that this investigation has been under way since considerably prior to the time the date of this election was fixed by the board, and Mr. Nichol was on the agenda to be called as a witness. I signed a subpoena for Mr. Nichol more than 2 weeks ago. For reasons perhaps better known to him, the staff was unable to serve him prior to the time he was actually served. I have no way of knowing what his testimony would be before this committee, or what position he would take in connection with the questions to be

asked of him, but there is no disposition on the part of this committee to enter into any investigation for the purpose of influencing any election.

I can't, for the life of me, see how it would influence an election for the witness to be called on to give testimony on what he knows, if anything, about subversive influences in defense plants, or in labor unions connected with defense plants, which is the purpose of this investigation.

However, I will be glad to submit your request to the committee sometime in the afternoon in executive session.

MR. SCRIBNER. Certainly there would be no harm whatsoever done if the witness were to appear at some time other than this week before the committee. The witness has been constantly available. He has been in touch, on almost a daily basis, with the National Labor Relations Board. He has been at the plant. He has a young baby and has been at home much of the time. He has been at his office. We find it curious that only 3 or 4 days before the election, which is one of considerable consequences, he should be called.

On the other hand, not assigning any motives whatsoever, if the witness' appearance were put over until next week, no harm would be done. The committee is certainly going to continue this investigation for some time. In my wire to the committee I stated I would be responsible for the witness' appearance. I have appeared before this committee many times and, as Mr. Tavenner knows, I have appeared before the courts many times and we should be able to work out these matters cooperatively.

MR. WOOD. Is it your thought that the testimony of this witness would be detrimental to any group connected with this election?

MR. SCRIBNER. No, sir.

MR. WOOD. Did you say "No, sir" to the question?

MR. SCRIBNER. I would like to answer it this way: The mere fact that a witness is called before this committee regarding a collective bargaining election immediately has an impact one way or another. You people know, as people who have been in election campaigns, what is involved, no matter what the motives may be.

MR. WOOD. Now, will you answer my question?

MR. SCRIBNER. I think I did.

MR. WOOD. I think it can be answered directly. The question I asked you was, Is it your thought that the testimony the witness would give before this committee would be detrimental to any group connected with this election?

MR. SCRIBNER. Sir, I have absolutely no information whatsoever as to what his testimony would be. All I am saying is that we are aware that appearance before your committee just before an election, regardless of what the testimony is, does have an impact and we would like to have a secret-ballot election without outside interference.

I respectfully request that the examination of Mr. Nichol before this committee be put over until after Friday.

MR. WOOD. I will submit your request to the committee in executive session, but I want the record to show that the appearance of a witness before this committee at any time, or any action that this committee may take with reference to a witness appearing before it, ought not, and is not intended, to influence any election.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Scribner, will you identify yourself for the record, please?

Mr. SCRIBNER. David Scribner, 11 East Fifty-first Street, New York City.

(Testimony of the next witness, Sam Schmerler, is printed in another volume under same title, Part 3.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Irving Kandel.

Mr. WOOD. Let the record disclose that there is a quorum of the full committee present, consisting of Messrs. Walter, Doyle, Kearney, Jackson, and Wood.

Will you raise your right hand, please?

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

Mr. KANDEL. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Be seated.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING KANDEL, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, HAROLD BUCHMAN

Mr. TAVENNER. State your full name, please?

Mr. KANDEL. Irving Kandel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. KANDEL. I am.

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

Mr. BUCHMAN. Harold Buchman, 213 Tower Building, Baltimore, Md.

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

Mr. KANDEL. June 14, 1912, New York City.

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

Mr. KANDEL. Elementary school graduate; high school graduate; night school in college; and some trade school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you presently reside?

Mr. KANDEL. 2436 Linden Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Baltimore?

Mr. KANDEL. Approximately 15 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that where did you live?

Mr. KANDEL. In New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed?

Mr. KANDEL. As a machinist.

Mr. TAVENNER. By whom are you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. By Dykman, 3931 Falls Road, Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you spell it?

Mr. KANDEL. I spell it D-y-k-m-a-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you worked there?

Mr. KANDEL. Approximately 6 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that where were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. Jack's Brass Novelty Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work there?

Mr. KANDEL. Roughly 2 to 3 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that where were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. At the Carton Machinery Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long did you work at the Carton Machinery Co.

Mr. KANDEL. About a month.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that where were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. Baltimore Bloom Machinery Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you employed there?

Mr. KANDEL. Approximately 6 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. And prior to that how were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. As a machinist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. KANDEL. Diecraft Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work for that company?

Mr. KANDEL. One day.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that where were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. Glenn L. Martin Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work for Glenn L. Martin Co.?

Mr. KANDEL. About 7 weeks.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your employment there?

Mr. KANDEL. A machinist.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did your employment begin, about what date?

Mr. KANDEL. Well, I believe it was in the early summer of 1949.

However, I would have to think back to make a more exact approximation.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work there?

Mr. KANDEL. About 7 weeks.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that how were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. As a machinist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. KANDEL. The Bendix-Friez Corp.

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

Mr. KANDEL. I was a machinist.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long were you employed there?

Mr. KANDEL. Approximately a year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that how were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. As a machinist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. KANDEL. I believe it was the National Enamel Stamping Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you employed there?

Mr. KANDEL. Approximately 2 to 3 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that where were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. Zimco, Inc.

Mr. TAVENNER. And prior to that where were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. Crown Cork & Seal.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then tell us by whom you were employed before you were employed there.

Mr. KANDEL. Please state your question in question form.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will the reporter read the question.

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

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you understand it?

Mr. KANDEL. Not very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. By whom were you employed prior to the last employment you have mentioned?

Mr. KANDEL. Bank Machine Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. And prior to that where were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. I was in the service in the United States Navy.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you enter the service?

Mr. KANDEL. In the early part of 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. And when were you discharged?

Mr. KANDEL. In the early part of 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to your entry in the service, how were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. As a machinist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. KANDEL. At the Bank Machine Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. And prior to that where were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. Murrill Keyser Co.

Mr. KEARNEY. How long did he work there?

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you understand the question?

Mr. KANDEL. Was it addressed to me?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. KANDEL. I worked there approximately a year.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did the employment begin at that place, approximately?

Mr. KANDEL. It was in the vicinity of 1943, but without checking back I can't give you the exact date.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is close enough. Prior to 1943 how were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. If you mean prior to the Murrill Keyser Co., I was employed by William G. Cost.

Mr. TAVENNER. And prior to that employment how were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. As a machinist.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. KANDEL. Bartlett-Heywood.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are all of these places in Baltimore?

Mr. KANDEL. With a few exceptions they were all within Baltimore City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were the others in the general vicinity of Baltimore?

Mr. KANDEL. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to the last employment you mentioned, how were you employed?

Mr. KANDEL. As a clerk.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. KANDEL. Social Security Board, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did your employment begin with the Social Security Board?

Mr. KANDEL. Approximately the latter part of 1936.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long did it continue?

Mr. KANDEL. Until, as closely as I can remember, the latter part of 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were employed by the Social Security Board, did you hold an office in local 17 of the United Federal Workers?

Mr. KANDEL. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. What office was that?

Mr. KANDEL. I held a number of different offices at different times.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state what they were, please?

MR. KANDEL. To the best of my recollection I was treasurer of the organization at one time; I was vice president of the organization at another time; and I have the impression, though I don't remember exactly, that I may have held a post on the executive board, or some responsibility in the union.

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

MR. TAVENNER. While you were employed by the Social Security Board in Baltimore, was Mr. Herbert J. Nichol also employed by the same board?

MR. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

MR. TAVENNER. At the time you were a member of local 17, was Mr. Daniel P. Atwood president of the local at any time?

MR. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

MR. TAVENNER. Was Mr. A. Kotelchuck, K-o-t-e-l-c-h-u-c-k, a member of the executive board at the time you were vice president of the local?

MR. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

MR. TAVENNER. Was Mr. Rudolph Hindin a member of the executive board at the time you were vice president?

MR. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

MR. TAVENNER. Was Mr. Milton Newman a member of the executive board at the time you were vice president?

MR. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Kandel, you referred to the fact that you served in the Navy between 1944 and 1946. After your return, it appears from the November 1, 1948, issue of the Daily Worker that you, identified as a Navy veteran, demanded the dismissal of the indictments of the original 12 Communist leaders in a letter sent to the President and to the Attorney General.

Will you explain to the committee the circumstances under which your name was used in connection with that letter, and how the use of your name was obtained, if it was?

MR. KANDEL. If it was?

MR. TAVENNER. Yes.

MR. KANDEL (after conferring with his counsel). I really don't understand the question. It seems to be divided into a number of thoughts.

MR. TAVENNER. Was your name used in connection with that letter with your permission?

MR. KANDEL (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

MR. JACKSON. Would the witness have answered the question if it had been divided into 20 or 30 separate parts?

MR. KANDEL. If you will divide it into 20 or 30 separate parts, I will then see if I will answer them.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you permit your name to be used in connection with such a letter?

MR. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you consulted about the letter?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. So if we divided the question into 20 more parts, you still would not answer it?

Mr. KANDEL. Is that a question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you see the letter in the Daily Worker?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a subscriber to the Daily Worker?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Other persons from Baltimore whose names appear in the telegram are as follows, and I will ask you to state whether you are acquainted with that individual, first, and then I may ask you other questions, depending upon your answer: William H. Wood.

Mr. KANDEL. You are now referring to an unidentified telegram, is that it?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am referring to the same telegram appearing in the Daily Worker, issue of November 1, 1948, sent to the President and to the Attorney General, in which you were identified as a Navy veteran demanding the dismissal of the indictments of the original 12 Communist leaders.

Mr. KANDEL. You made reference to a letter, and now it is a telegram, is that it?

Mr. TAVENNER. No. I will correct that. It is the same letter. It is not a telegram.

Mr. KANDEL. And you have already referred to a letter in a previous question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, the one you wanted broken down into a number of questions, which I did.

Mr. KANDEL. I see. Will you proceed with your question?

Mr. TAVENNER. This is another question based on the same letter. In this letter the names of the following persons in the vicinity of Baltimore were identified, along with yours, as demanding the dismissal of the indictments. William H. Wood is one of them. Are you acquainted with William H. Wood?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Joseph Greenberg?

Mr. KANDEL. Are you still referring to the same letter?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. William Blank?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Sam Fox?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Milton Seif?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. George N. Meyers?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Herbert Kransdorf?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Philip Frankfeld?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position, if any, Philip Frankfeld held in the Communist Party?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Kandel, during your employment at the Bendix-Friez plant, were you a member of local 109 of UE?

Mr. KANDEL. If there was a union in that shop I was probably a member of it. I don't remember the name of the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you do remember you were a member of a local of UE, were you not?

Mr. KANDEL. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the approximate dates when you were a member?

Mr. KANDEL. I believe I started to work there sometime in 1949, in which case I would have joined the union about that time, whenever it was.

Mr. TAVENNER. And about how long were you a member?

Mr. KANDEL. Until I was laid off.

Mr. TAVENNER. About how long was that? I believe you told us you worked there about a year?

Mr. KANDEL. Well, then, it would probably be a year less a few months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold the position of treasurer of the local while you were there?

Mr. KANDEL. I believe I did.

Mr. JACKSON. Did the witness or did the witness not serve as treasurer of the local?

Mr. KANDEL. Well, I have think back. It was some time ago. To the best of my recollection I did serve as treasurer of the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time your name came up for election to that position, did you not advise the president and several members of the local that you had never participated in union activities before and therefore you were reluctant to accept the nomination as treasurer?

Mr. KANDEL. To whom was I supposed to have said this?

Mr. TAVENNER. To the president and other members of the local.

Mr. KANDEL. Do you identify the individual you refer to?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Mr. Laberto.

Mr. KANDEL. To the best of my knowledge and recollection I never made any such statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. By that shall we infer that you just do not recall, or that it is not true?

Mr. KANDEL. I do not understand that question. You speak of inferences.

Mr. TAVENNER. You state to the best of your recollection you do not recall making any such statement. By that do you mean you are uncertain whether you made such a statement, or that to the best of your recollection you did not make it?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER (continuing). Let me make another statement which may help to refresh your recollection. But first, I will let you try to recall.

Mr. KANDEL. Either way.

Mr. TAVENNER. Go ahead.

Mr. KANDEL. I cannot recall any such conversation with anyone. (After conferring with his counsel.) In a word, I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you remember endeavoring to conceal the fact that you had prior experience in union work?

Mr. KANDEL (after conferring with his counsel). I don't remember any such attempt.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall a desire or effort on your part to conceal the fact that you had had prior organizational experience of any kind?

Mr. KANDEL. It is impossible for me to comment on that question, because I have no recollection of it at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you confer with Mr. Herbert J. Nichol, prior to your election as treasurer, with regard to your nomination?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall an occasion, about a month after the time when you were elected treasurer, that you accompanied Mr. Laberto and another individual in an automobile, the other individual being Mr. Herbert J. Nichol?

Mr. KANDEL (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. When I said "accompanied," I meant to add from a meeting of local 109 toward your residence. I don't suppose that adds any meaning to the question?

Mr. KANDEL. Now, frankly, I don't understand what you mean.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am stating that according to the committee's information you accompanied Mr. Laberto, president of your local, and Mr. Herbert J. Nichol, from the meeting place of local 109 and proceeded in the direction of your residence. Do you recall the occasion?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you, on the occasion that I referred to or at any other time approximately a month after you were elected treasurer, deny to Mr. Laberto that you knew Herbert J. Nichol?

Mr. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have spoken about being employed by the Glenn L. Martin Co. in Baltimore. Do you recall the names of the references you gave when you were employed by that company?

Mr. KANDEL (after conferring with his counsel). No, I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were they Sam Fox, Milton Seif, and Harold Round?

Mr. KANDEL. I don't remember.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you know those three individuals?

MR. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you ever belong to the District Committee of the Communist Party for Maryland and the District of Columbia?

MR. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you ever make application for enrollment in a Communist Party training course?

MR. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

MR. TAVENNER. At the time you were employed by the Federal Government with the Social Security Board in Baltimore, were you a member of the Communist Party?

MR. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

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

MR. KANDEL. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

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

MR. WOOD. Have you, Mr. Walter?

MR. WALTER. No.

MR. WOOD. Mr. Doyle?

MR. DOYLE. I think you stated you had attended trade school as part of your education. Will you tell us, please, what trade school you attended?

MR. KANDEL. It was a trade school under the auspices of the Baltimore public school system, in one of its buildings.

MR. DOYLE. Was it an engineering school?

MR. KANDEL. Various machine working tools.

MR. DOYLE. Are you in the Active or Inactive Reserve of any branch of the military service of the United States?

MR. KANDEL. I am not.

MR. DOYLE. I presume you served your term of enlistment in the services during the last war. I believe you said you were in the Navy?

MR. KANDEL. Yes.

MR. DOYLE. What rank did you hold when you were discharged?

MR. KANDEL. Machinist's mate, shop, third class.

MR. DOYLE. That is all.

MR. KANDEL. I want to make one addition to that: While in the Navy I also attended the trade schools to which I have made reference.

MR. WOOD. Mr. Kearney?

MR. KEARNEY. No questions.

MR. WOOD. Mr. Jackson?

MR. JACKSON. What was the nature of your discharge?

MR. KANDEL. It was an honorable discharge.

MR. JACKSON. Where did you spend the major part of your service during the 2 years you were in the service?

MR. KANDEL. At a number of different places. After boot camp I was assigned to the trade school in Dearborn, Mich. From there I was assigned to Norfolk, Va. From there I went to the west coast for shipment to the Marshall Islands, and from there, after the war was over, to Tokyo.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you traveled abroad?

Mr. KANDEL. Yes, I have.

Mr. JACKSON. Has your travel abroad been on one or more occasions, and was it aside from your war service?

Mr. KANDEL. Aside from my war service? No.

Mr. JACKSON. No further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. Not at this time. I would like the witness to remain. I would like to ask him another question or two.

Mr. BUCHMAN. Today?

Mr. TAVENNER. Today, yes.

Mr. WOOD. There is a vote, gentlemen. I wonder if we can come back here at 3:30 in order to finish this schedule?

(Whereupon, at 2:50 p. m., a recess was taken until 4:10 p. m., at which time the following proceedings took place.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will all the witnesses who were subpoenaed for today and who have not been heard come forward to the bench, please?

Mr. Kandel, I had asked you to come back for further possible questions. You are excused by direction of the chairman.

(The witness Kandel was excused.)

Mr. BUCHMAN. One of my clients is out of the room. Do you want to wait a minute until I get him in?

Mr. TAVENNER. What is his name?

Mr. BUCHMAN. Milton Seif.

Mr. TAVENNER (addressing another witness). Will you give me your name, please?

Mr. ROUND. Harold L. Round.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Round, you are excused by direction of the chairman. In fact, all the witnesses who were subpoenaed for today and who have not been heard are excused by direction of the committee until 10 o'clock on the morning of July 11.

I want to get your names (addressing the four individuals standing before the committee and counsel).

Your name is Round. And what is your name?

Mr. WINKLER. Irving Winkler.

Mr. TAVENNER. And your name?

Mr. NICHOL. Herbert J. Nichol.

Mr. TAVENNER. And your name?

Mr. SEIF. Milton H. Seif.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me see if there were any others. No. I believe that covers all those who were subpoenaed for today and not reached.

There is a full docket tomorrow. This does not affect any who were subpoenaed for tomorrow.

(Whereupon, at 4:12 p. m. on Wednesday, June 27, 1951, an adjournment was taken until Thursday, June 28, 1951, at 10 a. m.)

HEARINGS RELATING TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE DEFENSE AREA OF BALTIMORE—PART 1

(Based on Testimony of Mary Staleup Markward)

THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1951

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

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities continued the hearing on the above date, at 12:15 p. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter presiding.¹

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, appointed chairman of the subcommittee; James B. Frazier, Jr., Harold H. Velde, Bernard W. Kearney, and Donald L. Jackson.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., Counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WALTER. Will you call the witness, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Sam Fox.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Fox, will you raise your right hand? Do you swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FOX. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SAM FOX, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, HAROLD BUCHMAN

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

Mr. FOX. My name is Sam Fox.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented here by counsel?

Mr. FOX. I am.

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

Mr. BUCHMAN. Harold Buchman, 213 Tower Building, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Fox, when and where were you born?

Mr. FOX. I was born July 5, 1917, in New York City.

¹ Testimony of the preceding witnesses heard by the Committee on Un-American Activities on this day, William Spiegel and Max Weinstock, is printed in another volume under same main title, pt. 3.

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

Mr. FOX. High school graduate. I went to evening college for a number of years, but I completed actual credits for about 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What college did you attend?

Mr. FOX. Brooklyn Evening College.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you complete your college work?

Mr. FOX. I did not complete my college work.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you finish your college work?

Mr. FOX. I did not finish my college work.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you leave college?

Mr. FOX. 1939 or 1940, I am not quite sure of the date.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. FOX. 2208 Linden Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Baltimore?

Mr. FOX. Since the early part of 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. And prior to 1942 where did you reside?

Mr. FOX. Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed?

