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INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JANUARY 30, 1957

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(Including Index)



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

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

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

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

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

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

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

(A) Un-American activities.

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

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

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

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 85TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1957

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

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(a) Un-American Activities.

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

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* * * * *

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

Hearings were held in Washington, D. C., on January 30, 1957, on global Communist propaganda and United States laws designed to control its flow into the United States.

Witnesses were: Henry Loomis, Director, S. I. Nadler, Deputy Director of the Office of Research and Intelligence; and Thomas G. Roderick, Jr., Assistant General Counsel, United States Information Agency.

Nathan B. Lenvin, Chief, and Justin J. O'Shea, Attorney, Registration Section, Internal Security Division, Department of Justice.

Louis J. Doyle, Associate General Counsel, Saul J. Mindel, Attorney, General Counsel's Office, and James O. Bouton, Mail Classification Specialist, Division of Mail Classification, Post Office Department.

Mr. Nadler stated that the purposes of the international Communist propaganda apparatus are to advise Communist Party members of the Communist Party "line" and to enlist non-Communists in the programs of the Communist conspiracy.

Amplifying this, Mr. Loomis stated that the party propaganda has an additional objective, namely, agitation among the non-Communist masses. To further emphasize the role of propaganda in the activities of international communism, Mr. Loomis quoted from an agitator's handbook: "Without a Communist press, the preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible."

The Agitprop section of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he testified, has 14 sections. the most important are the departments for press, publishing, films, radio, fictional literature, art, cultural enlightenment, schools, sciences, party propaganda, and VOKS.

In response to the question as to how many individuals are subjected to Communist propaganda in one form or another, Mr. Loomis replied that "every person who has any contacts outside his immediate family or tribe" is subjected to Communist propaganda of one form or another.

The number of persons directly engaged in disseminating Communist propaganda throughout the world today, Mr. Loomis testified, can be estimated as high as 25 million.

Mr. Lenvin of the Department of Justice gave the committee information respecting the operation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act and its application to the dissemination of Communist propaganda. In commenting on the act, Mr. Lenvin stated that it was directed primarily at forcing disclosure by persons who act within the United States as propaganda agents for foreign powers.

Mr. Lenvin further testified that as of June 1956, approximately 4,358 persons were registered with the Department of Justice under the act. He noted material solicited by the recipient and that which

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comes in under diplomatic seal are exempt from registration under the act. Also exempt are persons in the United States disseminating domestic Communist propaganda.

The representatives of the Post Office Department testified that most of the foreign Communist propaganda disseminated in the United States enters in the form of "open mail." They further testified that in the past year they had examined approximately 1,500,000 pieces of such material and had confiscated approximately 900,000 pieces of this total under a 1940 Attorney General's ruling.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1957

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

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, in room 219, Old House Office Building, at 10 a. m., Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania; Morgan M. Moulder, of Missouri; Clyde Doyle, of California; Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana (appearance as noted); Bernard W. Kearney, of New York; Donald L. Jackson, of California; Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio (appearance as noted); and Robert J. McIntosh, of Michigan.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, director; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; W. Jackson Jones, investigator; and Richard S. Weil, staff member.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

The Committee on Un-American Activities this morning continues its series of hearings on the global Communist propaganda campaign directed against the United States and the other nations of the free world.

We have already conducted hearings on this subject in Philadelphia, San Francisco, and here in Washington.

It has become increasingly apparent that the propaganda operations of the Communist apparatus rank as one of its foremost instruments of conquest by engendering strife, division, and subversion.

This morning we will hear additional testimony from officials of the Department of Justice, the Post Office Department, and the United States Information Agency. We hope to hear from them, too, recommendations on legislative action which can be taken to stem the flow of international Communist propaganda into the United States.

There is no doubt in my mind that there is an urgent need for action by the Congress to strengthen present laws or to enact new ones dealing more effectively with this aspect of the Communist conspiracy.

Call the first witnesses, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Loomis, Mr. Nadler, and Mr. Roderick. Will you kindly stand and be sworn?

The CHAIRMAN. Will you and each of you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. LOOMIS. I do.

Mr. NADLER. I do.

Mr. RODERICK. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY LOOMIS, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND INTELLIGENCE, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY; S. I. NADLER, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND INTELLIGENCE, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY; THOMAS G. RODERICK, JR., ASSISTANT GENERAL COUNSEL, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY.

Mr. ARENS. Will each of you kindly identify yourselves by name, residence, and occupation.

(Representative Edwin E. Willis entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. LOOMIS. Henry Loomis, Director of the Office of Research and Intelligence, United States Information Agency, Middleburg, Va.

Mr. NADLER. S. I. Nadler, Deputy Director, Office of Research and Intelligence, United States Information Agency, residence in Washington, D. C.

Mr. RODERICK. Thomas G. Roderick, Jr., Assistant General Counsel, United States Information Agency, Arlington, Va.

Mr. ARENS. Gentlemen, I have a series of questions which I propose to propound this morning, and I would respectfully suggest that as I pose a question, the man who is best informed on that particular facet of your operation or has the information, identify himself again for the record and then respond, if you please.

Mr. Loomis, would you kindly give us a word of your own personal background and experience?

Mr. LOOMIS. Mr. Arens, I was educated at Harvard, spent 5 years overseas with the Navy, did graduate work at the University of California, also working for the Atomic Energy Commission.

I was assistant to the president at MIT; was special assistant to the Director of the Research and Development Board, Department of Defense; a staff member of the Psychological Strategy Board; a staff member of the President's Committee on International Information Activities, commonly called the Jackson committee; and then have been with the United States Information Agency since 1953.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell us the jurisdiction of that unit of the United States Information Agency with which you are connected.

Mr. LOOMIS. We do our best to follow the Communist propaganda activities outside the United States. Since the agency has no jurisdiction within the United States we do not follow that.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the structural organization, command structure of the Communist propaganda apparatus?

Mr. LOOMIS. I do, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly proceed at your own pace to inform the committee on that structural organization?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes.

Gentlemen, as you well know, the party is an organization of the greatest discipline, what they call democratic centralism, which means orders coming from the top down.

In order to carry out these orders and in order to maintain discipline, they require propaganda, propaganda to their own party members so that each knows what the line is.

For example, in 1920 the Communist International published a book called the Theses and Statutes of the Third (Communist) International. This is still an official document. It lists 21 requirements that must be fulfilled for a national party to be a true Communist Party.

The first of these 21 conditions I quote :

The general propaganda and agitation should bear a really Communist character * * *. The entire party press should be edited by reliable Communists * * *. All periodicals and other publications, as well as all party publications and editions, are subject to the control of the presidium of the party, independently of whether the party is legal or illegal. The editors should in no way be given an opportunity to abuse their autonomy and carry on a policy not fully corresponding to the policy of the party.

The fourth condition :

A persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation is necessary in the Army, * * *.

The fifth condition :

A systematic and regular propaganda is necessary in the rural districts.

The 18th condition :

All the leading organs of the press of every party are bound to publish all the most important documents of the executive committee of the Communist International.

I think this demonstrates the official need for a centralized propaganda organization.

The party relies on propaganda for an additional mission, that of agitation among the non-Communist masses.

By the way, I might take this point to differentiate between propaganda and agitation as the Communists do.

Propaganda is when you are talking to someone who understands much of the problem. It is more like a college lecture where you try to wrap up the whole thing and make a complicated point.

Agitation is when you are talking to the uneducated masses. You are directed to make just one point, not the whole thing.

Actually when you get into agitation you find that the parties, all parties, bring out what is called the agitator's handbook. And I have some examples here, those both from behind the curtain and in the free world. This particular one is from West Germany, this one from China, this one from Russia, this one from Denmark.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the various documents as exhibited be appropriately marked and reproduced or incorporated by reference in this record.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be so marked and incorporated.

Mr. LOOMIS. These handbooks are used by the agitators at factories, at mass meetings, and at all appropriate places.

Again going back to these theses and statutes of the party, again let me quote :

For the struggle against this state of things—
which means the non-Communist state—

the Communist Parties must create a new type of periodical press for extensive circulation among the workmen :

(1) Lawful publications, in which the Communists, without calling themselves such and without mentioning their connection with the party, learn to utilize the slightest liberty allowed by the laws, as the Bolsheviki did at the "time of the Tsar" after 1905.

(2) Illegal sheets, although of the smallest dimensions and irregularly published, but reproduced in most of the printing offices by the working men (in secret, or if the movement has grown stronger, by means of a revolutionary seizure of the printing offices) giving the proletariat undiluted revolutionary information and the revolutionary mottoes.

Without a Communist press the preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.

To show that these aren't merely idle words I have some clandestine publications which I thought might interest the committee. We have here some of the "mosquito" sheets, as they are called, published by the Malayan Communist Party, brought out by hand mimeograph machines in the jungle.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. LOOMIS. We have publications printed in Uruguay for distribution in other places in Latin America where the party is illegal. We have publications, clandestine publications from Cuba as examples.

I might take a minute on the actual organization of the "Agitprop."