Mr. FOX. I am employed at the Comfy Manufacturing Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give the name again?

Mr. FOX. Comfy Manufacturing Co. or Corp.; I don't know which.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been employed there?

Mr. FOX. I believe I started approximately October 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. And prior to 1947 where were you employed?

Mr. FOX. I had quite a number of jobs prior to 1947. Do you mean immediately prior?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, start immediately prior and we will go back, unless you would prefer to give them in another manner.

Mr. FOX. I have no preference. I am a subpoenaed witness. Prior to that I was with the United Furniture Workers as international representative.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did your employment begin with the United Furniture Workers?

Mr. FOX. You must understand, sir, that I can't give you exact dates.

Mr. WALTER. To the best of your recollection.

Mr. FOX. To the best of my recollection it was August or July of 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of local 75 while you were employed there?

Mr. FOX. I am not sure. I think so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any official position in the United Furniture Workers?

Mr. FOX. I was an international representative.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Max Weinstock?

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to your employment as business agent of that union—

Mr. FOX. I was not the business agent.

Mr. TAVENNER. As international representative, how were you employed prior to that?

Mr. FOX. I had been working in Bethlehem Key Highway Shipyard.

Mr. TAVENNER. And when did your employment begin there?

Mr. FOX. I don't exactly recall, but it was for a brief period.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you fix the year?

Mr. FOX. Yes; 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. And prior to your employment at that plant where were you employed?

Mr. FOX. Bethlehem Fairfield Shipyard.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you employed there?

Mr. FOX. About 2 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that how were you employed?

Mr. FOX. By the United States Army.

Mr. TAVENNER. And when did you enter the service?

Mr. FOX. September or October of 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you were discharged when?

Mr. FOX. Could I refer to my discharge papers?

Mr. WALTER. Just to the best of your recollection.

Mr. FOX. March or April 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to your entering the service, how were you employed?

Mr. FOX. I was employed by local 43 of the Shipbuilders' Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am sorry, I didn't hear your answer.

Mr. FOX. I was employed by local 43 of the Shipbuilders' Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity?

Mr. FOX. Several capacities. The latest one was assistant business agent.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what were the other capacities in which you served that local?

Mr. FOX. Editor of the union paper.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did your employment begin and end?

Mr. FOX. Beg pardon?

Mr. TAVENNER. When did your employment begin and end with local 43?

Mr. FOX. It ended with my induction into the Army. It began, I believe, about a year before then.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. FOX, the investigation conducted by the committee has indicated the existence of a Communist Party cell among the members of local 43. Will you give the committee the benefit of such knowledge as you may have regarding such a cell, if one existed?

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know of the existence of such a cell?

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. I am not asking whether or not you participated in any activities of the cell. I am merely asking if you know of the existence of any such cell.

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Does this man [indicating photographer] have to point that thing at me all the time?

Mr. WALTER. Are you through with the pictures? It is very disconcerting.

(Photographer left hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the committee's information, you were a candidate on the Progressive Party ticket for the office of United State Senator in Maryland in 1950. Is that correct?

Mr. FOX. (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Kearney.

Mr. KEARNEY. Am I to believe that the mere fact you were a candidate on the Progressive Party ticket for United States Senator in the State of Maryland would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me, but I would like to observe—

Mr. KEARNEY. I am not asking for your observation. I am merely asking you to answer my question.

Mr. FOX. I have answered it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you what purports to be a certificate of nomination signed by Dr. J. E. T. Camper, chairman of the Progressive Party of Maryland, presiding officer of the convention of the party, and also signed by Harold Buchman, secretary, Progressive Party of Maryland, secretary of the convention, certifying you as a candidate for election for the office of United States Senator of the Progressive Party, State of Maryland.

Will you examine it, please, and state whether or not you know that you were so certified?

Mr. FOX (after examining said document). I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me, and I would like to observe that the method by which the committee has subpoenaed witnesses, and the entire hysteria that is exhibited in the newspapers, makes any normal person reluctant to discuss any political activity he may or may not have been involved in.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. FOX, are you familiar with local 2609, United Steel Workers of America?

Mr. FOX. I am acquainted with the existence of such a local.

Mr. WALTER. In connection with what you have just said, I point out that your feelings in this matter are not shared by others. I would like to read a telegram that has just come to the chairman of this committee:

Local 2609 United Steel Workers of America, CIO, 3701 East Lombard Street, Baltimore, Md., has gone on record to endorse completely the committee investigation of alleged Communists in Baltimore area.

The telegram is signed by John L. O'Connor, recording secretary, local 2609, 3701 East Lombard Street, Baltimore 24, Md.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, may I say in that connection that it is a matter of record that the great labor organizations of this country have gone on record publicly in favor of purging Communists and Communist leadership from their unions, and that the only protests we have had on "union busting" or "antilabor" activity have come from witnesses who have refused to cooperate in any manner on points touching on Communist affiliation or Communist organization.

I think that statement should be on the record so that the record may be clear on that point. Cooperative witnesses have in no instance

accused this committee of union-busting activity. I subscribe to the statement of our distinguished chairman yesterday that if there are Communists in control of union organizations, those organizations should be "busted," and promptly.

Mr. FOX. Are you Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Mr. FOX. The definition of the word is a very loose one and applied indiscriminately, and "busting" unions has taken the form of pinning a label on the union and, with attendant hysteria, attempting to "bust" that union..

Mr. JACKSON. If the witness wishes to win the approbation of this committee and of the vast majority of the people in this country, all he has to do is deny his affiliation with the Communist Party. That is the easiest way in which you can take away any stigma that may attach to your testimony.

Mr. WALTER. The committee will have to take a recess until 2 o'clock.

(Thereupon a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:45 p. m., Representatives Walter, Frazier, and Kearney, the full membership of the subcommittee, being present.)

Mr. WALTER. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

TESTIMONY OF SAM FOX—Resumed

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Fox, I hand you a photostatic copy of what purports to be an affidavit of candidate for election under article 33 of the code as required by the Subversive Activities Act of 1949 of the State of Maryland, signed by Sam Fox before a notary public, which certifies and affirms that the affiant is not a member of a subversive organization as defined in chapter 86 of the Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland of 1949.

Will you please examine it and state whether or not that is your signature?

Mr. FOX (after examining said document). I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you sign an affidavit which is required under the laws of the State of Maryland in connection with candidacy for office?

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer this affidavit in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Fox Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WALTER. Let it be so marked and received.

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

Mr. TAVENNER. The date of this affidavit is September 1, 1950. Were you a member of a subversive organization on that date, as defined in chapter 86 of the acts of the General Assembly of Maryland of 1949?

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, will the witness speak up a little? I can't hear what he says.

Mr. FOX. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you, on September 1, 1950, a member of any organization directed, dominated, or controlled directly or indirectly by a foreign government which engaged in or advocates, abets, advises, or teaches, or a purpose of which is to engage in or to advocate, abet, advise, or teach activities intended to overthrow, destroy, or alter, or to assist in the overthrow, destruction, or alteration of the constitutional form of the Government of the United States, or of the State of Maryland, or of any political subdivision of either of them, and to establish in place thereof any form of government the direction and control of which is to be vested in, or exercised by or under, the domination or control of any foreign government, organization, or individual?

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. BUCHMAN. Judge Walter, I would like to call your attention to the fact that the court of appeals in Maryland, in the case of Fox versus Board of Election Supervisors, invalidated that oath insofar as it applied to candidates for Federal office, just as a matter of record.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I understood the witness this morning to refuse to admit he was a candidate for a Federal office.

Mr. WALTER. That is not exactly correct. He refused to answer the question.

Mr. KEARNEY. Were you a candidate for the office of United States Senator on the Progressive ticket in Maryland in 1950?

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

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

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me.

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

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Frazier?

Mr. FRAZIER. No questions.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. FOX, do you agree with the thoughts of the two major labor organizations, namely, the American Federation of Labor and the CIO, in their desire to rid themselves of Communists in their locals?

Mr. FOX (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is all.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Tavenner, do you want to ask another question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. FOX, the committee has information that on June 20, 1951, that is just a few days ago, there was an announcement of the formation of an organization known as the Committee to Defend American Freedoms, in Baltimore.

Do you know anything about the formation of that organization?

Mr. FOX (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether the founders of the organization are Mrs. Harold Buchman, Mrs. Sam Fox, Mrs. Milton Seif, and Mrs. Louis Shub?

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me, and I also protest the bringing of my wife's name into this hearing.

Mr. WALTER. Is your wife the Mrs. Fox whose name was mentioned?

Mr. FOX (after conferring with his counsel). Do you want to know the name of my wife, sir?

Mr. WALTER. No. You declined to answer the question naming those people on the ground it might tend to incriminate you. Among the names was Mrs. Sam Fox. I was wondering if that is the name of your wife.

Mr. FOX. Anybody who is my wife would be named Mrs. Sam Fox, I presume.

Mr. WALTER. Is the Mrs. Sam Fox named in connection with that organization your wife?

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. What might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are you in any way connected with the American Peace Crusade that meets in Chicago Friday, June 29?

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. Any petitions for the American Peace Crusade that were placed for circulation in the city of Baltimore, did you have anything to do with the placing of those petitions?

(Representative Donald L. Jackson entered hearing room.)

Mr. FOX. I didn't hear the question.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will the stenographer read the question?

(The question referred to was read by the reporter as recorded.)

Mr. FOX (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me. I wish to state also that I think this is a back-handed attack on people desirous of attaining a peaceful world.

Mr. KEARNEY. Before the witness makes a speech, Mr. Chairman, I would like to have him state why an answer to that question would tend to incriminate him.

Mr. FOX. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. Answer the question.

Mr. FOX. I have answered the question.

Mr. KEARNEY. I didn't hear it.

Mr. FOX. I said I refuse to answer the question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is all.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Fox, how do you feel you might be incriminated if you admit you were in anywise connected with the American Peace Crusade?

Mr. Fox. Would you mind repeating that question?

Mr. WALTER. How do you feel you might be incriminated if you admitted you were connected with the American Peace Crusade?

Mr. Fox. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds it might tend to incriminate me. However, organizations of that type, and probably that specific organization, have been attacked by various persons as subversive, I think including this committee. In fact, I would add that there is a tendency to attack anybody who tries to achieve a peaceful world.

Mr. WALTER. That line sounds strangely familiar.

Mr. Fox. I beg pardon?

Mr. WALTER. I say that line sounds strangely familiar.

Mr. Fox. I can't say I know what you mean.

Mr. WALTER. Anything further?

Mr. JACKSON. Were you in the military service?

Mr. Fox. I was.

Mr. JACKSON. What was your branch of service?

Mr. Fox. I was in the Infantry.

Mr. JACKSON. Where did you see service?

Mr. Fox. Well, I was trained within the continental limits of the United States. I was in New Caledonia, the Philippine Islands, and, lastly, occupation in Japan.

Mr. JACKSON. Would you, if called up for military service, willingly serve again?

Mr. Fox. If I were called for military service I would respond and act in accordance with what was required of me. However, I think—and I think I express the thought of millions of people—that we should devote our energy toward preserving the peace and accomplishing a cease-fire order in Korea and establishing a basis for a permanent peace. I have seen war, and I certainly do not want to see another war.

Mr. JACKSON. In that respect we are in total agreement. I, too, have seen war. I think probably every member of this committee is as desirous as you are for a peaceful world. Do you believe the Soviet Union is working for peace today?

Mr. Fox (after conferring with his counsel). I couldn't give an authoritative answer to that.

Mr. JACKSON. What concrete assistance have you given toward the preservation of peace or the achievement of peace?

Mr. Fox (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the ground it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you believe that membership in the Communist Party, or affiliation with any Communist-front organization, makes a contribution to a peaceful world?

Mr. Fox (after conferring with his counsel). I have no formal opinion on that.

Mr. JACKSON. That is all.

Mr. WALTER. Anything further, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WALTER. You may be excused.

(Witness excused.)

(Testimony of the next witness is printed in another volume under same title, Part 3. The hearing then continued with the testimony of Eli Isadore Schwartz.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Isidore Schwartz.

Mr. WALTER. Will you hold up your right hand. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ELI ISIDORE SCHWARTZ, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, MAURICE BRAVERMAN

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your full name?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Eli Isidore Schwartz.

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Before we proceed I would like to protest the absence of a quorum, for the sake of the record, and to state we are proceeding under protest due to the lack of a quorum.

Mr. WALTER. Yes. A quorum of the subcommittee is present.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I am.

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

Mr. BRAVERMAN. Maurice Braverman, 119 West Mulberry Street, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Schwartz, when and where were you born?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. December 22, 1904, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational training?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Primary and high schools in Baltimore City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now reside in Baltimore?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I do not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside at this time?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in New York?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Not quite 2 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time did you live in Baltimore?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. And for how long a period of time?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Up to 2 years ago I lived in Baltimore all my life.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what business are you now engaged?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Salesman

Mr. TAVENNER. For whom?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Superior Agencies.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed when you lived in Baltimore?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. As an employee of the city of Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Various capacities, from junior clerk to supervisor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe more fully the position of supervisor? What did you do?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I was supervisor of the employees' retirement system of Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I was employed in the department a number of years before becoming supervisor. My total employment with the city of Baltimore was slightly less than 25 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you made supervisor?

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

Mr. SCHWARTZ. To the best of my recollection, in 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. During 1944 were you an officer of the professional section of the Communist Political Association?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I decline to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time a member of the district committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I must decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Henry Thomas of the laborers' union in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I decline to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Phil Gran, presently employed at the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I decline to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with William H. Wood, now employed by Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. You state you must; that is different from stating you do decline.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I do decline.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time met in a meeting of any character with Joe Henderson, an employee of Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

(Representative Donald L. Jackson returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever met, in a meeting of any kind, with Aaron Ostrofsky, who is employed by the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I refuse to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever met, in a meeting of any kind, with Levy Williamson?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever met, in a meeting of any kind, with Robert W. Lee, an employee of the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever met, in a meeting of any kind, with Frank Pinter, an employee of the Bethlehem Steel Corp.?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of I. Duke Avnet?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I decline to answer the question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever have a disagreement with Mr. Avnet which might have resulted in his withdrawal from association with you in any enterprise?

Mr. SCHWARTZ (after conferring with his counsel). I decline to answer that question on the ground it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever have a dispute or disagreement with Mr. Avnet?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. As I stated, Mr. Counsel, I decline to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

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

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

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

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Frazier?

Mr. FRAZIER. No questions.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. No questions.

Mr. WALTER. The witness will be excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. WALTER. The meeting is now adjourned.

(Thereupon, an adjournment was taken.)

HEARINGS RELATING TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE DEFENSE AREA OF BALTIMORE—PART 1

(Based on Testimony of Mary Stalcup Markward)

FRIDAY, JULY 13, 1951

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

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities continued the hearing on the above date, at 3:30 p. m., in room 226 Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.¹

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, Clyde Doyle, James B. Frazier, Jr., and Bernard W. Kearney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Counsel, will you call the witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Herbert J. Nichol.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Nichol, will you stand and be sworn, please?

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

Mr. NICHOL. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat.

TESTIMONY OF HERBERT J. NICHOL, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, JAMES T. WRIGHT

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mr. Herbert J. Nichol?

Mr. NICHOL. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. NICHOL. I am.

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

Mr. WRIGHT. I am James T. Wright, member of the local bar, with offices located at 2003 Twelfth Street NW., this city.

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

Mr. NICHOL. March 28, 1913, in Philadelphia, Pa.

¹ Testimony of the preceding witnesses heard by the Committee on Un-American Activities on this day, Thelma Gerende and William H. Hill, is printed in another volume under same title, pt. 3.

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

Mr. NICHOL. I went to public school, grammar school, and high school, in Philadelphia, went to Haverford College, Pennsylvania.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you complete your college course?

Mr. NICHOL. 1934.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. NICHOL. In Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you employed?

Mr. NICHOL. I am a field organizer for the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been a field organizer for the UE?

Mr. NICHOL. Since the summer of 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is a full paid position; is it not?

Mr. NICHOL. What do you mean by "full paid"?

Mr. TAVENNER. A full-time position, I meant to say.

Mr. NICHOL. And overtime.

Mr. TAVENNER. And, I assume, full paid, too?

Mr. NICHOL. Well, we get a salary. By the way, the salary is set by the constitution of our international union, which is available to the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Baltimore?

Mr. NICHOL. Since December 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time where did you live?

Mr. NICHOL. I lived in Philadelphia, but I worked in Lancaster, Pa. I went home on week ends.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other places did you perform the work in or live, prior to 1948?

Mr. NICHOL. Prior to 1948? Before coming to Baltimore, I was in Lancaster, Pa., where I worked, although I maintained my residence in Philadelphia, and went home on week ends, as I informed the committee.

Prior to that I was for a short time in Allentown, Pa., and prior to that I was in Wilmington, Del.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, let's try to fix these dates a little more for us, please.

How long were you in Lancaster, and how were you employed while there?

Mr. NICHOL. The same capacity as I am now, field organizer for the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. And for what period of time?

Mr. NICHOL. I believe I went there about December of 1947, or maybe the end of November, and left there in November of 1948. Wait. Wait a minute. Pardon me.

The first date, I believe, is 1946. I went to Lancaster in November or early December of 1946 and left there in November of 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. At Allentown, how were you employed, and over what period of time did you engage in work there?

Mr. NICHOL. About 2 months, from September to November of 1946, and I was a field organizer for the United Electrical Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold the same position in Wilmington, Del.?

Mr. NICHOL. Yes; while I worked for the United Electrical Workers. I was hired as a field organizer, and I have always been one since then.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you a field organizer in Wilmington, Del.?

Mr. NICHOL. Well, if I recall correctly, I went on the UE staff approximately May or early June of 1946, and I was several weeks in Philadelphia, when I first was hired, and then was sent to Wilmington, although I remained living in Philadelphia. I was sent to Wilmington, I suppose, sometime in June, and I stayed there until I left for Allentown, sometime in September; that is, I worked there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have other employment in Wilmington besides that of a field organizer?

Mr. NICHOL. No. That is a full-time and overtime job, as I have indicated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to the time of your appointment as a field organizer, did you have any other employment in Wilmington, Del.?

Mr. NICHOL. Yes. I worked for the Congress of Industrial Organizations in Wilmington, Del., prior to going with the United Electrical Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work for the CIO?

Mr. NICHOL. Well, I went with the CIO, I believe, in the summer of 1941. I believe that was when it was, and I worked there until August of 1942, when I went in the United States Army. I returned the beginning of January 1946, after my discharge from the Army, and I worked for the CIO until I resigned, I believe in May, and took a couple of weeks' vacation before I went to work for the United Electrical Workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the type of your employment with the CIO?

Mr. NICHOL. I was officially known as the secretary to the regional director, but I performed also, on a nonpaid basis, part of the time, the duties of the secretary of the Newcastle Council, Industrial Union Council, a CIO council which covers that area.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you lived in Philadelphia, what was your address?

Mr. NICHOL. I had various addresses, sir. What time do you refer to?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you name the different addresses that you had while living in Philadelphia, say, from 1940 up until the time you went into the Army?