In 1939 the organization of the party was reorganized, and the section of agitation and propaganda was created—reporting immediately to the Central Committee of the Communist Party. It has under its immediate direction Pravda, which is the party newspaper. It has nothing to do with the government.

Pravda, of course, is the main means by which the authentic party line is sent around the world. This, of course, is picked up by Tass and radio Moscow for more rapid distribution. But the authentic word comes from Pravda.

Also reporting to this are the international front groups, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and so forth, and so forth, and also the National Communist Parties.

Each National Communist Party has its own Agitprop section. And, in fact, within each party, including the Russian party, each segment has its own Agitprop, until you get down to the cell level.

It is a completely logical, somewhat of a military organization where your staff function carries on down.

Also another section of the group is the foreign section. This corresponds somewhat to a State Department type of function. You will remember this is the party we are talking about, and not the Government.

The foreign section coordinates with the "Agitprop," and "Agitprop" directions are given through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to foreign ambassadors and to foreign delegations overseas.

Now, one thing I think we should mention here that might interest you is that the "Agitprop" has 14 sections. Let's read some of the

titles of these to give you an idea of the scope of this organization: Press, publishing, films, radio, fictional literature, art, cultural enlightenment, schools, science, party propaganda, and VOKS.

VOKS, as you know, is the organization for bringing delegations to and from the U. S. S. R.

The next thing I would like to mention, because this is the heart of it, is the use by "Agitprop" of what the Communists call mass organizations and what we tend to call front organizations. This, of course, is one of the major means for disseminating propaganda. This was used right from the beginning, particularly on the Russian people, and has been used in increasing amounts since World War II on everybody else.

The Communists have created or, where they previously existed, seized front groups to be competitive with the true organizations, the free organizations that exist outside.

In other words, you have labor unions. All right, the Communists created labor unions.

You had student unions. The Communists created student unions.

You had religions. The Communists took over the organizations of religions within their countries.

You have a government outside. They took over the Russian Government.

It is important to remember that the Russian Government is nothing more nor less than a front, just like the labor unions.

These fronts are run by what is called the party fraction, which means party members, who may be known or may not be known, who have been ordered to join these particular groups. Or they have a tour of duty in government for a while. Their directives come from the party and not from the organization in which they are placed. Their directives as to what to say and what the party line is come from "Agitprop," though they may be ostensibly a trade-union leader or they may be ostensibly a government official, or even a religious cleric.

(For the following paragraphs Mr. Loomis used a chart. See Loomis exhibit No. 1, p. 6.)

Mr. Loomis. I think the example we have here, which is of the Japanese people—this is true of almost any other people—shows the diversity that is possible. The Communists use primarily agitation from above, which means external from the country, and agitation from below, which means through the local Communist Party.

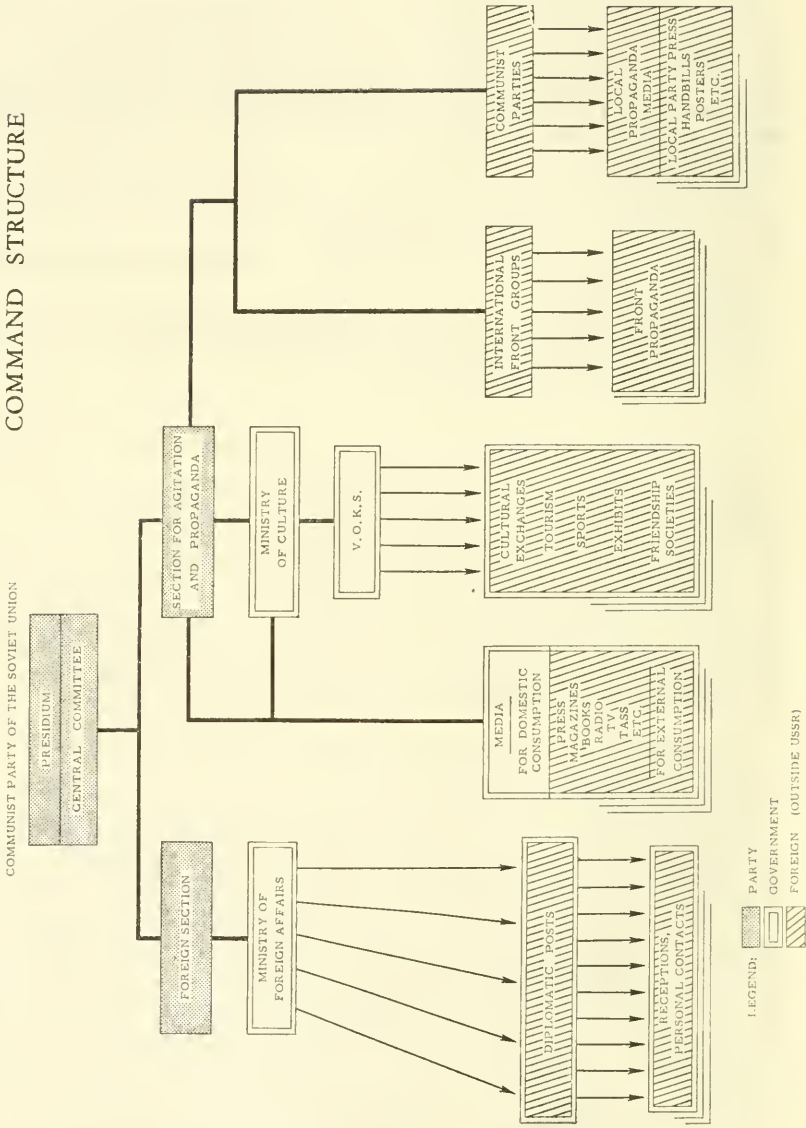
As an example, the target in this particular case is—we are talking about the Japanese people and the Japanese Government. The Government is subjected to a series of pressures from the government fronts of the U. S. S. R., of Communist China, of North Korea. They are subjected to pressure to have diplomatic delegations. They are subjected to economic pressure. They are subjected to military pressure.

In addition to that, they are subjected to front organizations that are based under U. S. S. R. or North Korea or Communist China.

Then, of course, they are subjected to a steady stream of delegations coming from outside into their country.

At the same time they have the internal Japanese Communist Party which, of course, is getting its agitation and propaganda directives from the Agitprop in the U. S. S. R. They, in turn, will have their

LOOMIS EXHIBIT No. 1
COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA
COMMAND STRUCTURE



LEGEND:

- PARTY
- GOVERNMENT
- FOREIGN (OUTSIDE USSR)

own front groups. They will have their own league of democratic students, their own trade union (which is one of the largest in Japan). In this particular case you will have returned Japanese from the U. S. S. R., the prisoners of war, who form an interesting nucleus. You will also have returned Japanese delegations from North Korea and from Communist China.

To give an idea of the size of this thing, even though last year the Japanese Government was officially opposed to delegations, more than 2,000 Japanese individuals visited China and returned.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Loomis, this illustration you are giving here of the Communist propaganda and agitation in Japan is typical, is it not, of comparable operations going on in every country in the world?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now do you have an indication of the worldwide volume of Communist propaganda operations?

Mr. LOOMIS. We have an indication. Propaganda is such a difficult thing to define that it is difficult to put any precise boundaries. You have to draw a line between the territory that the Communists physically control. In the countries which they control, their propaganda reaches huge proportions. It controls the whole school system, all communications, all art, all literature, all movies to a degree that we cannot even comprehend. In the case of the free world they do as much as they can, and it will vary from country to country. It will vary from time to time. They will always attempt to get control of communications wherever possible.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have an indication of the aggregate expenditures made by the Kremlin on worldwide propaganda activities?

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

Mr. LOOMIS. I would say that a reasonable estimate would be that within the bloc—in other words, within Russia and China and the European satellites—you are talking in billions of dollars. When you are talking about Communist expenditures in the free world outside of their own territory you are talking high up in the hundreds of millions.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you an obvious question, namely, Why does the Communist Party and the Kremlin expend such gigantic sums on propaganda? Why do they place such emphasis on propaganda?

Mr. LOOMIS. I think, as the statutes of their party show, for two reasons: one is to give the line to the farflung organization. Their own internal communications problem is large. And, secondly, as a means of getting their point of view across to non-Communists and generally confuse the issue.

Mr. ARENS. Is it principally because communism is basically an ideology in which they undertake to capture the minds of men?

Mr. LOOMIS. They use that as a device to try and get physical control of real estate, which is what they are after.

Mr. ARENS. How many of the 2½ billion people on this globe are now subjected in one form or another to the barrage of Communist propaganda which you have described?

Mr. LOOMIS. I would say every person who has any contacts outside his immediate family or tribe.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us further detail on that? Why would you make that assertion?

Mr. LOOMIS. For instance, all news has Communist propaganda in it, even the news in our own newspapers because we report what Mr. Khrushchev says, we report on activities or on action. Since that speech was made for a propaganda reason, our mere reporting of it in our own newspapers transmits that word to us, and it affects us. Maybe negatively. Maybe it confuses us. But it affects us.