Mr. NICHOL. Well, if I recall correctly, in 1940 I lived on Chancellor Street, either the 5400 or 5500 block, I don't recall the exact number, on Chancellor Street. I lived there and maintained my residence there, even while I was working in Wilmington, because I used to return there week ends. Wilmington is within a half-hour's ride from Philadelphia.

Just immediately prior to going into the Army I moved to, I believe it is, 6 South Forty-third Street, in an apartment there with my parents, and that was my residence until I came out of the Army, that is, my home residence.

When I came out of the Army I was there with them for a month or so and then we moved across the street into a larger apartment, at

5 South Forty-third Street, and that remained my residence until I came to Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever live at 4419 Osage Street?

Mr. NICHOL. 4419 Osage? I believe I did, sir, prior to living on Chancellor Street. I don't know whether that is the exact number, but I did live on Osage Avenue.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee is in possession of information that one Herbert J. Nichol, of 4419 Osage Street, Philadelphia, Pa., was listed as a signer of a Communist Party nominating petition for the State of Pennsylvania, in 1940. Are you the Herbert J. Nichol who signed—

Mr. NICHOL. I hardly could tell you that without seeing the document, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. I will show you a photostatic copy of the document, and I will ask the investigator to point out the signature of the name Herbert J. Nichol.

Mr. NICHOL. That looks like my writing.

Mr. TAVENNER. There isn't any doubt in your mind—you are satisfied that you signed the petition, aren't you?

Mr. NICHOL. Frankly, I don't recall whether I did or not, but that looks like my writing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the circumstances surrounding the solicitation of your signature to this Communist Party nominating petition?

Mr. NICHOL. I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the Communist Party at this time?

Mr. NICHOL. I think I will have to assert my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment, and decline to answer that question.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Nichol, it is not what you think, it is what you do.

Mr. NICHOL. I assert my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment to decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. The date appearing opposite your signature is that of March 17, 1940.

The committee is also in possession of information that you were a speaker at a Communist Party meeting in Russell Hall, 306 North Fifty-second Street, Philadelphia, Pa., on December 1, 1940, the meeting being held under the auspices of the Young Communist League of Philadelphia. Is that correct?

Mr. NICHOL (after conferring with his counsel). I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment to decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that upon your return from your service in the Army, you returned to your former position with the CIO.

Mr. NICHOL. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that shortly thereafter you resigned?

Mr. NICHOL. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long was it after you resumed your duties with the CIO in Wilmington that you resigned?

Mr. NICHOL. I think the record also has that information, but I will repeat it.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. NICHOL. I returned from the Army and returned to work for the CIO just after the New Year holiday in 1946, and I worked there, I believe, until the middle of May, somewhere around that date, and

then I resigned, took a 2-weeks' vacation before I went to work for the United Electrical workers.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were in Wilmington in 1946, did you hold any position in the Communist Party?

Mr. NICHOL. I decline to answer that on my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. After you received your appointment or your position with the UE, did you hold any position in the Communist Party?

Mr. NICHOL. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Dan Slinger?

Mr. NICHOL. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not Dan Slinger was chairman of the Communist Party in Delaware, Wilmington, Del.

Mr. NICHOL. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mary Stalcup Markward testified before the committee on Wednesday of this week, and during the course of the testimony she identified you as a member of the Communist Party in the city of Baltimore. Do you desire to deny or affirm or explain?

Mr. NICHOL. Which question are you asking me?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am asking you if you, in the light of that information, have anything to say to this committee?

Mr. NICHOL. Well, in the light of that information, the only thing I can say is that it seems to me from what I read in the newspapers, no thinking person gives much credibility to the testimony of a witness who has been paid for some time to perform certain functions.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Then, you have the opportunity now to deny it.

Mr. NICHOL. Are you asking me to?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. And do you deny it?

Mr. NICHOL. I refuse to answer that on the grounds that I have stated before.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. We have been informed through the witness that you were interested in young people's work back there in Philadelphia; that you were trying to be helpful to young people.

Mr. NICHOL. I don't understand your question. I don't know what you are referring to. I made no such reference, if you are referring to something I said.

Mr. DOYLE. I know you did not. We have been informed that you did, many years ago, back there in Baltimore—

Mr. TAVENNER. Philadelphia.

Mr. DOYLE. Rather, in Philadelphia—that in 1940 you were active in helping young people organize in Philadelphia. Do you remember helping any group of youngsters? Did you ever speak at any conventions or committees there, of any young people?

Mr. NICHOL. I don't recall, sir; I am completely in the dark about your questioning.

Mr. DOYLE. I will ask you specifically, then, assuming that you will be just as frank and honest in your answer to this next question as you were to my last one.

We were informed that in Philadelphia, you were an active member of the Young Communist League back in 1940. Now, was that true?

Mr. NICHOL (after conferring with his counsel). I decline to answer on the same grounds I have declined to answer the other questions.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, you did not claim your privilege to the last question, the one just before this one.

Mr. NICHOL. I said, the other questions that I declined to answer.

Mr. DOYLE. You have not declined to answer any others for me. This is the first one.

Mr. NICHOL. Well, I referred to the questions where I declined to answer because of my rights and privileges under the fifth amendment to the Constitution, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, as a Congressman, and as a father of children, I am always interested in meeting folks that have been active in trying to help young people. I just assumed that if you were active in trying to help young people back in 1940, you would not be ashamed of it, or hesitate to admit to us that you had spoken before any convention or any committee.

Mr. NICHOL. Sir, I am not ashamed of anything I have done that I can think of. Everyone, I suppose, in their life, has some things to be ashamed of.

Mr. DOYLE. We will stipulate on that.

Mr. NICHOL. I don't claim I am perfect. But, from what I read in the newspapers, people are being sent to jail either for their opinions, or for opinions that other people may think they have, and so forth.

Mr. WALTER. Who has been sent to jail because of opinions they have?

Mr. NICHOL. I understand that 11 Communists have been sent to jail.

Mr. WALTER. Not for opinions that they had.

Mr. NICHOL. I am not a lawyer, sir.

Mr. WALTER. That is a gross misstatement of fact, and I want to straighten you out.

Mr. NICHOL. May I ask the Congressman what were they sent to jail for?

Mr. WALTER. They were sent to jail because they were convicted of being parties to a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States.

Mr. NICHOL. May I ask my counsel?

Mr. WALTER. I don't know why you should be afraid to answer the question whether you were a member of the Young Communist League in 1940, because you couldn't be prosecuted if you had been a member of it, the statute of limitations has long since run, even if it was a crime.

Mr. NICHOL (after conferring with his counsel). Well, I don't know what the charge against the 11 Communists was, except what I thought I understood from reading the newspapers, and therefore I cannot comment on that.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this: I am wondering whether your thought on the question, which you revealed in answer to my last question—I wonder if it came entirely from a newspaper report, or whether there were any other reports that you read about it from any weekly paper or any monthly paper of any organization?

For instance, did you read that opinion in your own union paper?

Mr. NICHOL. If I recall correctly, our union paper has had articles at various times on various subjects concerning civil liberties.

Mr. WOOD. Would the gentleman yield for an observation?

I assume you have confidence in your counsel, in the ability of your counsel, his legal opinion?

Mr. NICHOL. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. If he were to advise you that admitting or denying membership in the Young Communist League did not constitute an offense for which you could be prosecuted, would you answer the question?

Mr. NICHOL. I would want to consult with my counsel as to what is involved in this, and what my rights are.

Mr. WOOD. Suppose you do that.

Mr. NICHOL (after conferring with his counsel). My counsel advises me that it is within my rights to decline to answer that question on the basis of my constitutional privilege.

Mr. WOOD. Although I would like to, I cannot go into the question of what your counsel did tell you with reference to whether or not it is a violation of any criminal statute. I am sure he did not tell you that.

Go ahead, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I noted in your answer to another committee member's question, or to counsel, that you were a member of the CIO in one of their employed positions, at one time.

Mr. NICHOL. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Now you are employed in the UEW?

Mr. NICHOL. We call it the UE, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. You know we have a group out in California in that organization, I think. Are you a member of the Elks?

Mr. NICHOL. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you a member of the Masons?

Mr. NICHOL. No, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you a member of—

Mr. NICHOL. I am a member of Phi Beta Kappa, if that is of any interest to the committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Congratulations.

Mr. NICHOL. My job—you can cut this short—my job is a day-and-night job, if you know anything about a union organizer's work. I have very little time to belong to many organizations.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, you are very proud of the fact that you are a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and we all congratulate you on that, of course. That came from Haverford College?

Mr. NICHOL. Haverford, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you a member of the Communist Party also?

Mr. NICHOL. Sir, I have already declined to answer that on the basis of my constitutional privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. DOYLE. Is there a differentiation in your mind between carrying a Phi Beta Kappa key and being a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NICHOL. Well, Walter Lippmann is a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

Mr. WALTER. He wouldn't hesitate to answer whether he was a member of the Communist Party or not?

Mr. NICHOL. I don't know Walter Lippmann, sir, personally.

Mr. DOYLE. I was just interested that you draw a difference in being a member—

Mr. NICHOL. I don't recall hearing anywhere that membership in Phi Beta Kappa subjects one to possible prosecution.

Mr. WOOD. Has your counsel advised that membership in the Communist Party does?

Mr. NICHOL. Sir, I decline to answer, on the basis of my constitutional privilege under the fifth amendment. I hope the gentlemen are not trying to trap me.

Mr. WOOD. Certainly not. As far as I am concerned, I am trying to get your viewpoint.

Mr. NICHOL. As you know, Mr. Chairman, the circumstances of my being called before this committee were very unusual, and have raised certain suspicions in my mind.

Mr. WALTER. That statement is unfair. You were subpoenaed here.

Mr. NICHOL. Sir, I haven't finished my statement.

Mr. WALTER. I know just what you said. You were subpoenaed to appear before this committee some time ago, and you asked that your appearance be deferred because your union was about to have an election.

Mr. NICHOL. That is right, sir.

Mr. WALTER. In deference to you, your request was granted. So, I think you are being very unfair when you say what you did just now.

Mr. NICHOL. Well, what did I say, sir?

Mr. WALTER. Never mind. You know what you said, and so do I.

Mr. WOOD. You said that your subpoena was under rather unusual circumstances, and raised certain suspicions in your mind.

Mr. NICHOL. I said the circumstances under which I was subpoenaed raised certain suspicions in my mind.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, we did not want to interfere with your union activities, and so in cooperation with you we deliberately postponed the subpoena date until a date when it would not interfere with your union activities. You certainly cannot ask for any more American cooperation than that.

Mr. NICHOL. I appreciate that, sir, particularly in view of the fact that our union won that election by an overwhelming vote.

Mr. DOYLE. We are not interested in who won it. We were interested in being fair to an American citizen who had an official duty he had to perform.

Mr. NICHOL. I appreciate that.

Mr. DOYLE. That is what we are trying to do in all of our duties. We ought to be entitled to get the utmost cooperation from you union leaders, who ought to be 100 percent in support of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. NICHOL. Sir, I and my union, I feel certain, are in 100-percent support of the Constitution of the United States, and I am only trying to preserve, as I am advised by counsel I have the right, some of those constitutional privileges which are written into the Constitution.

Mr. DOYLE. We expect you to preserve your privileges under the Constitution; but if you know of any subversive person or group, or any subversive program, you ought to go out of your way to help this committee to uncover it. That is all we are interested in. That is what we are trying to uncover, and that is why we ask you whether or not you are a Communist, and whether or not you know of any Communist activities, because, in our book, that's a bunch of subversive people. Isn't that true?

Mr. NICHOL. I don't understand.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, you do understand my question.

Mr. NICHOL. "In our book"?

Mr. DOYLE. I am saying to you that the American Communist Party is a bunch of subversive people; isn't that true, to your knowledge?

Mr. NICHOL. Sir, that is apparently the opinion of the committee.

Mr. DOYLE. Is it your opinion?

Mr. NICHOL. I don't know that I have formed an opinion on that.

Mr. DOYLE. Why, certainly you have.

Mr. NICHOL. Well, sir, there are many things that particularly if one is trained to weigh and balance ideas, that one is not hasty to form opinions about.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, you have not been very hasty. You have been very deliberate in your answers, and your rights in relying on your counsel. We are always glad to have counsel present.

Mr. NICHOL. In the labor movement, we learn that we must be deliberate in our judgments, because we have the welfare of many people at stake, and we feel—

Mr. DOYLE. In your activities in the labor movement—

Mr. WALTER. Will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. DOYLE. You are active in the labor movement, and we are all glad of organized labor in this country, when it is led by people that are not Communists. As an organizer of labor, of organized labor in this country, I am asking you frankly whether or not you know of any person or persons who are engaged in any subversive conduct in this Nation?

Mr. NICHOL. Well, I am in the position of saying that the question of what is defined as subversive by the questioner—

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Webster's definition ought to be perfectly plain for a man that wears a Phi Beta Kappa key. I will ask you to rely on Mr. Webster.

Mr. NICHOL. What is it, sir?

Mr. DOYLE. What is the definition of "subversive"? Don't you know? It means to destroy, to ruin, of course, and you know that is the definition.

Mr. NICHOL. If you ask me whether I know of anybody destroying or ruining the Government of the United States at this point—

Mr. DOYLE. Whether or not they have that objective.

Mr. NICHOL. Or have that objective, I would say that is a very difficult question to answer. I might have ideas about many people, but having proof or having any direct knowledge is something else. I might have suspicions, or I might think that this person or that person might have such an idea, but I hardly think that is a basis for knowledge, sir.

Mr. WALTER. You say that labor always reaches its decisions after great deliberations.

Mr. NICHOL. Sir, I don't believe I made that exact statement.

Mr. WALTER. Labor is always deliberate.

Mr. NICHOL. I said I have learned in the labor movement to be deliberate, because the welfare of a lot of people is concerned.

Mr. WALTER. Do you think the CIO was deliberate when it reached its conclusion to expell your union from the CIO because it was Communist?

Mr. NICHOL. Sir, I would like to make a statement about what the facts of that situation were.

Mr. WALTER. We know the facts. We know the facts very well. I want to know whether the decision was reached after due deliberation.

Mr. NICHOL. Our union withdrew from the CIO, refused to pay per capita, by direction of our national convention.

Mr. WALTER. All right. I know that.

Mr. NICHOL. Well, that is a little different from the statement that the Congressman made.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions?

Mr. DOYLE. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Frazier?

Mr. FRAZIER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Kearney.

Mr. KEARNEY. Just one question:

As a member of a union, you are working in a defense plant, and you saw a fellow member of your union creating an act of sabotage on defense work, would you turn him in?

Mr. NICHOL. I certainly would, sir; I am unalterably opposed to sabotage, or anything like it.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Has counsel any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Any reason why this witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. So ordered.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. Who have you next?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Milton Seif.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Seif, will you stand and be sworn, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you are about to give the committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SEIF. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MILTON SEIF, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, HAROLD BUCHMAN

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

Mr. SEIF. Milton Seif.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. SEIF. I am.

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

Mr. BUCHMAN. Harold Buchman, 213 Tower Building, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you presently employed, Mr. Seif?

Mr. SEIF. I am a welder in the Bethlehem Steel Ship Repair Yard in Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been employed there?

Mr. SEIF. Approximately 10 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Mary Stalcup Markward testified here the day before yesterday and identified you as a member of the Communist Party. Was she correct in that identification?

Mr. SEIF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Frazier?

Mr. FRAZIER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. So ordered.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. WOOD. Who do you have next?

Mr. TAVENNER. Irving Winkler.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Winkler, please stand and raise your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give the committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WINKLER. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING WINKLER, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, HAROLD BUCHMAN

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

Mr. WINKLER. Irving Winkler.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. WINKLER. I am.

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

Mr. BUCHMAN. Harold Buchman, 213 Tower Building, Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside, Mr. Winkler?

Mr. WINKLER. In Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you employed?

Mr. WINKLER. I am a maintenance mechanic.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. WINKLER. Rheam Manufacturing Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been so employed?

Mr. WINKLER. A little over a year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that how were you employed?

Mr. WINKLER. Prior to that I was employed as the manager of a cut-up poultry store.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you so employed?

Mr. WINKLER. Approximately a year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that, how were you employed?

Mr. WINKLER. As a maintenance mechanic's helper.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. WINKLER. Rustless Iron and Steel.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you employed by Rustless Iron and Steel?

Mr. WINKLER. A little over a year. Actually, I was employed by Rustless Iron and Steel for two periods. There was a lay-off in between.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you employed the first time?

Mr. WINKLER. I guess about—incidentally, I am submitting this employment record not on the basis of exact dates, you know, or exact periods of time. I mean, I am giving an approximation of my employment record to the best of my knowledge at this point.

Mr. TAVENNER. Altogether, how long were you employed by Rustless Iron and Steel?

Mr. WINKLER. About a year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Winkler, Mrs. Mary Stalcup Markward testified before this committee on Wednesday of this week and identified you as a person known to her to be a member of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Md. Was she correct in that statement?

Mr. WINKLER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of self-incrimination, on the grounds that an answer might tend to incriminate me. Also, I would like to say that I wouldn't honor—

Mr. WOOD. We are not concerned with your opinion. We want an answer to the question.

Mr. WINKLER. I answered the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Just a moment.

By whom did you say you were employed?

Mr. WINKLER. Rheam Manufacturing Co.

Mr. WOOD. What business are they in?

Mr. WINKLER. They are metal fabricators.

Mr. WOOD. What particular kind of fabrication are they engaged in?

Mr. WINKLER. They make steel drums, they make tanks, hot-water heaters, pails, also they make containers for aircraft engines. I think that is pretty much a total list of the products they make.

Mr. WALTER. I will have a question in a moment.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know, is that the same concern that has a big factory out West, out in California?

Mr. WINKLER. They have a number of plants in the country, I know that. I think they do have one in California.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask what your age is, please?

Mr. WINKLER. Twenty-seven.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Frazier?

Mr. FRAZIER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. Does your company have any defense plants that they are working on now—defense contracts?

Mr. WINKLER. I wouldn't know. I assume that the manufacture of containers for aircraft engines, which is a part of their production, comes under Government contract.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Any reason why this witness should not be excused now, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to ask the witness if he is a member of the Young People's Conference for Peace?

Mr. WINKLER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Mr. WINKLER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Irrespective of what anybody else has said heretofore, before this committee, or elsewhere, let me ask you the question directly:

Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WINKLER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

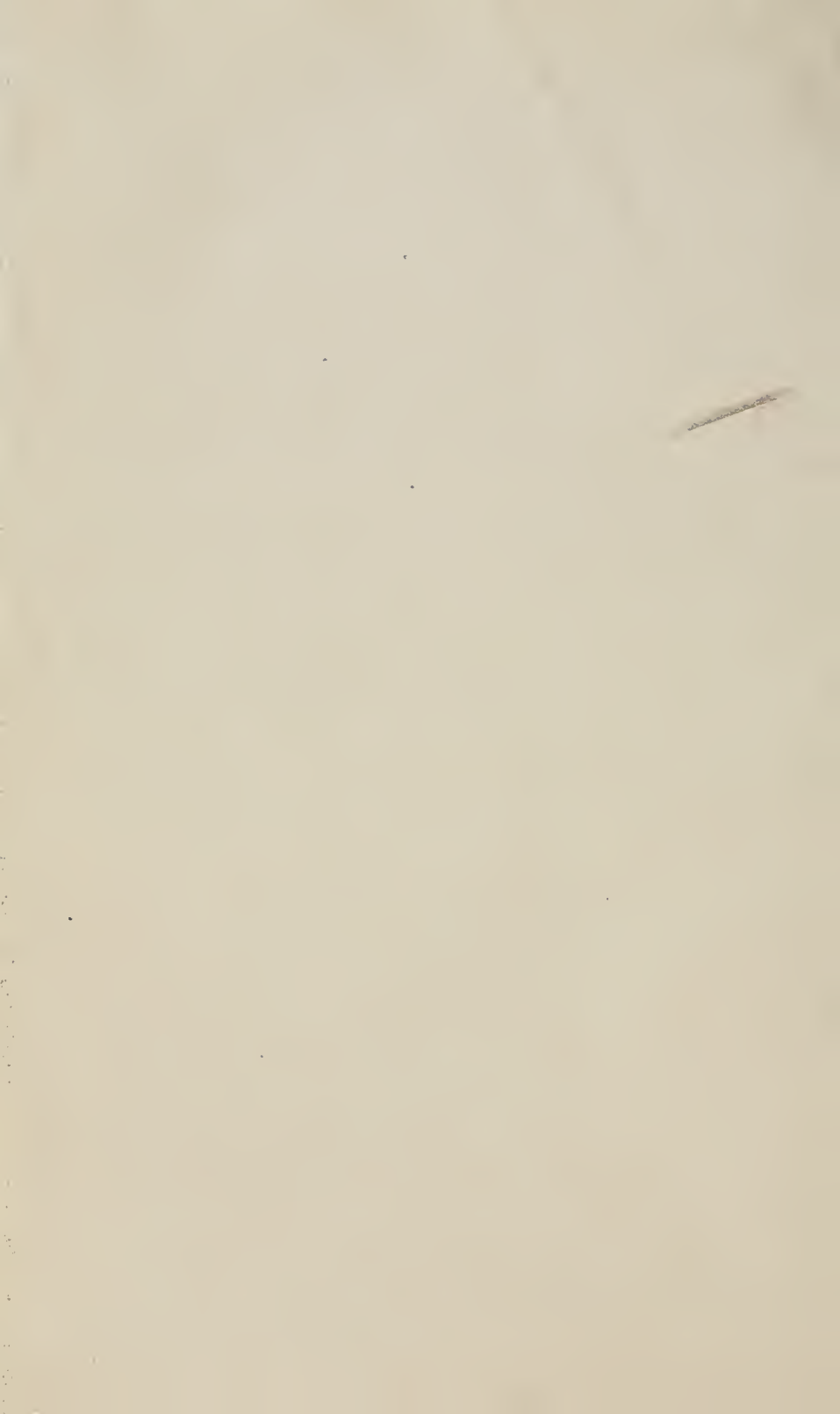
Mr. WOOD. That is all.

The witness may be excused.

The committee will stand in recess now, subject to notification being given.

(The committee adjourned at 4 p. m.)

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HEARINGS RELATING TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES
IN THE DEFENSE AREA OF BALTIMORE—PART 2
(MARYLAND COMMITTEE FOR PEACE AND
BALTIMORE COUNTY COMMITTEE FOR PEACE)

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

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

— — — — —
JUNE 28, JULY 10 AND 12, 1951
— — — — —

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



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Ent

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CONTENTS

	Page
June 28, 1951— Testimony of Howard Bernard Silverberg.....	905
July 10, 1951— Testimony of Ruth Harriet Bleier.....	913
July 12, 1951— Testimony of—	
Louis Julius Shub.....	940
Gunther Wertheimer.....	946

HEARINGS RELATING TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE DEFENSE AREA OF BALTIMORE—PART 2

(Maryland Committee for Peace and Baltimore
County Committee for Peace)

THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1951

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

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities continued the hearing on the above date, at 3:45 p. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter presiding.¹

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, James B. Frazier, Jr., Bernard W. Kearney, Donald L. Jackson, and Clyde Doyle (appearance noted in printed hearing).

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WALTER. Will you call the witness, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Howard Silverberg.

Mr. WALTER. Will you hold up your right hand. Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HOWARD BERNARD SILVERBERG, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, HAROLD BUCHMAN

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

Mr. SILVERBERG. My full name is Howard Bernard Silverberg, and I want to protest the bandying around of that name as a result of this investigation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I am.

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

Mr. BUCHMAN. Harold Buchman, 213 Tower Building, Baltimore, Md.

¹ Testimony of the preceding witnesses heard by the Committee on Un-American Activities on this day. Sam Fox, is printed in other volumes under same main title, pt. 1, with subtitle, "Based on Testimony of Mary Stalcup Markward," and that of William Spiegel and Max Weinstock under pt. 3.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where you born, Mr. Silverberg?

Mr. SILVERBERG. Winston-Salem, N. C., April 30, 1917.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state briefly your educational training?

Mr. SILVERBERG. High-school graduate and several years of evening college.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. SILVERBERG. You mean the address? 3120 Baybriar Road, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Baltimore?

Mr. SILVERBERG. Since 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that where did you reside?

Mr. SILVERBERG. In New York City and Philadelphia.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just immediately prior to your coming to Baltimore, where did you reside?

Mr. SILVERBERG. In Philadelphia.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live there?

Mr. SILVERBERG. It was a relatively short time. I don't think it was more than about a year.

Mr. TAVENNER. And prior to that you lived in New York?

Mr. SILVERBERG. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I am a mechanic's helper at the Bethlehem Steel Co., Sparrows Point, Md.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you worked there?

Mr. SILVERBERG. Since 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that how were you employed?

Mr. SILVERBERG (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you lived in Philadelphia how were you employed?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you left New York for Philadelphia, how were you employed?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you ever been employed by the United States Government?

Mr. SILVERBERG. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you affiliated in any manner with the Baltimore County Committee for Peace?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me, and I understood this was an investigation of activities in the defense plants in Baltimore, and I can't see the relationship.

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't know where you got your information from. The only announcement on the subject was the official announcement of the chairman that it was an investigation of communism in defense areas in Baltimore, not necessarily defense plants.

Mr. SILVERBERG. You asked me about a peace committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Are you affiliated with it?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer the question on grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I show you an advertisement from the Communist press of March 2, 1951, which emphasizes bringing our boys home from Korea alive, and making peace in Asia, and urges the readers to "Join with your neighbors in the American Peace Crusade."

Will you look at it and state whether or not you and your wife paid for that advertisement?

Mr. SILVERBERG (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me, but I want to say I believe in the sentiments, "Pray for peace," "Work for peace," "Speak up now for peace," "War is not inevitable."

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you in favor of peace on Communist terms?

Mr. SILVERBERG (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me. I am in favor of peace.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your residence address?

Mr. SILVERBERG. 3120 Baybriar Road.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the same address as that which appears at the bottom of this advertisement?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state again what your correct address is?

Mr. SILVERBERG. My correct address is 3120 Baybriar Road.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the same address as appears on the advertisement. At the bottom of the advertisement this language appears:

For more information write: Baltimore County Committee for Peace, 3120 Baybriar Road, Baltimore 22, Md.

Did you consult with anyone known to you to be a member of the Communist Party in connection with your activity with the Baltimore County Committee for Peace?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me, and once more I resent the inference that people engaged in working for peace are necessarily or in any other way connected with the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. They are not necessarily connected, but we are endeavoring to find out the extent to which they were connected in this particular instance.

What was the Communist Party connection, if any, with the Baltimore County Committee for Peace?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me, no matter what the intent of it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mr. William H. Wood?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live during the time you resided in Philadelphia?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I don't recollect.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live at the time you resided in New York?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I lived in quite a few places in New York. As a matter of fact, I lived in Manhattan and also in Brooklyn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live when you were in Manhattan?

Mr. SILVERBERG (after conferring with his counsel). I believe the address was 2262 Amsterdam Avenue.

Mr. TAVENNER. And when you lived in the Bronx where did you live?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I didn't say the Bronx. I said Brooklyn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live in Brooklyn?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I had several successive addresses there over a period of years. The only one I can remember is 5120 Carroll Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. I mentioned the Bronx. Did you live in the Bronx?

Mr. SILVERBERG. No, I did not.

Excuse me. I believe that address I gave you on Carroll Street is confused with some other address. I couldn't be sure of that street number. I know it was Carroll Street, though.

Mr. TAVENNER. While living in the State of New York, did you sign a Communist Party nominating petition for New York State in 1940?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time of the holding of the conference of the American Peace Crusade in Washington on March 15, 1951, did you, with other Maryland representatives, call upon Members of Congress and represent yourselves as voicing the views of the steelworkers at Sparrows Point on outlawing the A-bomb and returning all soldiers from Korea?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your local, the number of your local, in Bethlehem Steel?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you hold any official position in your union?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I haven't yet said anything about being a member of any union, Mr. Chairman, and I refuse to answer the question on grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. Do you think you would be incriminated if you admitted you belonged to local 2609?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. Is that because local 2609 commended this committee on the work it is doing in clarifying the atmosphere?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer that question on grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. In other words, you are not in agreement with the position taken by the heads of local 2609?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to give any answer to that question on grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

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

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer that question on grounds it may tend to incriminate me, and I would like to observe that either a yes or no answer to that question may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. Why do you feel it would be incriminating if you denied ever having been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SILVERBERG. Because some company stooge whose duty it is to make blacklists is sure to come forward and say I am.

Mr. WALTER. Suppose you say you are not?

Mr. SILVERBERG. His testimony would be taken against mine.

Mr. WALTER. Your testimony is under oath. If you swear you are not a member of the Communist Party, that is the end of it.

Mr. SILVERBERG. Nevertheless, I refuse to answer the question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Frazier?

Mr. FRAZIER. No questions.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Silverberg, in the beginning of your testimony you protested the "bandying around" of your name. Will you tell us what you meant by that?

Mr. SILVERBERG. The fact that my name has appeared in the newspapers on several occasions in connection with this investigation, kind of slung around with other names, and slung around rather indiscriminately.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you think your reputation has been damaged by that so-called "bandying around"?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I think the mere fact of a person being subpoenaed by this committee, with the history of this committee, is more or less damaging to him.

Mr. JACKSON. I think more witnesses have been damaged by the nature of their testimony than by the fact they have appeared before this committee. However, I can suggest a way in which you can obviate any damage to your reputation, and that is by saying you are not now and never have been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. SILVERBERG. I have refused to answer that question on grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. Then any assumption by anyone in the country as a result of your appearance before this committee will come, not from the bandying around of your name by anyone connected with this committee, but by the nature of your testimony.

Mr. WALTER. When was your name bandied around? I was under the impression the names of witnesses were not made public by the committee. Do you mean today or as of now?

Mr. SILVERBERG. Various newspaper stories that appeared in Baltimore carried my name in connection with this investigation.

Mr. WALTER. How long ago did this occur?

Mr. SILVERBERG. Since the investigation began. And I would like to say that it was something which caused a good deal of inconvenience and discomfort to me in my place of employment; because the opinion of various of the other workers in my mill, regardless of any telegram such as I heard read today, is also that the Un-American Committee has somewhat of a history of doing this sort of thing.

Mr. WALTER. What sort of thing?

Mr. SILVERBERG. A history of going into people's lives, of going into people's private affairs, of going into people's relationships and associations and trying to establish guilt by those associations.

Mr. WALTER. Wouldn't it be a very simple thing to eliminate any possibility that you might be suspect by answering the questions asked you by Mr. Tavenner and Mr. Jackson?

Mr. SILVERBERG. It has been my experience that the word of an informer somehow seems to have more stature, even though both are under oath, than the word of the person falsely accused; and it is obvious to me that this committee is making liberal use of informers.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Silverberg, you were subpoenaed because this committee felt you had information that would be quite valuable in the work of this committee. We didn't just pick you up because of your appearance or your name or anything of the sort. You were subpoenaed because the committee felt you could come in and tell us frankly, as a good American citizen, who was back of this so-called Peace Crusade. We had heard it was a Communist front, and we had hoped you would cooperate by telling us the nature of this organization carrying this fine-sounding name.

This committee is not desirous of casting any reflections on anyone. However, we are very well aware of a great many things that a lot of fine, unsuspecting people in America are not aware of.

Mr. SILVERBERG. I would simply like to point out, from reading that advertisement you just handed me, it occurs to me that the proposals made in that advertisement do not differ in any way from the proposals made by Senator Johnson on the Senate floor, where he asked for cease-fire on June 25, and called for the removal of troops from Korea; and I resent any implication that people who speak up for this thing have to be suspected of having some connection with any other movement.

Mr. WALTER. Senator Johnson has been terribly embarrassed by the people his statement attracted to him.

Mr. JACKSON. Is this Peace Crusade the same organization which is holding a meeting in Chicago on June 29-July 1 at the Coliseum, do you know?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. JACKSON. For the record it should be stated that the State Department has issued a statement with respect to the meeting of the American Peace Crusade to be held in the Chicago Coliseum between June 29 and July 1, the statement being to the effect that it has been well infiltrated by Communist elements in this country.

So far as peace is concerned, I might say to the witness that every man on this committee has made a substantial contribution to his concept of peace. We don't take issue with your being for peace. It is a splendid idea. It depends on what kind of peace it is.

Do you feel that the nature of your testimony today before this committee has done away with any irritation which may have been felt by your fellow workers upon the appearance of your name in the paper?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I won't know that until I return to my mill.

Mr. JACKSON. If we can believe the telegram received by the chairman of this committee from the local, it would appear that the members of the local are wholeheartedly in accord with the investigation of the committee.

Mr. WALTER. Any further questions Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated pretty plainly your views regarding your support of the peace move back on March 15, 1951, under the heading of the American Peace Crusade.

Mr. SILVERBERG. I stated I agreed with the sentiments expressed in that advertisement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. SILVERBERG. That is not the same thing.

Mr. TAVENNER. This is a statement made by Secretary of State Acheson on February 20 of this year, prior to the holding of that meeting. He said this:

In his latest manifestation of the Partisans of Peace, American Peace Crusade, or Peace Pilgrimage, or whatever name it goes by at the time, the same people are calling for the same things, but this time they have added two more points.

The first is that the Peace Crusade calls for the UN forces to withdraw from Korea. The Cominform has been calling for an immediate withdrawal from Korea, too. The Cominform wants us to withdraw from Korea because if we do withdraw, it will mean that we are not willing to resist aggression wherever it may break out.

Mr. SILVERBERG. Russians don't like earthquakes and neither do we. That does not make us Communists.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you think we should resist aggression wherever it may break out?

Mr. SILVERBERG. Certainly. Aggression against our Nation has to be resisted.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you think the United States was wrong in resisting the Communist aggression in Korea?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I have no opinion to express on that at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a matter of fact, weren't you taking just the opposite view? Wasn't this meeting of March 15 timed to events in Korea, and at that particular time you were sponsoring the withdrawal of our troops from Korea?

Mr. SILVERBERG. You are still trying to connect me with that meeting, and I refuse to answer the question on grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me add this further statement from Secretary Acheson's pronouncement:

Voluntary withdrawal from Korea would be a clear indication to the forces of international communism that the United States, as the leader of the forces of the United Nations was abdicating its responsibilities abandoning its allies, and renouncing the moral force which has made this country what it is.

Do you agree or disagree with that statement?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I would like to say I am not alone in having my reservations in regard to Mr. Acheson, and I refuse to answer the question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You feel that to pronounce your true views regarding the Peace Crusade might subject you to criminal prosecution?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I feel nothing of the kind. I am refusing to answer the questions that you have directed to me on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. By tending to incriminate, you mean it might subject you to criminal prosecution to answer?

Mr. SILVERBERG. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. The witness may be excused.

(Witness excused.)

Testimony of the next witness, Eli Isidore Schwartz, is printed in another volume under same main title, Part 1, with subtitle, "Based on Testimony of Mary Stalcup Markward.")

HEARINGS RELATING TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE DEFENSE AREA OF BALTIMORE—PART 2

(Maryland Committee for Peace and Baltimore County
Committee for Peace)

TUESDAY, JULY 10, 1951

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

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities continued the hearing on the above date, at 2:45 p. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.¹

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, Clyde Doyle, James B. Frazier, Jr., Harold H. Velde, Bernard W. Kearney (appearance noted in hearing), and Donald L. Jackson.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WOOD. Who is the witness, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Ruth Bleier.

Mr. WOOD. Mrs. Bleier, before you take your seat, will you hold up your right hand and be sworn?

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

Mrs. BLEIER. I do.

Mr. WOOD. Have a seat.

TESTIMONY OF RUTH HARRIET BLEIER, ACCOMPANIED BY HER COUNSEL, DAVID REIN

Mr. TAVENNER. State your name.

Dr. BLEIER. Ruth Harriet Bleier.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I suggest you change seats with your counsel? It may be a little easier for the witness and the reporter.

Mr. WOOD. And may I suggest in answering questions you elevate your voice so you can be heard up here?

¹ Testimony of the preceding witness heard by the Committee on Un-American Activities on this day, Harold Buchman, is printed in another volume under same title, pt. 3.

Dr. BLEIER. Yes; I will.

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

Mr. REIN. David Rein, 711 Fourteenth Street, Washington, D. C.

Dr. BLEIER. Mr. Tavenner, members of the committee, I would like to request 3 minutes to read a statement which I have prepared, which presents my full position.

Mr. WOOD. We will be happy to have you file your written statement with the clerk there, and it will be considered by the committee.

(The statement referred to was filed with the committee.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the name Ruth Bleier your real name at this time or a professional name?

Dr. BLEIER. That is my professional name.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your actual name?

Dr. BLEIER. You are referring, I presume, to my married name?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Dr. BLEIER. Eisenberg.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the name again, please?

Dr. BLEIER. Ruth Eisenberg.

(Representative Bernard W. Kearney entered hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your maiden name?

Dr. BLEIER. Bleier.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where and when were you born?

Dr. BLEIER. I was born in Pittsburgh, Pa., in November of 1923.

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

Dr. BLEIER. Yes. I went to elementary school, public high schools, 4 years of college, attaining a Bachelor of Arts degree, spent two summers in summer school, and 4 years of medical school.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you attend medical school?

Dr. BLEIER. Women's Medical College in Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you in school there?

Dr. BLEIER. From 1945 to 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. What degree did you receive?

Dr. BLEIER. Doctor of medicine.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, will you outline to the committee what your employment or your professional record has been since the completion of your medical training?

Dr. BLEIER. I have spent 2 years in hospital training.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Dr. BLEIER. In Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what hospital?

Dr. BLEIER. At the Sinai Hospital.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you do intern work in Philadelphia before coming to Baltimore?

Dr. BLEIER. No, I didn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Bleier, your subpoena calls upon you to produce the books and records of the Maryland Committee for Peace, and you were instructed through your counsel, Mr. Forer, that the committee at this time would be satisfied with the records of receipts, disbursements, and membership. Do you have those records with you?