And the same thing is true all the way around the world. Anyone who is interested in news, anyone who listens to a radio, anyone who sees a movie, the Communists will be attempting to get their line into it.

Mr. ARENS. By what media do the Communists propagate their line?

Mr. LOOMIS. They use all the normal mediums that we do: radio, press, publications, music, culture, films. Then, of course, they have additional, more unorthodox ones. For instance, in some countries they have professional students, students who remain in the universities for decades—not to learn, themselves, but rather to be organizers of various groups within the universities. And then, of course, they have this wide-flung organization of agitators that I previously described.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have an estimate of the volume of printed material which is disseminated by the Communist apparatus worldwide?

Mr. LOOMIS. We have none worldwide. It must be fantastic.

We have some indications of material published by the U. S. S. R. and China.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us an illustration of that, please?

Mr. LOOMIS. The U. S. S. R. Foreign Languages Publishing House, in 1956, put out 660 titles of books which were to be printed in the free-world languages. They furthermore stated that they planned to print 28 million copies of these books.

Since these books are not in Russian, they obviously must be for the free-world use.

Another example: During the sixth 5-year plan the Ministry of Culture has asked for a budget of about \$200 million for capital expenditures for increasing the printing plant in the Soviet Union. The U. S. S. R. Academy of Sciences has set up a publishing house for publication of books on oriental subjects in Russian, French, English, and 14 Eastern languages.

There is one point which I might mention for a minute. For the last 2 years there has been increasing emphasis in Moscow on Africa and on Asia, with increases going into the Academy of Sciences, increased language training, increased publication in these languages.

Mr. ARENS. Do the Communists use art as a weapon as well as books and other devices to propagate the line?

Mr. LOOMIS. They use art as well as any other means.

One of their uses of art—and I don't mean just necessarily pictures like art films—is to go into countries where they have not been before, where they are trying to show that they are not an uncultured bear but, rather, are decent people like you and me and can be trusted. Art is one of their best means for that.

Mr. ARENS. To what extent do the Communists identify their literature as emanating from the Kremlin?

Mr. LOOMIS. They do when they have to. They prefer not.

As an example of one where they do, I have here the magazine called Soviet Land. This is put out by the Russian Embassy in Indonesia.

Interestingly enough, the volume of this has increased from 7,000 a month to 25,000 copies a month during 1956, and it is reported they plan to further increase this.

Mr. ARENS. Does the recipient pay a sufficient price for that document which you hold in order to defray the cost of publication?

Mr. LOOMIS. No, sir. I think this one is given away.

Interestingly enough, the format of this is very close to one which we bring out in Indonesia. It is as deliberate a copy as you could possibly make.

You asked do they bring some out without attribution. Most of it is without attribution. Here, for example, are posters and magazines put out by the World Student Council, the World Student News. This, of course, is a front group.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any identification on that publication, the World Student News, that it is published by the Communist Party?

Mr. LOOMIS. No.

Mr. ARENS. What percentage would you say of the publications by the Communist world conspiracy actually bear identification that it is published by the Communists?

Mr. LOOMIS. Twenty percent as a horseback guess.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information, Mr. Loomis, or do your colleagues have information respecting the Communist propaganda themes in the various areas of the world?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. May I invite your attention to that subject, please.

Mr. LOOMIS. The themes, of course, have varied from geographic area to geographic area. In the case of the Far East one of the major themes, of course, has been peace, where they were for peace and we were for SEATO, and SEATO is a bad military organization.

The second major theme, of course, has been anticolonialism which went through the whole area and has been going through it for 40 years.

The perhaps third most important was that the U. S. S. R. and China in particular are models to be followed. They are successful countries that have done well economically, whose people are happy, and which have come from an undeveloped country to major world powers in short order.

Another one, of course, is Asian solidarity. When talking to Asia the Kremlin likes to talk from Siberia and with as slanted an eye as possible: "We are all Asians together: We Russians, we Chinese, we Indonesians."

In the case of the Near East, of course they concentrate on depicting the Soviet bloc as the champions and allies of the Arabs. They go to great lengths to show their high regard for Arab culture as a means of trying to flatter the Arabs. They exchange cultural and artistic delegations.

They also, of course, do their best to show that they are for peace. But, at the same time, they do not refrain from rattling the saber, as

we are all aware, when they say "We will send volunteers if the British and French don't go out."

In the case of Africa, racism is one of the major issues, as well as colonialism, as well as Afro-Asian solidarity.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have an indication of the volume and intent of Communist propaganda in Africa?