Dr. BLEIER. Yes, I do. I have these records here but in turning them over I would like to make two points very clear to the committee. The first is that I do turn them over. I have all of the records and books of the Maryland Committee for Peace in my possession

but I turn them over to you under the greatest protest as an outrage, as a violation and as a betrayal of the overwhelming hope of the people of the world and America for peace, which we are this very day hoping to find beginning—

Mr. WOOD. Just a minute. The committee is not concerned with your views on the subject. The question is: Do you have the records here?

Dr. BLEIER. Yes, I do, but I must insist on stating two things.

Mr. WOOD. We have no objection to your saying you turn them over with protest but as to your feelings on the views of this committee, we are not interested. Let us stick to the point. It is not necessary for you to make a speech on the subject.

Dr. BLEIER. I feel it is within my legal rights to make a certain point because of advice of my counsel, and I feel I have a right to explain it.

Mr. WOOD. No. This committee has a legal right to subpoena this record and that is in the record.

Dr. BLEIER. I would like to go on to my second point and that is the point that I am producing this record upon subpoena upon advice of my counsel that my privilege under the fifth amendment does not apply to papers belonging to an organization, but in turning these over, I do not intend to waive my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WOOD. All right, turn them over to counsel.

Dr. BLEIER. I would like to add, Mr. Tavenner, you made reference to a letter from my counsel advising me what the records would include. I want to mention, as I said, these are all the records and books of the Maryland Committee for Peace, and does not include membership lists. There are no members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then the records which you have turned over do not include a list of members?

Dr. BLEIER. That is right, because there are no members.

Mr. WOOD. There are no members?

Dr. BLEIER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. By that do you mean that the organization is disbanded at this time?

Dr. BLEIER. It is not a membership organization. It is a committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well the committee must be composed of members.

Dr. BLEIER. As I stated, Mr. Tavenner, these are all the books and records. There are no membership lists at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. But there were members of the committee.

Dr. BLEIER. There were no members, consequently there are no membership lists.

Mr. TAVENNER. You, in fact, are a member of the committee yourself, aren't you?

Dr. BLEIER. I have not so testified.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, aren't you?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Evidently there must be members of the committee if you are unwilling to state whether you were a member, so I would like you to comply with the subpoena served on you and supply this committee with a list containing the names of the members of the committee.

Mr. REIN. May I consult with my client?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

(The witness consulted with her counsel.)

Dr. BLEIER. I am not sure I made my point clear. There are no membership records. There are no membership lists and there never have been.

Mr. TAVENNER. There are members, so you give us the names, regardless of whether you have a list or not.

Dr. BLEIER. There are no members of the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who comprised the committee of which you have produced the records and books? Who comprised the committee?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you are retreating from your position that there are no members, but you are just not willing to state who the members are?

Dr. BLEIER. I am not retreating from any position. I am stating what is an absolute fact.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is that?

Dr. BLEIER. That there are no members of the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why do you refuse to answer who the members are?

Dr. BLEIER. Your question was who comprises the membership.

Mr. TAVENNER. And I do repeat, who comprises the committee?

Dr. BLEIER. And I state again there are no members of the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have officers of the committee? This is rather novel, an organization without members. A skeleton without bones.

Dr. BLEIER. Well, if I may make a comment there, the skeleton has many bones. The bones compose all of those hundreds of thousands of people in Baltimore who have spoken out for peace, and the millions of people in America who have spoken out for peace.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; but those bones are connected by tissue and muscle and they are the officers of the committee. Will you tell us who they are?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the committee have a chairman?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the committee have a secretary?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Am I to infer that there is some possibility you may be both chairman and secretary?

Dr. BLEIER. I think you are free to make any sort of conclusion you like. I am refusing to answer the question on the grounds that I have stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Didn't you testify before the Senate committee that the secretary of your organization was Mrs. Wertheimer, whose name was, I believe, Joan Wertheimer?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did testify before a Senate committee did you not, in 1949, I believe. I believe you appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committee on February 20, 1951. That was just a few months ago. Isn't that correct?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were asked there the question about five times as to who was the secretary of this association called the Maryland Committee for Peace, before you finally answered that it was Mrs. Joan Wertheimer, did you not?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your reason in hesitating when you testified before the Senate committee to name the secretary of your association?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee how the Maryland Committee for Peace was organized?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee when it was organized?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. WOOD. I don't know how I can remind the witness to keep her voice up so the committee members can hear her.

Dr. BLEIER. I will make a redoubled effort.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has been endeavoring, Dr. Bleier, to understand more about the formation of the association for which you have produced certain records and documents. The committee has information that it was organized as a result of consultation by the members of the Communist Party and it was influenced and controlled by Communists. We would like to give you this opportunity to enlighten the committee on that subject, or if it is not true, to deny it.

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WOOD. I can't hear you. I assume you are refusing to answer the question but I can't hear you saying it. Is that what you said?

Dr. BLEIER. Yes; it is.

Mr. TAVENNER. On September 28, 1950, Mr. Robert Montgomery had something to say about your organization over the radio. He said, "The Maryland Committee for Peace is a Communist front. It was born in a Communist cell in Baltimore. It was created by Communists, is sponsored by Communist money, and is directed by active party members." Have you ever denied that publicly?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you yourself a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

I want to say that I object very much to this type of inquiry into the basic beliefs and opinions of an individual. I think that all American citizens are protected by the Bill of Rights of our Constitution to have complete freedom of thought.

Mr. TAVENNER. Certainly the Constitution should protect the public from having a hoax performed upon it through an organization such as yours, as to which apparently the members are not willing to state anything regarding its purposes or how it was organized, how it is financed, or what the affiliation of the persons are who control it.

Dr. BLEIER. I think there should be no question in anybody's mind about where any type of peace activity stems from but from the really fervent desires of the American people for peace.

Mr. TAVENNER. But if it is a peace on Communist terms instead of the interests of this country, it is a different proposition.

Dr. BLEIER. Gentlemen, the peace which the people of the United States have been seeking is seeing its fruition today in Kaesong, Korea.

Mr. KEARNEY. Would you answer if you were asked whether you were a member of the Republican or Democratic Party?

Dr. BLEIER. (after conferring with her counsel). Well—

Mr. KEARNEY. Let me put it this way, are you an enrolled member of the Republican Party?

Dr. BLEIER. Again I think this is blatant—

Mr. KEARNEY. I am not asking you what you think. I am asking you to answer the question.

Dr. BLEIER. This is going far beyond the realm of the boundaries of this committee to inquire into the political beliefs of an individual.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will you answer the question? Are you a member of the Republican Party?

Dr. BLEIER. I must ask you to respect the right of an individual to his political beliefs.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are you a member of the Republican Party?

Dr. BLEIER. (after conferring with her counsel). I refuse to answer on the grounds that it might—

Mr. KEARNEY. It might incriminate you? Are you a member of the Democratic Party? Do you have the same answer to that question?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party in Philadelphia in 1948?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you leave Philadelphia for Baltimore?

Dr. BLEIER. 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. What time in 1949?

Dr. BLEIER. I believe it was the end of June.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you married before your arrival in Baltimore or were you married after that?

Dr. BLEIER. I was married before.

Mr. TAVENNER. On your arrival in Baltimore did you meet an individual by the name of Philip Frankfeld?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you call upon the Communist headquarters in Baltimore on August 30, 1949?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Joan Wertheimer?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Gunther Wertheimer?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Louis Shub?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. And Dr. Bleier, isn't it true that you and the three persons whom I just mentioned were the originators of the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question because it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. On a hasty examination of the records which you turned over, we find receipted bills and canceled checks, but we do not find any record indicating the source of the income or the source of the receipts from which those bills were paid or upon which those checks were drawn. What was the source of the income?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any records showing the source of the receipts?

Dr. BLEIER. Those records are all the books and records of the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have bank statements showing the amount of deposits. Can you tell what date the bank statements begin as to what date is the first entry? Do you have an idea?

Dr. BLEIER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you maintain more than one bank account?

Dr. BLEIER. I think these records should speak for themselves. I believe not. You will have to examine the records and see.

Mr. TAVENNER. The records that we have before us seem to show deposits to the account of Maryland Committee for Peace, Ruth Bleier, M. D., 1033 North Broadway, Baltimore 5, Md., at the Fidelity Trust Co., Baltimore, Md. Was there an account opened at any other bank at which funds the Maryland Committee for Peace was entitled to receive were deposited?

Dr. BLEIER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever have any additional account in any bank other than this one which bears your name?

Dr. BLEIER. Are you asking about me personally?

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the Maryland Committee for Peace. The records that you turned over show that the deposits were in the name and the account was carried as Maryland Committee for Peace, Ruth Bleier, 1033 North Broadway, Baltimore 5, Md.

Dr. BLEIER. For the Maryland Committee for Peace?

(Representative Francis E. Walter left hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. In which the Maryland Committee for Peace had any interest, directly or indirectly?

Dr. BLEIER. The records that I have produced are all of the records, including the bank statements, record of deposits of the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Mr. TAVENNER. I understand, but will you answer my question, please?

Dr. BLEIER. Well, no.

Mr. TAVENNER. The answer is "No?"

Dr. BLEIER. That is right; not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, will you give me a few minutes to examine these records? There may be some question which I can ask, which may save recalling the witness.

Dr. Bleier, in preparing to present these records to the committee under the subpoena, did you ask the bank to furnish you with all of the documents and checks and vouchers which it had up to and including the present time?

Dr. BLEIER. Will you repeat the question, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. You have furnished us here with certain bank statements and vouchers. Do they come up to the present date or does the bank still have any other documents, any other bank statements and vouchers, which you have not accounted for?

Dr. BLEIER. Well, so far as I know these are all of the vouchers and statements.

Mr. TAVENNER. And did you inquire from the bank for the latest statement to get your last voucher?

Dr. BLEIER. Well, I would presume that all of the statements are kept up to date by the bank when they are sent to any depositor.

Mr. TAVENNER. The last charge against your bank account is for \$13.47 under date of April 3, 1951. Well, surely you have bank statements later than that if you have been conducting any business since April 1951?

Dr. BLEIER (after conferring with her counsel). May I—

Mr. WOOD. In other words, do I understand that the records which have been submitted here reflect no deposits or withdrawals from the bank since April?

Dr. BLEIER. May I call your attention to something? In compliance with the subpoena I did produce all of the books and records which were in my possession, and if they fall short of the time, that lag is made up by the checkbook, which brings it up to date.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean there may be another checkbook?

Dr. BLEIER. No, that; there is no other checkbook. That is the complete record that you have there.

Mr. TAVENNER. This seems to be the last checkbook as I see an item of June 27, 1951, but there is no corresponding bank statement or voucher from the period of April 1951 until the present date, and I am asking you about those.

Dr. BLEIER (after conferring with her counsel). Again I will have to repeat that everything you have is what was in my possession. If there is something missing, if the bank has not brought it up to date, I think that can be looked into.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I see. As I mentioned, the last check is dated June 27, 1951, and it is payable to the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. in the amount of \$1,002.77 for Chicago fares. Will you explain what that item is, please?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. What date is that?

Mr. TAVENNER. June 27.

Now, where were you on June 28, in Chicago?

Dr. BLEIER (after conferring with her counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you were originally served with a subpoena to appear here on June 29, didn't you ask the indulgence of the committee to postpone your appearance on the ground that you were needed in connection with your position as intern at the hospital? Didn't you make that request of the committee?

Dr. BLEIER. I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. But as a matter of fact you never intended to be at the hospital at all to practice as an intern at the hospital on that date, but you intended to be at the American People's Congress, an exposition for peace, in Chicago, for which this very check was given in payment of your fare and others; isn't that correct?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't care to ask any other questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any questions?

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

Mr. TAVENNER. Except, Mr. Chairman, I may want to recall the witness after I have had an opportunity to examine the records which have been brought.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. During my absence from the room I believe Mr. Tavenner interrogated the doctor concerning the American People's Congress and Peace Exposition in Chicago. Did you attend that meeting?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WALTER. I think that that meeting is the meeting that the Department of State described in a press release dated June 22, 1951, in which the Secretary of State describes it as a Communist movement or Communist-dominated movement. You say you refuse to answer the question as to whether or not you attended it?

Dr. BLEIER. I did, but I think it should be noted that in that same statement that was issued by Mr. Dean Acheson from the State Department that he also called subversive any peace program which was seeking for an end of the war in Korea and for negotiations among the five great powers to achieve world peace.

Mr. WALTER. I think you missed the point if that is your impression of what the Secretary of State said. He merely pointed out that this is one of those Communist movements and was not initiated for the best interests of the United States.

I believe you refused to answer the question as to where the funds came from that supported this Maryland Committee for Peace on the grounds that the answer to the question might incriminate you; is that correct?

Dr. BLEIER. That is right.

Mr. WALTER. Well, the fact of the matter is that the income of that organization came from the Communist Party, didn't it?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the stated grounds.

Mr. WALTER. And isn't that why you refuse?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALTER. And the fact that the Communist Party financed this movement certainly offers conclusive proof that this movement is Communist dominated; isn't that a fact?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer the question. I resent this type of badgering of me.

Mr. WALTER. I supposed you would. No further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Doctor, I haven't yet seen the checks that were written against this deposit in the bank, so I haven't yet seen the handwriting on the checks. Did you write all the checks and sign them against the account?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. DOYLE. They were drawn. Well, are the checks on this account in your handwriting? I see the counsel has a group of checks there. You understand my question. I mean you were the one who drew the money on the different checks, weren't you?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer the question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. DOYLE. The counsel is showing you a check now. Is that in your handwriting?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am showing the witness now a check stub dated June 27 made payable to the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. in the amount of \$1,002.77

Mr. WOOD. Do I understand that your question is in regard to the writing or entry on that stub?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes; Mr. Wood.

Mr. WOOD. Dr. Bleier, will you answer that question?

Dr. BLEIER. I beg your pardon?

Mr. WOOD. Whether the entry on the stub of the check showing payment of the amount of \$1,002.77 in payment of fares is in your handwriting.

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I was in error in referring to the check bearing the date of June 27. It appears to be the 26th. I think I should correct that for the record, but the stub shows that on June 27, which is the date I was reading out, there was deposited to the account \$941.90. I will ask you if that isn't written in the same handwriting as the check itself?

Dr. BLEIER. I am afraid I am no handwriting expert.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether it is?

Dr. BLEIER. It is impossible for me to tell that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state the source of the \$941.90? Where did that money come from?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you deposit the \$941.90 in the bank, in the Fidelity Trust Co. bank, to the account of the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Dr. BLEIER. I must refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WOOD. Well, then, in order to clarify the record, the question asked by Mr. Doyle was whether or not those entries on that stub or memorandum of that check, whatever date they bear, whether it is

the 26th or 27th, or both, I believe—one date indicates the deposit on the 26th and the check on the 27th. You are ordered to answer that question.

Dr. BLEIER. That is a question I refuse to answer, claiming my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. WOOD. Are you still refusing to answer that question after the demand that you do so, and I do now demand that you do so.

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. WOOD. Proceed, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Doctor, in this group of records that are produced are there any bank deposit slips; do you know? You received deposit receipts from the bank, of course, as deposits were made, didn't you? I mean they gave you a deposit slip showing you what amount was deposited at the bank? Where are those deposit slips?

Dr. BLEIER. I presume that if there are deposit slips they are among the records there because they are the complete records.

Mr. DOYLE. As deposits were made you were given slips showing the amounts of the deposits.

Dr. BLEIER. I can only repeat if deposit slips were given, they are among these exhibits.

Mr. DOYLE. Doctor, I am a banker, too, when I work at it and the practice is to give a depositor a slip showing the deposit and when the deposits are made, entries are made.

Dr. BLEIER. I haven't testified that I made any deposits.

Mr. DOYLE. I am just assuming you did.

Dr. BLEIER. I don't think you can assume I did. I did not so testify.

Mr. DOYLE. Who made the deposits?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that on the grounds of self-incrimination.

Mr. JACKSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. The record shows that the account is in the name of the Maryland Committee for Peace, Ruth Bleier, M. D., 1033 North Broadway, Baltimore 5, Md. It is quite obvious that she made the deposits and withdrawal of those funds.

Mr. DOYLE. Are there any checks or accounts returned against this account?

Mr. JACKSON. A number of checks.

Mr. DOYLE. May I be privileged to see it just a moment please?

Doctor, I don't want to press the matter unduly, but I know you know your own handwriting even though as you said you are not a handwriting expert. We recognize that, of course, but you are an expert on your own handwriting. Will you please look at that check there and read to me who it is payable to, please?

Dr. BLEIER. It states here, "Pay to the order of Romm Press, Inc."

Mr. DOYLE. How much money?

Dr. BLEIER. \$100.

Mr. DOYLE. What is the date of it?

Dr. BLEIER. August 14, 1950.

Mr. DOYLE. It is on a check of what bank?

Dr. BLEIER. The Fidelity Trust Co.

Mr. DOYLE. Where?

Dr. BLEIER. It doesn't—oh, yes; Baltimore.

Mr. DOYLE. What is the signature to that check? What does it say?

Dr. BLEIER. It says, "Maryland Committee for Peace, Ruth Bleier, M. D."

Mr. DOYLE. And do you know Ruth Bleier, M. D.? Are you acquainted with her? Is that you?

Dr. BLEIER. That is my name; that is right.

Mr. DOYLE. And is that your signature?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will the gentleman yield for one question?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. KEARNEY. Is anyone else authorized to sign your name, Ruth Bleier, M. D., Maryland Committee for Peace besides yourself on the withdrawal of funds from that bank?

Dr. BLEIER (after conferring with her counsel). I refuse to answer the question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. DOYLE. Doctor, may I just ask you this question? Counsel, will you please hand these to the doctor? She says she is not an expert on handwriting. Doctor, I hand you six checks on the same bank which you have testified, Fidelity Trust Co., in various amounts. Will you look at those six checks so far as the signature on each of them is concerned? Are any of those signatures not yours? If so, will you identify which one is not?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know whose signatures are on each of those checks?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer the question for the same reason.

Mr. WOOD. Counsel, do you have a further question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Did you want to ask her about this, Mr. Doyle, or will you yield to counsel?

Mr. DOYLE. I note here, Doctor, that I asked a few moments ago about deposit slips. I understood there were not any but I find here now four and I ask my counsel here to hand these to you and I will ask you if it is not a fact that the pen-and-ink portion of each of those deposit slips, indicating the amount of money deposited and the name of the committee, is all in your handwriting?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question because the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Would you tell me in what way it would incriminate you to identify your own signature?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question for the same reason.

Mr. DOYLE. I think that is all.

Mr. WOOD. Counsel, I will leave it to you for further questioning.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think, Mr. Chairman, at this point I should introduce in evidence and make a part of the record the check stub bearing date June 26, 1941, and I ask that it be marked "Bleier Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WOOD. I will admit it on the condition that you will have the document photostated so you may return the original to Dr. Bleier because I think they are entitled to the return of these records.

(Photostat of the document above referred to, marked "Bleier Exhibit No. 1," is filed herewith.)

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, may I also suggest that the witness furnish counsel and committee with the bank statement from the date of the last canceled checks that we have up to the present time?

Mr. WOOD. I understood her to say there are other bank statements not in her possession but still in the possession of the bank and they would be furnished. Is that what I understood you to say?

Dr. BLEIER. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Let that be done as promptly as you can obtain it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the organization of Maryland Committee for Peace tax-exempt?

Dr. BLEIER. I really can't say. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a charitable, religious, or educational institution?

Mr. VELDE. That is income tax?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, income tax.

Dr. BLEIER. I would presume so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you pay any income tax on the income of the organization?

Dr. BLEIER. Did I?

Mr. TAVENNER. Or did anyone connected with the organization?

Dr. BLEIER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. WALTER. It is a first-class corporation.

Mr. WOOD. "Not to my knowledge," did you say? I did not hear you.

Dr. BLEIER. That is right; not to my knowledge.

Mr. WOOD. Does this organization hold a certificate from the Treasury Department of the United States?

Dr. BLEIER. I beg your pardon?

Mr. WOOD. Does this organization, the Maryland Committee for Peace hold a certificate from the Treasury Department of the United States authorizing any contributions made to it to be taken off the income-tax return and credited for it as being an educational organization?

Dr. BLEIER. I am sorry but I have no knowledge in this realm of questioning.

Mr. WOOD. Do you know?

Dr. BLEIER. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your husband's name?

Dr. BLEIER. Leon Eisenberg.

Mr. TAVENNER. Leon Eisenberg? That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions? Mr. Doyle? Mr. Frazier?

Mr. FRAZIER. Were you the chairman for the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. FRAZIER. Dr. Bleier, would you have the committee believe that you were the only member of the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. FRAZIER. Where were you born?

Dr. BLEIER. Pittsburgh, Pa. That has already been made a part of the record.

Mr. FRAZIER. And you lived there until you went to the University at Philadelphia?

Dr. BLEIER. Well, no. I was born there. I lived in New Kensington, Pa.

Mr. FRAZIER. Where?

Dr. BLEIER. New Kensington, Pa.

Mr. FRAZIER. I am just a little bit interested in your background. You seem to be a very intelligent person and you hold a degree in medicine. Now, what does your father do?

Dr. BLEIER. He is a businessman.

Mr. FRAZIER. Where is he located?

Dr. BLEIER. Really, I have to object to this. I am the one who is appearing here as a witness and I don't see it is within the sphere of the inquiry here to bring any of my family into this hearing.

Mr. FRAZIER. I merely ask the question in order to get a little of your background because it is a little difficult for us members of this committee, dealing with an intelligent person as you seem to be, to understand the attitude that you take in declining to answer any of the questions that have been propounded to you. You don't have to divulge the location of your father or what you have done before if you don't want to, if you think it will tend to incriminate you.

Dr. BLEIER. I did not object to it on those grounds.

Mr. FRAZIER. You say you decline on those grounds?

Dr. BLEIER. I did not; no. I did not decline on those grounds.

Mr. FRAZIER. What objection do you have?

Dr. BLEIER. It was just an objection on the moral principle it seems to me really, if I am the person who has been asked to appear here, I don't see it is necessary to go into such details to bring other persons before you in such a fashion.

Mr. FRAZIER. Now, before you went to college where did you attend school?

Dr. BLEIER. Before I went to college?

Mr. FRAZIER. Yes.

Dr. BLEIER. In New Kensington, Pa.

Mr. FRAZIER. In the public schools?

Dr. BLEIER. That is right.

Mr. FRAZIER. Or private schools?

Dr. BLEIER. Public schools.

Mr. FRAZIER. Would you mind telling me again what universities you attended?

Dr. BLEIER. After high school I went to Goucher College in Baltimore, and then I went to the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia. I spent two different summers in universities, the University of Pittsburgh and Penn State, during the course of my college training.

Mr. FRAZIER. How long did it take you to get your medical degree?

Dr. BLEIER. The usual 4-year medical course.

Mr. FRAZIER. Four years?

Dr. BLEIER. That is right.

Mr. FRAZIER. And then you were assigned to some hospital over at Baltimore?

Dr. BLEIER. That is right.

Mr. FRAZIER. Sinai, is that it?

Dr. BLEIER. Sinai.

Mr. FRAZIER. And you are still there as an intern?

Dr. BLEIER. No, I am not.

Mr. FRAZIER. Where are you located now?

Dr. BLEIER. I am not located any place now.

Mr. FRAZIER. You are not engaged in medical practice?

Dr. BLEIER. Not at the moment since I just completed my hospital training.

Mr. FRAZIER. But you still reside in Baltimore?

Dr. BLEIER. That is right.

Mr. FRAZIER. Now, why do you object to giving the committee the background and the reasons and the ideas and principles of the Maryland Committee for Peace, and the objects of this organization?

Dr. BLEIER. I must refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination, but I think that it is public knowledge at this time that there has been a tremendous atmosphere of great fear and suspicion, which has been built up in this country, surprisingly enough, around the word "peace," and also dealing with people engaged in peace activities despite the fact that the American people have registered time after time over the course of the past year that they are very tired of war and want nothing more strongly than to have world peace, and I think again that we have a very striking contrast just in the situation that is going on today, really a very bitter contrast. On the one hand we have the hopes of mankind on the war being settled by the truce talks in Kaesong, Korea, that were begun today, and on the other hand we have what this committee has before it, that is, calling on inquisition and subjection to the same sort of suspicions and really accuses people who have devoted their time toward peace and toward bringing this very situation about that we have today. That is a situation which can be productive of world peace and giving the people an opportunity to build the kind of world that they want.

Mr. FRAZIER. Do you think that the Members of Congress are interested in world peace just as much as you are and your associates?

Dr. BLEIER. Well, I think there has been some evidence that some have been. Senator Johnson introduced a resolution which called for an immediate end to the war in Korea. But I found there were very few Senators who spoke out in favor of that, and as I recall very few or no Representatives who introduced in the House a similar resolution to bring an end to the war in Korea. I am only able to judge by such overt actions.

Mr. FRAZIER. You don't think that the information you have would be of any benefit to this committee in furthering any activities that might be disclosed here?

Dr. BLEIER. Yes, I do. I mean there is quite a bit of information.

Mr. FRAZIER. Why wouldn't you give the membership of it?

Dr. BLEIER. Well, I think the kind of information that would really help you that I am referring to is to give you some idea of the tremendous upsurge that exists among the American people and the people of Baltimore who have expressed by hundreds and thousands the demands that our legislators do all that is possible to bring about a negotiated settlement in Korea. Just 1 year ago 50,000 people in Baltimore signed a peace ballot that expressed their conviction that the nations of different social and economic systems such as exemplified by the United States and the Soviet Union can coexist.

Mr. KEARNEY. Does the gentleman yield? Is that the so-called Stockholm Peace Petition you are speaking about?

Dr. BLEIER. No; it is not.

Mr. KEARNEY. What peace petition are you speaking about?

Dr. BLEIER. One year ago the paper carried a peace ballot, not a peace petition.

Mr. KEARNEY. Who put the peace ballot out?

Dr. BLEIER. Again referring to the newspaper accounts, this was a peace ballot that was put out by the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Mr. KEARNEY. Oh, the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Mr. FRAZIER. That is all.

Mr. DOYLE. Who circulated that ballot? Did the Maryland Committee for Peace finance the preparation of the ballot? I think you have stated that.

Dr. BLEIER. I am telling you what happened in the newspapers. This made quite a bit of a stir in the Sun papers.

Mr. DOYLE. Were you and the other members of the committee sponsors of the ballot?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. DOYLE. Is that what will incriminate you, the peace ballot?

Dr. BLEIER. I have not testified as to any of the activities of the other people on the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Mr. DOYLE. Why is it when we get up to the point of us asking anything about the Communist Party or communism that you claim your privileges? Is there anything subversive or anything criminal about it that might incriminate you if you back it in any way, or do I misjudge?

Dr. BLEIER. I am afraid there has been quite a few ideas here just given by you. I am not sure what it is you pose as a question to me.

Mr. DOYLE. It is perfectly clear. I am asking you what there is in your mind that might incriminate you if you frankly answer our questions that you were or were not in any way connected with the Communist Party. What is there about the Communist Party that might incriminate you if you said you were in any way identified with it?

Mr. BLEIER. This is something I just don't feel in my power to discuss.

Mr. DOYLE. I think you understand it all right. No other questions.

Mr. VELDE. Dr. Bleier, do you know how much income has come into the Maryland Committee for Peace since it has been organized?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. VELDE. You mentioned a while ago that the Maryland Committee for Peace had no members. I wonder what the term "member" or "membership" means to you?

Dr. BLEIER. Is this a Webster definition you would like?

Mr. VELDE. No; I just want to know your definition of what you think it is. Possibly you call membership something else than we do. Are there committeemen to this organization or committee members?

Dr. BLEIER. Well, my conception of a member is someone who signs a membership card and pays dues. I presume that would be a definition.

Mr. VELDE. And under that connotation that the Maryland Committee for Peace has no membership in your connotation of the term "membership"; is that correct?

Dr. BLEIER (after conferring with her counsel). That is right.

Mr. VELDE. What is the Maryland Committee for Peace? Will you describe it? What term do you use to designate it?

Dr. BLEIER. I can only answer that the name would speak for itself.

Mr. VELDE. It is a committee?

Dr. BLEIER. I would presume so if it is called a committee.

Mr. VELDE. Well, is it or is it not in your opinion a committee? Understand, I am not trying to catch you or anything. I just want to get your understanding of it.

Dr. BLEIER. Yes; I understand what you are talking about. I cannot answer that.

Mr. VELDE. You cannot answer it?

Dr. BLEIER. I cannot. Again I can only say anything that calls itself a committee would be a committee.

Mr. VELDE. It would have committee members then, would it not, or committeemen?

Dr. BLEIER. I don't know that that follows.

Mr. VELDE. Can you describe the organization any further, any better than you have?

Dr. BLEIER. No; I cannot answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. VELDE. The organization still is in existence at the present time?

Dr. BLEIER. To my knowledge it is.

Mr. WOOD. Are there any other questions?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Doctor, there has been some talk here about the signatures on these various canceled checks. Would you mind giving me a sample of your signature?

(After conferring with her counsel the witness signed her name to a blank piece of stationery.)

Mr. KEARNEY. Well, now, Doctor, would you be willing to compare the signature on the check I hand you dated February 26, 1951, signed "Md. Committee for Peace, Ruth Bleier, M. D.," and tell this committee whether or not those two signatures, the one you just gave me and the one on the check, are not your own?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce the signed signature in evidence and ask it be marked "Bleier Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. WALTER. Being the writing on which the witness placed her own name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

(The document above referred to, marked "Bleier Exhibit No. 2," is filed herewith.)

Mr. KEARNEY. Doctor, were you still in Sinai Hospital on June 26, 27, or 28?

Dr. BLEIER. Was I still in it?

Mr. KEARNEY. As an intern or whatever your position was there?

Dr. BLEIER. My year of training was completed July 1.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will you answer the question as to whether or not you were still a member of the staff as an intern or whatever official position you held on June 26, 27, and 28?

Dr. BLEIER. I was officially a member of the staff.

Mr. KEARNEY. Were you present in the hospital attending your duties during those 3 days?

Dr. BLEIER. What were those days?

Mr. KEARNEY. June 26, 27, and 28, and I will say the 29th.

Dr. BLEIER (after conferring with her counsel). I was not in the hospital on those days.

Mr. KEARNEY. Would you mind telling the committee where you were?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. Were you at this peace conference in Chicago?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KEARNEY. Were you in Chicago during those latter days of June?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. KEARNEY. Have you read anything about this peace conference which was held in Chicago during the latter days of June?

Dr. BLEIER. I recall reading—I think I recall reading a newspaper.

Mr. KEARNEY. Isn't that the conference where Paul Robeson and Gale Sondergaard were supposed to be two of the speakers?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer.

Mr. KEARNEY. And Dr. Morrison, of Cornell?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you know whether they were or not?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. KEARNEY. Doctor, in answer to some of the questions put to you by members of the committee and also by counsel I might have misunderstood you but I believe I understood you to say that thousands and thousands and thousands of Americans were looking forward to peace?

Dr. BLEIER. That is right.

Mr. KEARNEY. I agree with that. Now, do you think those Americans are looking forward to the kind of peace that Russia desires or the kind of peace that America desires?

Dr. BLEIER. Peace—

Mr. KEARNEY. Never mind going into any speech or lengthy dissertation. You can answer my question.

Dr. BLEIER. I just want to make the point peace is peace. It is a lack of warfare.

Mr. KEARNEY. That I realize and I think every member of this committee realizes the same thing but would you merely answer the question?

Dr. BLEIER. Could you tell me what are the two types of peace that you are distinguishing? Perhaps then I can.

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes; I could. I would be very glad to do so. Would you please answer the question?

Dr. BLEIER. I am sorry, I cannot answer the question because I really don't understand it because as I said before peace is the absence of war.

Mr. KEARNEY. All right, what kind of peace do you believe in, the American kind or the Russian kind?

Dr. BLEIER. I didn't know there were all kinds of peace.

Mr. KEARNEY. Evidently you aren't well up on it.

Dr. BLEIER. Well, if you are speaking about these—

Mr. KEARNEY. You are speaking about these thousands and thousands of Americans who desire peace and with that I thoroughly agree with you, and yet you speak about some petition which was signed over in Baltimore about a year ago and I ask you if that was the so-called Stockholm peace petition and I wish you would answer that question again. Was it or wasn't it?

Dr. BLEIER. I answered that it was not.

Mr. KEARNEY. That it was not?

Dr. BLEIER. That is right.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did your organization have any petitions of the so-called Stockholm peace petition to put throughout the city of Baltimore for signatures?

Dr. BLEIER. What organization is this that you are referring to?

Mr. KEARNEY. The so-called Stockholm peace petition and the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Dr. BLEIER. And what was your question?

Mr. KEARNEY. Did you or your organization, the Maryland Committee for Peace, have any of the so-called Stockholm peace petitions during their campaign? Did you have any of those to secure the signatures of people from Baltimore on those petitions?

Dr. BLEIER (after conferring with her counsel). To my knowledge the Maryland Committee for Peace did not circulate the Stockholm peace petition. The ballot I was referring to was a ballot, which specified two different points, that is, peaceful coexistence between two economic and social systems and the—

Mr. KEARNEY. Would you mind giving us the source of those peace petitions?

Dr. BLEIER. Which peace petitions?

Mr. KEARNEY. The ones you are just speaking about.

Dr. BLEIER. I think this is made clear by my previous testimony.

Mr. KEARNEY. It is not clear to me and I wish you would answer the question.

Dr. BLEIER. This was a ballot that was sponsored as I understand it by the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Mr. KEARNEY. Weren't you a member of the Maryland Committee for Peace at that time?

Dr. BLEIER. I previously refused and I still refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. KEARNEY. Has your Maryland Committee for Peace sponsored any other peace petitions other than those you have just mentioned?

Dr. BLEIER. Again I haven't identified myself as being the possessor of the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Mr. KEARNEY. As an individual have you sponsored any peace petitions or signed any peace petitions?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did you sign the so-called Stockholm peace petition?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. Now, can you tell the committee of your own knowledge: Do you know of any organization in this country that has put out these so-called peace petitions that were not Communist-inspired?

Dr. BLEIER. I would like to have you repeat that question, please.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will the stenographer read the question please?

(The question was read by the reporter.)

Dr. BLEIER. In the first place I have no knowledge of all of the peace petitions that were put out in this country.

Mr. KEARNEY. I did not ask you that. I asked you of your own knowledge.

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds, but I would like—

Mr. KEARNEY. I thought you would, but it has taken you an awful long time to get to that point.

Dr. BLEIER. I would like to add a few things to my previous remarks.

Mr. KEARNEY. As I said to a previous witness, I am not on the witness stand.

Dr. BLEIER. I was not going to ask you a question.

Mr. KEARNEY. Has your organization ever had a list of its membership?

Dr. BLEIER. What organization is this you are referring to?

Mr. KEARNEY. Maryland Committee for Peace.

Dr. BLEIER. And your question was what?

Mr. KEARNEY. Have they ever had a list of its members?

Dr. BLEIER. It is really beyond—unless you think I am stupid, I think we have been through these questions time after time again.

Mr. KEARNEY. I don't want to get into that, Doctor, but I would like to answer that question. I think you are far from stupid. I think you are smart. I think you are too smart to answer the questions honestly and sincerely that are put to you by the committee.

Mr. WOOD. The question that was asked you, as I understand it, is whether or not the Maryland Committee for Peace has ever had its membership listed. Has there ever been in existence a list of the people who formulated the Maryland Committee for Peace? Do you know that of your own knowledge?

Dr. BLEIER. My testimony that was given—

Mr. WOOD. Just answer the question and we can get along better.

Dr. BLEIER. When I handed in the records, I stated there has never been a list of the members of the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Mr. WOOD. There never has been?

Dr. BLEIER. That is right.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are you a member of the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that on previously stated grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will you explain not only to me but to the members of the committee how you came in possession of these records of the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on previously stated grounds. In compliance with my subpoena, I brought all the records of the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Mr. KEARNEY. As the only one in charge of those records? Would any individual outside of a member of the Maryland Committee for Peace have charge of those records?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is all.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Doctor, I hand you herewith a photostatic copy of a letterhead of the Maryland Committee for Peace and ask your special attention to a list of names which appear on the right-hand side. Do you see the list of names?

Dr. BLEIER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. May I have the letter back, please?

Over the signature of Ruth Bleier, M. D., chairman of the Maryland Committee for Peace, and in the body of the letter this is stated in part:

We are circulating the open letter throughout the city and expect that thousands of signatures will result in answers from both governments. In doing this work we are trying to build a bridge between the two governments whose continued coexistence is necessary if peace is to be maintained. We hope you will circulate the enclosed letters and return them to us.

I am going to ask you what two governments are involved there but rather ask you whether or not you feel, in line with your statement, prepared statement, which says in part:

This hopeful course of events has been in no small degree influenced by the determination for peace of the American people, a determination based on the conviction that peaceful coexistence between differing economic and social systems is not only desirable but possible and that differences between nations can and must be settled around the conference table, not on the battlefield.

Now, that is a portion of the statement which I understand you released today to the press. Do you believe very sincerely that there are no differences between the Soviet Union and the United States that cannot be settled around the conference table by peaceful means? Do you so believe?

Dr. BLEIER. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. That is correct. You are sincerely convinced that the American system of government on the one hand and the Communist system of government on the other have no differences that cannot be resolved at the conference table.

Dr. BLEIER. Well, this obviously refers to any of the differences which might generate war between them. I am not saying by that if they sit down together that one system is going to convert from a capitalist to a socialist system or vice versa.

Mr. JACKSON. I understand that, but your contention is there can be settlement.

Dr. BLEIER. That is right. I don't think any difference can be so great as to justify the horror that is taking place in Korea.