Mr. LOOMIS. The volume is very difficult to ascertain. The intent is crystal clear. The intent is to stir up as much trouble as possible and to prevent the newly forming governments from having stability.

In the case of north Africa they are doing their best to horn in on a revolution which they did not start.

Mr. ARENS. What about India? Do you have any information respecting the drive propagandawise with the Communists in that area?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes, sir.

The main themes that I mentioned for Asia apply, of course, to India. They go to great lengths to show that they consider India a major power.

Mr. ARENS. What about the cost or volume of the propaganda into India?

Mr. LOOMIS. Well, I happen to have a few figures here—certainly not the total again.

In mid-December the Director of the Moscow Foreign Languages Publishing House indicated that they plan to send in more than 2,800,000 copies of books in Hindi, Bengali, and Urdu. This is new, since last year most of their stuff was in English.

I think it would be fair to say that the total volume of their propaganda in India was certainly measured well up in the tens of millions.

Mr. ARENS. Is that per year?

Mr. LOOMIS. Per year.

The CHAIRMAN. Is all of that material distributed free?

Mr. LOOMIS. No, sir. They usually ask a token price. The main use of the price is to be payment for the distributor. That is how they get distributors, particularly in printed material and also in films.

The CHAIRMAN. So that this Russian propaganda distributed in India is paid for, partially at least, by Russia?

Mr. LOOMIS. Oh, yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now let us move, if you please, sir, over into the Western Hemisphere.

What is the situation with reference to Communist propaganda? And let us begin, if you please, with South America.

Mr. LOOMIS. In South America the main theme is anti-United States.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word about the volume.

Mr. LOOMIS. The volume is not as great as in other parts of the world, and it varies drastically from country to country. In some countries, where you have very strong anti-Communist governments, there is virtually no propaganda. There is some coming in clandestinely, but of a small amount. In other countries the volume is fairly large. In the case of Uruguay it is quite large, which is used as a shipping center.

One of the main things used in Latin America this last year were trade fairs as propaganda means.

Mr. JACKSON. Trade fairs?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now could you give us a word about the emphasis of the Communist propaganda drives in 1956 and your own appraisal as an expert in this field as to their successes and failures.

Mr. LOOMIS. The first significant event, of course, was the 20th Party Congress, followed a little later by the 8th Party Congress of the Chinese Party. This was a major turning point where they put on their cloak of respectability, where they went out to have what some of us call the voting revolution rather than the physical revolution, where they made an attempt to form and create and expand united fronts with anybody that they could possibly get to join them.

In some cases, like in Japan, the Communist Party, the Japanese Communist Party, threw away some of its military machinery. We suspect perhaps they kept some, but they threw some away to have a big splash and become respectable. The main thing was to become respectable and cultured.

Mr. KEARNEY. Have you any idea as to the strength of the Communist Party in Japan at the present time?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes, sir.

It is on the order of about 10,000, plus or minus. In that neighborhood. It is not in the millions. It is in the tens of thousands.

Mr. ARENS. But those 10,000 are the hard core, are they not?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes, in the case of Japan.

Mr. ARENS. In addition to the hard core in Japan you have upward in the hundreds of thousands of people who are under discipline of the party. Isn't that correct, though they may not be hard-core Communist Party members?

Mr. LOOMIS. No. I would say under discipline you are talking in the tens of thousands. Affected by and going along on some issues, then you are talking in the hundreds of thousands and the millions.

Now I think that, to get back to your first question, if I may—

Mr. WILLIS. Translate the meaning of that in terms of the population of Russia and the hard-core percentage there.

Mr. LOOMIS. In the case of Russia the party strength is 7 million, isn't it?

Mr. NADLER. Approximately 7 million.

Mr. LOOMIS. Seven million.

Mr. WILLIS. Out of a population of what?

Mr. LOOMIS. It is out of a population of more than ours; 200 million. The Russians have never published their census, but it is about 200 million.

Mr. ARENS. Are there any other major propaganda efforts which you can appraise from the standpoint of success and effectiveness in the course of the last year?

Mr. LOOMIS. They have certainly put on a major effort in Hungary.

The Hungarian situation, of course, is one which did them great harm around the world. Their propaganda has been doing the best it possibly can to try and retrieve the situation. They obviously have not made a negative thing into a positive thing, but they probably have confused the issue.

Mr. ARENS. How have they done that, please, sir?

Mr. LOOMIS. One of the main things has been to bring out, worldwide, these publications which I have here—some from India, some from Denmark, some from Latin America—called the True Situation

About Hungary, The Counter-Revolution Forces in Hungary, and so forth. They brought these out very rapidly to try and spread their line which was that the Hungarian thing was a Western-directed counterrevolution of the imperialist states.