Mr. JACKSON. I call your attention to a quote from Stalin's book Problems of Leninism, in which he states:

It is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist side by side with capitalist, imperialist states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer.

Are you in agreement with that statement?

Dr. BLEIER. I think I made my position absolutely clear, as it is possible.

Mr. JACKSON. No; not as to the question I have asked. I asked you whether or not you agree with the statement made by Premier Stalin, which I must confess is in direct variance to the statement contained in your statement issued today. The two are so far apart

that I should like to—you have affirmed your belief in your own statement?

Dr. BLEIER. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. Now, do you believe in the statement made by Mr. Stalin?

Dr. BLEIER. I can but stand on my own statement.

Mr. JACKSON. In other words, standing on your own statement must be preceded by a repudiation of the other; is that correct?

Dr. BLEIER. I would presume so.

Mr. JACKSON. It would seem to follow that, if you believe that everything could be settled around the conference table, you cannot subscribe that the two systems, economic and social, cannot exist in the same world, with reference to Mr. Stalin's words?

With further reference to the checks—

Dr. BLEIER. May I make another remark? I would presume what you are implying here, despite what I think, the whole set-up of events in the world are such that it would be impossible for these two countries to coexist. Is that what you had in mind?

Mr. JACKSON. Simply, my question is whether you believed your own statement or whether you believed the statement of Mr. Stalin.

Dr. BLEIER. The one thing that I would like to refer to and that is something that I read—

Mr. JACKSON. No; I am simply asking you a question. It is a question which I think your points of view are so radically different that there seems to be no argument that can bridge the gap. Do you stand on your statement or do you believe that Mr. Stalin is right?

Dr. BLEIER. The thing that I am trying to point out is that I believe in the coexistence of the two systems; and I want to point out, because I am afraid of the implication left by your words, that there is ground for agreement between the two countries and point to the fact that Mr. Stalin in all of his speeches since, I believe, 1926 before the governing body in the Soviet Union has affirmed the peaceful coexistence between the capitalist and the Socialist systems.

Mr. JACKSON. That may be very true, Doctor, but it still does not bridge the gap as between the two positions which were taken by you and by Mr. Stalin, whether these two systems can coexist in the world or they cannot.

Dr. BLEIER. Well, they certainly can.

Mr. JACKSON. They can?

Dr. BLEIER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Then I understand, by that, that Mr. Stalin's expression of inconceivability that they could is not in line with your thinking?

Mr. TAVENNER. She has not answered the question. There is no answer for the record.

Dr. BLEIER. That is my interpretation.

Mr. JACKSON. My understanding is you are in agreement with that?

Dr. BLEIER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your answer?

Dr. BLEIER. My answer is my belief in the coexistence in peace of the Soviet Union and the United States.

Mr. VELDE. Will the gentleman yield? Then I take it you disagree with Stalin's statement?

Dr. BLEIER. We are getting far away from the question. You will have to remember—

Mr. VELDE. Answer my question. Do you agree or disagree with Stalin's statement?

Dr. BLEIER. Obviously, if it disagrees with my statement, I would. It is a statement that does disagree. Would you read it again?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Stalin's statement?

Dr. BLEIER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. (reading):

It is inconceivable that the Soviet Union should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer.

Your statement is different.

Dr. BLEIER. That would have to be my conclusion; that it is a differing statement.

Mr. VELDE. Do you disagree with it or agree?

Dr. BLEIER. I must confess I am no real student of philosophy. I don't know all of the implications there. If anyone would take the choice that the two systems cannot coexist, I must disagree with that choice, because I do believe that they can coexist and I am really not in any—I just don't have the information to analyze a statement like that.

Mr. VELDE. At this point you don't disagree with anything Mr. Stalin has said?

Mr. JACKSON. I think she has.

Mr. VELDE. Do you go on record as disagreeing with this statement?

Dr. BLEIER. I think that this is a very unreasonable line of questioning. If the meaning of this is it is impossible, then I disagree with it. As I say, I am not in the position to enter into a philosophical discussion with anybody of what this thing is. I am really not a student of philosophy.

Mr. JACKSON. This is not a question of philosophy. This is a position where you are exactly opposed from that of someone else and it is a matter of agreeing or disagreeing. My understanding of your answer is that you disagree with Mr. Stalin's position.

Now, on the letterhead of the Maryland Committee for Peace there are listed three honorary chairmen, one chairman, two vice chairmen, one treasurer, one secretary, and, I should say, 40 sponsors. Would that, in your mind, constitute what is necessary to the creation of a committee?

Dr. BLEIER. I have not really formed opinions of what a committee is. I think if a group of people would associate themselves into what they would choose to term "a committee," why I would respect their right to call themselves a committee.

Mr. JACKSON. Did these individuals—I am not going to name them—so constitute themselves as to form the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you know Gunther Wertheimer?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. JACKSON. A number of the checks drawn on the Fidelity Trust Co. and signed "Maryland Committee for Peace, Ruth Bleier, M. D."

are made out to Mr. Gunther Wertheimer. I know nothing about Mr. Wertheimer's work. The record so states. Will you tell the committee in what capacity Mr. Wertheimer functioned in connection with the Maryland Committee for Peace, if he did so function?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. JACKSON. Under date of February 26, 1951, check No. 502 on the Fidelity Trust Co. in the amount of \$15 is made out to the American Peace Crusade and signed by Ruth Bleier, Maryland Committee for Peace. Do you have any knowledge of this check?

Dr. BLEIER. I refuse to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter, do you have some questions?

Mr. WALTER. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Insofar as the testimony given here is so indirectly—or directly, in one instance—apt to leave the inference in your opinion that this committee has by its actions deterred efforts for lasting peace in this world, I must for the committee as well as for myself repudiate any inference that you might leave in the minds of those present or the press or yourself. In the early days of this Republic, when the Colonies were laboring under collusion, there was a great majority that cried out against peace by chains and slavery, and there has been war by freemen in the world since that time.

Speaking for myself—and, I think, for every member of this committee—there is no person in this world who desires peace any more than I do; but the peace that I desire is not the kind of peace that gets you freedom only from armed conflict but rather a peace of mind and peace of conscience. A peace that gives some assurance of the maintenance of the dignity of the individual. That is the kind of peace that the freedom-loving people of America want today and not the kind of peace that seems to be desired by you and your associates.

I simply want to make my position clear.

Now, Mr. Counsel, you have some questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Dr. Bleier, you have mentioned a peace ballot. Did the Maryland Committee for Peace circulate it? And you mentioned two questions. One of those questions was this: "Are you in favor of outlawing the hydrogen bomb and other atomic and bacteriological weapons of war?"

(Representative Donald L. Jackson left hearing room.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, did the knowledge which you or the Maryland Committee for Peace possessed on bacteriological warfare come in any manner or to any extent from your husband, Dr. Leon Eisenberg?

Dr. BLEIER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am sorry; I could not hear you.

Dr. BLEIER. No; not to my knowledge it didn't. I have done my own amount of reading. As far as the committee goes, I can't speak for it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he at that time, as Capt. Leon Eisenberg, working on bacteriological research at installations at the Walter Reed Hospital?

Dr. BLEIER. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he ever at any time work in that capacity?

Dr. BLEIER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he working at Walter Reed Hospital?

Dr. BLEIER. Are you referring to a specific time?

Mr. TAVENNER. At any time.

Dr. BLEIER. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did he work there?

Dr. BLEIER. I will answer that question, Mr. Tavenner, but again I must object. I am the person who is on the witness stand, and I can't see inquiring into the livelihood or the actions of other people is within the realm of this inquiry.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question, please?

(Representative Donald L. Jackson returned to hearing room.)

Dr. BLEIER. I think it was about 1948 and 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what capacity was he working there?

Dr. BLEIER. As an instructor.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what?

Dr. BLEIER. I believe it was neurophysiology.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did his assignment have anything to do with bacteriological warfare?

Dr. BLEIER. Not to my knowledge; no.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WOOD. Do you desire time to examine these records with the possibility of recalling the witness, or can she be excused now?

Mr. TAVENNER. I think she should be released subject to recall, Mr. Chairman; in which case we would give several days' notice.

Mr. WOOD. Except for the records this witness has produced which you may desire to retain, the records will be returned.

This committee is adjourned; and until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning the committee is recessed.

(Whereupon, at 4:30 p. m. the hearing was adjourned to reconvene at 10 a. m. Wednesday, July 11, 1951.)

HEARINGS RELATING TO COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE DEFENSE AREA OF BALTIMORE—PART 2

(Maryland Committee for Peace and the Baltimore
County Committee for Peace)

THURSDAY, JULY 12, 1951

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

PUBLIC HEARING

AFTERNOON SESSION

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 2:55 p. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John S. Wood (chairman) presiding.¹

Committee members present: Representatives John S. Wood (chairman), Francis E. Walter, James B. Frazier, Jr., and Harold H. Velde.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., assistant counsel; Donald T. Appell, investigator; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; John W. Carrington, clerk; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. WOOD. Let the committee be in order.

Let the record show for the purposes of this proceeding this afternoon that I have set up a subcommittee composed of Messrs. Walter, Velde, and Frazier.

You may proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Shub.

Mr. WOOD. Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SHUB. I do.

Mr. BUCHMAN. I want the record to show, sir, that we are proceeding under protest because of the absence of a quorum.

Mr. WOOD. The protest is noted.

Let the record show, however, that the entire subcommittee is present.

¹ Testimony of the preceding witness heard by the Committee on Un-American Activities on this day, Harold Lapidus Round, is printed in another volume under same title, pt. 3.

**TESTIMONY OF LOUIS JULIUS SHUB, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS
COUNSEL, HAROLD BUCHMAN**

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your full name?

Mr. SHUB. Louis Julius Shub.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. SHUB. I am.

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

Mr. BUCHMAN. Harold Buchman, 213 Tower Building, Baltimore.

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

Mr. SHUB. I was born in Baltimore in 1912.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date?

Mr. SHUB. February 19, 1912.

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

Mr. SHUB. Yes, I will. I was educated in the Baltimore public schools. I studied at the Peabody Conservatory, music school, had a scholarship there; studied at the Julliard Institute, also with a scholarship, and at the Curtis Institute, scholarship student there. I graduated there in 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you now employed?

Mr. SHUB. I am teaching music. I am teaching piano, counterpoint, music literature, and score reading.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. SHUB. I would rather not answer that question, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been employed other than as a teacher of music?

Mr. SHUB. Aside from teaching music, I have been a concert pianist. I was in the Armed Forces; went in as a private in 1942, served in north Africa and Italy in the Naples campaign and in the Rome-Arno campaign. I received a direct commission as second lieutenant in Italy. I was separated from the service in 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now in the Reserve Corps?

Mr. SHUB. Yes, I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. With what rank?

Mr. SHUB. Second lieutenant.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the Active Reserve?

Mr. SHUB. No, it is not in the Active Reserve, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to your enlistment in the Army, how were you employed?

Mr. SHUB. I was employed as a music teacher and, also, I gave concerts.

Mr. VELDE. Where were you employed as a music teacher?

Mr. SHUB. I would rather not answer that question. I rather resent that question for a very definite reason.

Mr. VELDE. What is your reason?

Mr. SHUB. Where was I employed; was that your question? I misunderstood.

I taught piano privately in my own studio at that time.

Mr. VELDE. With reference to your employment at the present time, where are you employed as a music teacher?

Mr. SHUB. I would rather not answer that question for a very definite reason. If you care to have the reason, gentlemen, I can give it to you.

Mr. VELDE. Well, I as one member of the committee would like to have your reason.

Mr. SHUB. The reason is, the disclosure at present of my place of employment would endanger my job.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. WALTER. Why do you feel your job would be endangered?

Mr. SHUB. Well, in the first place, I would like to say that the place where I am employed I don't think has any bearing at all upon the proceedings of this investigation.

Mr. WALTER. I don't know whether that is true or whether it isn't.

Mr. SHUB. It is a school. It is a music school. I teach these various subjects that I mentioned, and I hardly believe, gentlemen, that teaching music comes under the category of subversive activities.

Mr. WALTER. It depends upon who the teacher is, perhaps.

Mr. SHUB. Really? That is very difficult to see how one can—

Mr. WALTER. Never mind. It is very apparent to me. Go ahead.

Mr. VELDE. Is this a private school or a public school?

Mr. SHUB. It is a private school.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Chairman, I think other witnesses have been required to answer similar questions, and I see no reason for making any exception in this particular case.

Mr. WOOD. I know of no power vested in this committee, or its chairman, to require a man to answer any question. The witness is under oath. I would like to call the witness' attention to the fact that a refusal to answer is his choice, and whatever hazard may be attached to his refusal to answer is something that he has to take.

Mr. SHUB. Mr. Chairman, if I am directed to answer this question, I shall most certainly answer it.

Mr. WOOD. Let me ask you this: Have you any financial interest at the institution at which you teach?

Mr. SHUB. No, I have not.

Mr. WOOD. I think for the time being, gentlemen, until further developments occur, maybe we had better respect the feelings of the witness. It may develop that the question where he is teaching is not material.

I am not going to require the witness to answer at the moment, until his testimony is further developed. It may develop to the point where it may not be necessary. At least, I hope so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Shub, the committee is in possession of information indicating that you, Dr. Ruth Bleier, and Mr. Gunther Wertheimer were jointly interested in the creation of an organization in Baltimore known as the Maryland Committee for Peace. I would like for you to tell the committee what you know about the organization of that group, and who were participants in it, and all you know regarding its creation.

Mr. SHUB (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. WALTER. You feel that your connection with a group whose purpose it was to make a contribution toward world peace might in anywise implicate you in some criminal prosecution?

Mr. SHUB. I am sorry, I didn't get the question.

Mr. WALTER. Read the question, Mr. Stenographer.

(The question was read.)

Mr. SHUB. I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Shub, did you in September 1949, meet with Dr. Ruth Bleier, Mr. Gunther Wertheimer, and Joan Wertheimer, or any of them, for preliminary discussions toward the formation of the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Mr. SHUB (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Dr. Ruth Bleier?

Mr. SHUB (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mr. Gunther Wertheimer?

Mr. SHUB. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you on any occasion or, to be more specific, on January 19, 1950, make reservation for a room at the Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore, namely, room C, for use as a meeting place?

Mr. SHUB (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Shub, according to information in the possession of the committee, you were Progressive Party candidate for governor in the State of Maryland in the gubernatorial election of 1950. As a candidate for Governor of the State of Maryland, you were required under the law as then existing, in order to qualify your candidacy, to sign an affidavit under the provisions of the Ober Act. Did you sign such an affidavit?

Mr. SHUB (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WOOD. Let me see if I understand you correctly. You mean to leave the inference here that it is a matter that might subject a man to prosecution to run for Governor of the State of Maryland?

Mr. SHUB (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question, also, on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mr. Sam Fox, who was the Progressive candidate for the United States Senate in 1950?

Mr. SHUB (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mr. Milton Seif, a candidate for the house of delegates from the fourth legislative district in the year 1950 in the State of Maryland?

Mr. SHUB. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Thelma Gerende, who was a candidate for Congress from the Second District of Maryland in 1950?

Mr. SHUB. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't it a fact, Mr. Shub, that your certificate with regard to your candidacy for governor was returned to you because of your refusal to sign the affidavit required by the Ober law?

Mr. SHUB (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse—

Mr. TAVENNER. And as a result your name did not appear on the ballot?

Mr. SHUB. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now connected or affiliated in any way with the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Mr. SHUB. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. We have introduced evidence before the committee regarding the payment of transportation in the amount of \$1,002 on June 27 or 26, 1951, over the Pennsylvania Railroad to Chicago, the check being drawn on the funds of the Maryland Committee for Peace. Did you receive the benefit of those funds, or any part of them? In other words, did you go to Chicago, and was your way paid?

Mr. SHUB. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

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

Mr. BUCHMAN. I think the record should show that there are only three members of the committee present at this time.

Mr. WOOD. That is a quorum of the subcommittee.

Mr. BUCHMAN. Let the record show that we proceed under protest.

Mr. TAVENNER. A docket sheet is prepared in which, the very moment a person leaves the room, it is recorded, and that is an official document and record of this committee.

Mr. WOOD. The member is back now. You may proceed.

Was the last question answered? Will you read the question to the witness?

(The question was read.)

Mr. SHUB (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse to answer that question on the ground that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, now, in the light of your answers, Mr. Shub, I would like to ask you how long you have been connected with the school at which you are now employed?

Mr. SHUB (after conferring with his counsel). Since the fall of 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you participate in any way in the organization of the school?

Mr. SHUB. No; I did not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state to the committee the name of the school at which you are employed?

Mr. SHUB (after conferring with his counsel). If the committee insists that I answer this question, as I said before, I will most certainly do so; but it seems pretty clear to me that the only possible reason for wanting an answer to this question is for the reasons I gave before, to intimidate me, to endanger my position in that school.

Mr. WOOD. It isn't the committee that is doing that, sir, if it has that effect.

Mr. SHUB. Well, I disagree with that completely. It most certainly does. After all, the only one, the only group of members who are asking me that question, with the most certain possibility of having it plastered all over the newspapers, is this committee.

Mr. WOOD. The replies that you are giving here are your replies and not ours. We don't make your record. You make it yourself.

Mr. SHUB. That is true. But the questions are asked of me.

Mr. WOOD. And it is the view of this subcommittee, the unanimous view, and I so hold as the chairman of it, that the question is pertinent to the inquiry we are conducting here, and you are directed to answer the question.

Mr. SHUB (after conferring with his counsel). Since I am directed to answer the question, I shall do so. The name of the school is the Baltimore Institute of Musical Arts. However, I would like to say at this point that it is very evident to my satisfaction, and I am sure to most people's, that what I said before is absolutely true.

Mr. WOOD. Bear in mind, sir, that the committee isn't concerned about your opinion of its activities. You are given an opportunity here to answer questions or to refuse to answer them, as you see fit. You have been directed to answer this question, and you have answered, and that ends it. This is no forum in which to make a speech.

Mr. SHUB. I think that—

Mr. WOOD. I would like to emphasize again, sir, that this committee is in no sense responsible for any position that you may find yourself in that you feel makes it impossible for you, without incriminating yourself, to give us any information as to your previous activities, except as a teacher.

Mr. SHUB. I will recognize that as the committee's opinion.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Are you a member of the Maryland Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions?

Mr. SHUB. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. In April of 1949 the Maryland Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, according to information in the possession of the committee, held a rally in the Lyric Theater in Baltimore, which was a follow-up of the Waldorf conference in New York. Did you take part in any way in entertainment at this rally?

Mr. SHUB. In entertainment?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; in the way of entertainment at that rally.

Mr. SHUB (after conferring with his counsel). Well, that is a novel approach, I must say, of entertainment being considered subversive. However, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are placing your own value on that. If you consider it is not a matter that would tend to incriminate you, or subject you to criminal prosecution, it would be your duty to answer the question.

Mr. SHUB. Since what you just said now is not a question—

Mr. TAVENNER. I am asking you to answer the question in the light of your answer.

Mr. SHUB. There is a little confusion here now. You are asking me to answer the original question, and that I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is right.

Mr. SHUB. I give the same answer, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination; that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think that it is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALTER. You refused to answer the question as to whether or not you were a member of the Maryland Committee for Peace on the grounds that the answer to that question might tend to incriminate you. Is that because the Maryland Committee for Peace is a Communist organization?

Mr. SHUB (after conferring with his counsel). Mr. Walter, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Frazier?

Mr. FRAZIER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Velde?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Shub, in case this country was to become involved in a war with Russia, being an American citizen, which I presume you are, would you fight on the side of the United States Government?

Mr. SHUB. Well, since I was born in Baltimore, that automatically make me an American citizen.

Mr. VELDE. There is a possibility of your citizenship being taken away from you. I presume that hasn't happened.

Mr. SHUB. I served in the last war, and there was no hesitation. I want to say before I answer your question, however, that these sort of questions are the complete opposite of what is taking place right now in Korea. There are negotiations for a cease fire——

Mr. WOOD. Is this part of your answer?

Mr. SHUB. Yes, it is, Mr. Wood.

Mr. WOOD. I fail to see how it is pertinent, what is going on in Korea. You were simply asked a question by a member of the committee here, in the event of a conflict between the Soviet Government and the Government of the United States, whether or not you would participate on the side of the United States in such a struggle. That is a simple question to answer. You can say either "Yes" or "No". We don't want any long-winded explanations. Personally, I have no desire to listen to it. If you want to answer the question, we would appreciate it very much; if not, say so.

Mr. SHUB. All right. In answer to the question, I most certainly, if called, will help to defend my country.

Mr. WOOD. Against all enemies?

Mr. SHUB. That is right, against all enemies.

Mr. VELDE. Even if that enemy happens to be Soviet Russia?

Mr. SHUB. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. That is all I have.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WOOD. So ordered.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Gunther Wertheimer.

Mr. FORER. I object to proceeding in the absence of a quorum of the full committee, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Let the record show that for the purposes of hearing this witness, the same committee that was set up by the committee for hearing the last witness is functioning.

Mr. FORER. We are proceeding under protest, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Raise your right hand and be sworn. Do you solemnly swear the evidence you give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I do.

I would like to say a few words. I have been subpoenaed——

Mr. WOOD. Just a minute. Sit down. If you desire to submit a statement for the consideration of the committee, just file it with the clerk.

TESTIMONY OF GUNTHER WERTHEIMER, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

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

Mr. WERTHEIMER. Gunther Wertheimer, W-e-r-t-h-e-i-m-e-r.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I am.

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

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer, 711 Fourteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C.

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

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I was born in Kippenheim, Germany, on July 13, 1925.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the name of the place?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. K-i-p-p-e-n-h-e-i-m.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you arrive in the United States?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. 1936; as a result of Hitler's rise to power in Germany.

Mr. VELDE. Would you repeat that answer?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I say I came here in 1936 as a result of the victory of fascism in Germany, as a direct result of Hitler's persecution of all those who disagreed with him for whatever reason.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you presently a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you naturalized?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. 1944, Norfolk, Va.

Mr. WOOD. I don't believe I got the witness's age, if he gave it. What was your birth date?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. July 13, 1925.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your educational background and training?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I began my education in Germany, went to a public school there, and then went to a gymnasium.

After coming here, I went to a public school in Brooklyn, went to a junior high school, and graduated as valedictorian of my class. I went to New Utrecht High School.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. In Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the high school?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. New Utrecht.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell it, please?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. The "New" as well as "Utrecht"? U-t-r-e-c-h-t. New, N-e-w.

After that I went to City College in New York City for a couple of months. I attended Williams College in Williams, Holy Cross College in Worcester, Mass., Dartmouth College in Hanover. I went to Williams College again to receive my degree; graduated there cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa. I received my masters of art degree in Columbia University, and after that I am continuing my education at Johns Hopkins University as a John Martin Vincent fellow in history.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been in Baltimore?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I have been in Baltimore since 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. I notice that you were naturalized in the Federal court at Norfolk, Va.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I was in the Navy at that time. I served in the Navy between 1943 and 1946. I was released—

Mr. WOOD. You mean continuously between those dates?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. What is that, please?

Mr. WOOD. You served continuously between those two dates?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you stationed, and what was your rating while in the Navy?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. Well, I was a seaman. I was stationed at a number of places: Newport and Camp Perry, Va.; Rhode Island—I believe the station was Quonset. I was with the Seabees for awhile. I was also later chosen out of the ranks for the officers training program, V-12. I was discharged as a seaman with a commission, however, as ensign in the Naval Reserve.

Mr. TAVENNER. You still hold that commission in the Naval Reserve?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been your record of employment?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. Well, outside of some odd jobs during my high-school time, I have been a student most of my life.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I reside at 2420 Eutaw Place, Baltimore.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has that been the place of your residence since you first went to Baltimore?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. No. I moved. I have lived elsewhere as well.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the addresses of the other places where you lived?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. 20—I don't quite remember the street number. It is North Calvert Street. I don't really remember what the number of the street is.

Mr. TAVENNER. While in New York, were you a registered voter of the American Labor Party?

Mr. WERTHEIMER (after conferring with his counsel). I would like to protest the question as an infringement of the right to the secret ballot. I think that certainly is implied in that question, and I would like to register a strong protest.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't the registration of voters a matter of public information?

Mr. FORER. In New York there is a State law against disclosing the registration of voters. It is not a matter of public information in the State of New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the witness know?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I take the word of my counsel for that.

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

Mr. WERTHEIMER. So far I have only protested the question.

Mr. WOOD. Well, if there is a law against a man divulging his political registration in the city of New York—I don't know whether there is such a law or not. Counsel says there is. That's all I know.

Mr. FORER. There is a law against any official making that public. In other words, Mr. Tavenner was proceeding on the assumption that

registrations in New York are a matter of public record. I was correcting him. They are not.

Mr. WOOD. I see. I am sorry. I misunderstood you.

Mr. FORER. The witness has objected to the question as an infringement of the right of the secret ballot, and is asking that the committee withdraw the question.

Mr. WOOD. The witness hasn't been asked if he so voted. By the way, what is there about being registered as a member of the American Labor Party that is so odious or objectionable? I never heard of it being branded as being in any way subversive.

Mr. FORER. He didn't say it was.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. The question is, in appearing before this committee and being asked any number of questions, and, apparently, any question that is asked is taken up by the newspapers that any name that is named or anything else—

Mr. WOOD. As a matter of fact, I am a registered voter in the Democratic Party. I never made any apology for it anywhere.

Mr. FORER. I think it is a matter of public record that you are a Democrat.

Mr. WOOD. Notwithstanding we have some members of that party we are not so proud of. I guess there are some that are not so proud of me.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I would like to restate the objection which I made at first, which I hold—

Mr. WOOD. As far as I am concerned, I am going to respect your wishes.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I am very glad of that.

Mr. WOOD. If you don't want to divulge whether you are a registered voter, you don't have to.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Samuel and Sadie Tonkonogy—

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I am not acquainted—

Mr. TAVENNER (continuing). Who resided at 1771 East Fifteenth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.?

Mr. WERTHEIMER (after conferring with his counsel). The two people mentioned are my in-laws. Mr. Samuel Tonkonogy has been dead. I never met him.

I would also like to register some protest as to bringing in an entirely family relationship which I think has certain dignities. I don't know whether they belong to this room.

Mr. WOOD. It may develop in your later testimony that it is material, sir; but for the time being, if you have no objection to giving the information—

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I gave my answer, sir.

Mr. FORER. He answered the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether either of them was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination, and restate my protest even more vigorously.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Wertheimer, the committee has information indicating that in September of 1949 that you and Dr. Ruth Bleier and Mr. Louis Shub and your wife, whose name I understand is Joan,

conferred regarding the formation of the Maryland Committee for Peace.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. Mr. Tavenner—

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to ask you if that is true, and, if so, will you tell us the circumstances under which this organization was formed?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I claim my privilege under the fifth amendment, the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you confer with anyone in September of 1949 regarding the formation of the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I still refuse on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to the Baltimore Sun of March 20, 1950, at page 24, Gunther Wertheimer identified himself as the organizer of the Maryland Committee for Peace, and stated that the first meeting of the committee was held at the YMCA on December 7, 1950, and that this meeting was arranged between you and Dr. Ruth Bleier. Is that statement correct that appeared in the press?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. And that was attributed to you.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I refuse to answer the question on the ground that the answer might incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Under what circumstances did you first meet Dr. Ruth Bleier?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Dr. Ruth Bleier?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Didn't you come to this hearing room this morning accompanied by Dr. Ruth Bleier?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. WOOD. Have you seen her here today, sir?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. Excuse me.

(The witness, Mr. Wertheimer, confers with his counsel.)

Mr. WOOD. I say, have you seen her here today, Dr. Ruth Bleier?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. What is that?

Mr. WOOD. Have you seen Dr. Ruth Bleier here today?

Mr. WERTHEIMER (after conferring with his counsel). I refuse on the same grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. WOOD. Isn't she right behind you there in the hearing room now?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I don't have eyes in the back of my head.

Mr. WOOD. Didn't you just leave her when you came to the witness stand?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Wertheimer, I hand you the March 20, 1950, edition of the Baltimore Sun, to which I have referred, and I will ask you to read the heading of the column and the first paragraph.

Mr. WERTHEIMER [reading]:

Report Inspired Move for Peace; Quakers Findings Credited by Committee Organizer—The idea of founding the Maryland Committee of Peace came from a report prepared by the Society of Friends giving some reasons for achieving peace, Gunther Wertheimer, organizer of the group, said yesterday.

Incidentally, I have that report with me, if the committee would like occasion to read it, see it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you give the information to the press which you have just read?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't it a fact that the statement is entirely erroneous where it says that the idea of founding the Maryland Committee for Peace came from a report prepared by the Society of Friends?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't it a fact that in September of 1949, several months prior to the holding of your meeting, and several months prior to the report that was issued by the Society of Friends, you conferred with Dr. Bleier, Mr. Shub, and possibly others with relation to the formation of the Maryland Committee for Peace?

(Congressman Doyle entered the room at this point.)

Mr. WERTHEIMER (after conferring with his counsel). Well, I would like to claim the privilege of the fifth amendment against possible self-incrimination. Also, I would like to ask the committee, which is supposedly investigating subversive activities in the Baltimore defense area, what this line of questioning has to do with it. I think that it is a tactic of browbeating and intimidation that is being followed here, which I would like to make strong protest against.

Mr. TAVENNER. This matter has a great deal to do with communism in the defense area of Baltimore—

Mr. WERTHEIMER. So far the questioning—

Mr. TAVENNER. If it is true.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. So far the questioning has been about peace, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. That the Maryland Committee for Peace had its origin in the Communist Party.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I think so far the questioning has been about matters relating to peace.

Mr. WOOD. Let's don't argue. Let's answer if we are going to; if not, say so.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I would like to take—

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't it true that the Communist Party instigated the formation of the Maryland Committee for Peace?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I claim the privilege against possible self-incrimination.

Mr. WOOD. And refuse to answer for that reason?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. And refuse to answer for that reason.

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

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Velde?

Mr. VELDE. I want to ask you the same question I asked the previous witness. In case this country would become engaged in a war, would you fight on the side of the United States?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. If my country is attacked by any nation, I would come to its defense. That has been my record in the past. I believe that the best defense of our country is peace. I think that the question that you are asking is one which presupposes the inevitability of war,

which is a presupposition which I must challenge because they are not borne out by the facts.

Mr. VELDE. In case we become engaged in a conflict, in a war, with Soviet Russia, I ask you if you would fight on the side of the United States, not in case we are attacked or do attack.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. What is that? I didn't get that last point.

Mr. VELDE. In either case, whether we attack or we are attacked.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. In other words, you are following the point of view raised by the late Secretary of the Navy Matthews, who says we have to become aggressors for peace. I don't think that the American people are ready to become aggressors for anything.

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer my question?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I answered your question: That I am ready to come to the defense of my country at all times.

Mr. VELDE. You are assuming that—

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I am assuming that my country is not going to attack other nations. I think that would be a rather—

Mr. VELDE. In case we do become involved in a conflict, either way, whether or not we are attacked or we are the attackers, would you fight on the side of the United States against Soviet Russia?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I was under the understanding that our objective is peace, and I stick by that understanding.

Mr. VELDE. I want a simple answer to the question. I think it is a simple question.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I will come to the defense of my country whenever my country is in need of that defense, whenever the occasion requires it.

I would also like to point out, incidentally, to the committee the words of a very famous American statesman by the name of Carl Schurz, who said: "My country, right or wrong—when right to keep it right; when wrong, to set it right."

Mr. VELDE. Then, I take it that, in case we did become involved in a conflict, you would first decide whether or not we were right, and then you would decide whether you would fight or not?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. As I said, if we become involved in a conflict, if I were called upon to serve arms, I would go as all other people are going; I would be as unhappy to go to war as all people are, and I will spend all of my time and all of my energy to make such a war impossible. There is no reason for it. War will not solve anything, and I would like to ask who is afraid of peace; that peace workers should be called to come before this committee, be intimidated by it, be pilloried by it, be held up to the public as so-called subversives. And I think that some of these questions, incidentally, are being answered in the press, which, on the day after the first peace proposals were made on June 23, carried headline after headline saying "Peace scare hits New York. Commodity market went tumbling down."

Mr. VELDE. I don't care to hear this.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I think this is part of the record.

Mr. WOOD. He asked you a simple question and you answered it.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I felt it necessary to amplify that answer. I think the question is based on a very dangerous assumption. It says plainly that we are ready to attack another country. I think that is going to be repudiated by the American people.

Mr. DOYLE. You don't think you have the exclusive interest in world peace; do you?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. No. I know that interest is shared by millions of people all over the world.

Mr. DOYLE. Every member of this committee shares it, too.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. Then, why bring peace people before you?

Mr. DOYLE. May I say this to you, young man. Some of us have given of our own flesh and blood in the interest of peace. I am one of them. I resent very much your coming here and trying to lecture this committee on your theory and saying that we are not interested in peace. I want you to understand that. By the time you are somewhat older, you will understand that men with your theory don't have the exclusive interest in world peace.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I will—

Mr. DOYLE. With reference to Secretary of Navy Matthews, I think you are misinterpreting the gentleman's emphasis on peace, when he stated that we need to have aggressors for peace. He meant that we needed to emphasize peace more in the future than we have in the past, and you are placing an entirely erroneous—

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I would like to read that passage to you, since I have it here from the New York Times.

Mr. DOYLE. I am familiar with it.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. That we should be willing to pay any price for peace. And, then, this is the quotation:

Even to the price of instituting a war to compel cooperation for peace.

And he went on to say:

Though it casts us in a character new to a true democracy, the initiator of a war for aggression, it would win for us a proud and popular title. We would become the first aggressors for peace.

Well, I would like to point out, No. 1, we wouldn't be the first, if this were the policy to be followed by the country. Hitler, also, was an aggressor for peace when he attacked Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria. He was doing it all in the name of peace, and he didn't fool anyone.

Mr. DOYLE. I have this one closing observation, Mr. Chairman. Of course, the kind of peace you are advocating is a peace with the Soviet Union, or the kind they propose.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. If you say that a peace with the Soviet Union is something we need, otherwise we are going to have war—

Mr. DOYLE. We need peace with all the world. There is no question about that.

I want to close my remark to you, young man, just by saying I want the record to show I want you to realize that when you come here and try to lecture this committee on the theory that this committee is not interested in world peace and fighting for world peace merely because we are trying to find out where there are phony peace programs proposed, and where the Communists are inspiring and initiating phony peace programs such as have been proposed in many cases, we are going to uncover subversive influences in this country wherever they appear, if we can.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. May I say just one word?

Mr. DOYLE. On that basis, sir, and I will not take more of your time—on that basis we are not trying to interfere nor handicap legiti-

mate nor honest-to-God good-faith peace proposals; but where they are inspired, as they have been in this country, by Communists, subversive influences, we are going to work our heads off to try to uncover them. We are not trying to hurt any peace movement that is an honest peace movement.

With that, I close, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I would like to say one word on that, Mr. Doyle. I would like to call to your attention—

Mr. WOOD. Let's not go into a lecture here.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. After all, I have been subjected to a lecture on the basis of my youth. I would like to uphold the privilege of young people to participate in the shaping of the foreign policy of this country.

Mr. WOOD. Would you please unwind for a moment?

Mr. WALTER. What part of Germany were you born in?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I was born near the Black Forest.

Mr. WALTER. Is that in eastern Germany or western Germany?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. It is in western Germany.

Mr. WALTER. Have you had any connection with any German groups before you advocated the setting up of this alleged peace organization?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I have lived in this country since 1936.

Mr. WALTER. I didn't ask you that question. Have you been in touch with people in Germany who are advocating the unification of Germany on the Soviet plan?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. Not to my knowledge; no, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Not to your knowledge?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. No, sir.

Mr. WALTER. In submitting drafts of your thesis did you urge the unification of Germany on the Soviet plan, and because of this as well as other material that you wrote you were denied your degree.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. Mr. Walter, I think—

Mr. WALTER. Is that a fact?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I think that is a complete untruth, a complete untruth.

Mr. WALTER. All right.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I think that you are making the statement just for the record.

Mr. WALTER. I am not making the statment for the record.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. That is not a dignified way—

Mr. WALTER. We don't do that in America.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. We don't do what, sir?

Mr. WALTER. What you have just said that I was doing, making a record.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. Well, then, why make such a statement?

Mr. WALTER. Just a minute. Wait a minute. We have been informed that you were denied your degree at Johns Hopkins University.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I would like to call—

Mr. WALTER. Because of the material contained in a thesis that you wrote.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I would like to straighten out the record on my scholastic background. I have been a student, a graduate student, at

Johns Hopkins. I have passed all of my examinations leading to the degree of doctor of philosophy. I have not yet handed in my dissertation, and I think that the information, when and whoever gave it to you, was not telling the truth; and certainly, by bringing it up in committee, I think is placing this committee in a very peculiar light, in dealing with such information when it couldn't be confirmed. You didn't call the department of history at Johns Hopkins to check that information, and to go on an unfounded assertion of that kind I would like to protest.

Mr. WALTER. Did you write a thesis on the theory of the unification of Germany?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I did not. I did not.

Mr. WOOD. Have you written any thesis treating on the subject at all?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. On what subject?

Mr. WOOD. The unification of Germany.

Mr. WERTHEIMER. I might have written a paper dealing with the unification of Germany back in 1848, but I don't know whether this would come under the present scope—

Mr. WOOD. 1848?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. What is that, sir?

Mr. WOOD. Back in 1848?

Mr. WERTHEIMER. It was a problem back in 1848 as well.

Mr. FORER. Bismarck unified Germany about that time.

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions, Mr. Walter?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Counsel, any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. No questions.

Mr. WOOD. Any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. TAVENNER. No.

Mr. WOOD. So ordered.

We have one other witness whose appearance before the committee this afternoon has been postponed until 10:30 o'clock in the morning. Until that time, we will take a recess.

(Thereupon, at 3:30 p.m., a recess was taken until 10:30 a.m. July 13, 1951.)

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