Mr. ARENS. How effective have they been in selling that line?

Mr. LOOMIS. In most places they have been not effective because the facts, true facts have been made available on an increasing scale by everybody.

Mr. ARENS. We do not propose to interrogate you with respect to domestic Communist propaganda or foreign Communist propaganda entering the United States. That will be covered in a little while by another witness. But I would like to ask you what is the line in the United States as compared to the line abroad? Could you give us your appraisal on that?

Mr. LOOMIS. I think that on practically all issues the line in the United States follows the line laid down by the Agitprop for all parties. That is why every Communist Party in every country speaks with the same voice.

Mr. JACKSON. On that point, what has been the reaction abroad to, first, the denunciation of Stalin and, then, the retreat from that position by Khrushchev? Has this had a tendency to confuse the world as much as it confused our domestic-brand Communists?

Mr. LOOMIS. It confused the Communists more than the non-Communists.

Mr. JACKSON. I was going on to the point of the Communists.

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes. The Communists were considerably confused.

This was, of course, a major zig in the line. Of course, you have had other ones before. You have had the Stalin-Hitler Pact, which was certainly as drastic as this. You have had the purges of 1936 and so forth.

The true party-disciplined members went right around the corner with full right rudder, with no qualms, no strains. Some of those who didn't have discipline went off, and they were a little confused. We have increasing defections in certain parties and certain places. But this has happened before and has not seriously weakened the Communist Party in the past.

Mr. JACKSON. But when you tear down the idol of the party and then start to build him up again, this to me would be a very confusing thing, assuming I were a hard-core Communist. I wouldn't know as a matter of fact. I imagine the momentum of one of these things probably carried over in the Daily Worker. There was complete confusion domestically for a few days.

Mr. LOOMIS. There is always confusion for a few days—until they have a chance to get the word. And, of course, you always have to watch out in case there is a quick change at the top and you are on the wrong zig.

So sometimes you try to play both camps in case your boy gets axed.

Of course, in Indonesia is a good example of where some of the non-Communists, particularly, put pressure on the Indonesian Communist Party, which, by the way, is the fourth largest in the world, to say what the pitch was. And they kept needling the Commie Party, saying "What is the story?"

Mr. ARENS. What is the size of the Indonesian Communist Party?

Mr. LOOMIS. It is in the millions. Approximate membership in Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) : 4 million.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Loomis, it is a fact, is it not, the numerical strength of the Communist Party is not an exclusive index as to its strength in any area?

Mr. LOOMIS. It is not an index to its strength. It is an index of its intentions. When it wishes to capture a country by the voting revolution, it obviously tries to increase its membership as much as possible, and is willing to accept members who are not under stern discipline.

Mr. ARENS. But there is no direct ratio between the threat of a conspiratorial operation of the party and its numerical strength. Isn't that correct?

Mr. LOOMIS. Usually, the larger it is the less conspiratorial it is, and the less threat from that kind of takeover.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be equally true that usually the smaller it is, indicates a more serious threat?

Mr. LOOMIS. It indicates its intentions are clandestine. How serious, what its possibilities are, varies from country to country.

Mr. ARENS. How many people, in your judgment, on the basis of your background and experience, in the world are presently engaged in disseminating Communist propaganda?

Mr. LOOMIS. Knowingly I would say about every member of the Communist Party, which is certainly—we are now talking in the tens of millions if you add them all.

Mr. ARENS. About 25 million?

Mr. LOOMIS. Something of that nature, yes. I haven't added them together.

Then, of course, there will be, I would say, almost as many non-Communists, fellow travelers or people in these front groups who may not realize that their front is being manipulated by the party fraction.

Mr. ARENS. What is the ultimate objective of all of this propaganda worldwide that you have been describing?

Mr. LOOMIS. The objective is to bring the local Communist Party into power, into physical control of the land.

Mr. WILLIS. You have twice referred to the voting revolution. I didn't get the meaning of that.

Mr. LOOMIS. The voting revolutions?

Mr. WILLIS. Is that the respectable veneer to which you are referring?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes.

What they try to do in some countries, for instance, in France and Italy. For a while after the war they thought they had a chance. They now think they have a chance perhaps in Indonesia to gain control of the parliament in a normal voting way, to be voted into a majority in the new parliament. The second they get that, of course, then they have got it, and then you are through.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the program of the Communist Party to get into the United States, into this Nation, its line, either by the importation of physical documents or by the dissemination of the line via front groups?

Mr. LOOMIS. While we do not follow it closely at all, we do cooperate with the Customs Service, and they have shown us enough material to indicate that the Communists are using all their normal media. Of course, they have considerable radio in English to North America, and they have a flood of publications. They have a good many movies. And, as we all know, they have front groups.

Mr. ARENS. This material is coming in at some forty-some-odd ports of entry every day, is it not?

Mr. LOOMIS. I believe so.

Again, I don't follow that. I get that from the Customs.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any information respecting the percentage of the foreign communist propaganda which is in a foreign language as distinct from the English language?

Mr. LOOMIS. I do not, sir. But I know that the United States is used as a transshipment point, so that much of this may not have been aimed at the United States in the first place. We are used as a transshipment place.

Mr. ARENS. I have asked you a series of questions on the highlights of your presentation. Is there any other area or any other significant items of information you would like to present to the committee?

Mr. LOOMIS. I have a few items on the general size of some of their media operations which I think may interest the committee.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly proceed.

Mr. LOOMIS. For example, Communist radios, international broadcasting by the Communists increased about 10 percent during 1956.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us an indication of the volume?

Mr. LOOMIS. At the present time it is just in excess of 2,000 hours per week.

Mr. ARENS. Could you translate that now in terms of some item of information of which we may have common knowledge. How would you equate that to the committee? Is that a significant amount, 2,000 hours?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes, it is.

Mr. ARENS. Or is it insignificant?

Mr. LOOMIS. I am trying to think of how many hours there are in a week.

Seven by twenty-four would be one hundred and sixty-eight.

Then that is more than 10 times the number of hours that are in a week, at least 10 broadcasts every minute of every day.

Mr. ARENS. These 2,000 hours emanate from what source?

Mr. LOOMIS. About 800 of them from the U. S. S. R.

Mr. ARENS. Are those beamed worldwide?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes. I am not talking about domestic; I am talking about only international broadcasts.

Six-hundred-odd from the European satellites, 250 from Communist China, almost 100 from the Far East satellites—Korea and Indochina, and about 100 of them are clandestine.

As an example, this has increased. This 2,000 hours you can compare to 600 hours in 1948.

Mr. ARENS. I have difficulty interpreting that.

How would that compare, say, with the normal commercial broadcast? How would it compare with, say, our broadcast, the Voice of America?

Mr. LOOMIS. It is a lot more than that, of course. The 2,000 hours is much more than the Voice because you ought to add in BBC and all these other radios as well.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the figure offhand of the Voice?

Mr. LOOMIS. Voice of America broadcast hours per week as of mid-year, June 30, 1956: 1,011½.

Mr. ARENS. What is the relative number of hours beamed by the Soviet bloc as compared to the relative number of hours beamed by the free world? Do you have an appraisal of that?

Mr. LOOMIS. I can furnish that. I don't have the free world, unfortunately. I follow the enemy.

One point: I think that we did some calculations that, if it costs them as much per hour to broadcast as it costs us, their total expenditure was \$130 million or \$132 million.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time?

Mr. LOOMIS. For a year, for the international broadcasts only.

Mr. ARENS. Of the Soviet bloc?

Mr. LOOMIS. Of the Soviet bloc. That includes China.

Mr. WILLIS. You are talking about propaganda outlets?

Mr. LOOMIS. Everything. Everything is propaganda.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have another item of information to present?

Mr. LOOMIS. One thing that may interest the committee is that we now, for the first time, have a glimmer as to their cost of jamming. That, of course, has been a debatable point for many years.

The Poles got into a debate in their parliament, and one group wished to give up jamming because it was too expensive. And in the heat of the argument one of the Polish deputies stated that it cost 78 million zloties a year. Translated at the official rate of exchange, that is about \$17 million a year for just Polish jamming. And if you equate that to the size of the other countries it comes up to the order of \$110 million.

In the case of films, as an example of their expansion, in 1953 the Soviets made 28 feature films; in 1956 they made about 75 feature films. Almost a three-times increase.

Mr. ARENS. This doesn't include the satellites?

Mr. LOOMIS. No. This is just the Soviets. I have the full figures.

Perhaps another thing that is not commonly recognized is their trade fair program, which is primarily for propaganda and not for trade.

Mr. WILLIS. What do they do at trade fairs? Exhibit their wares?

Mr. LOOMIS. They exhibit their wares. They also exhibit their culture. They exhibit their normalness.

In the case of China the main point was to show that they are a successful country:

We can produce delicate electronic equipment, we can produce heavy earth-moving equipment in China. We are a successful country. Follow us.

Mr. ARENS. What is the overall increase? How would you appraise the overall increase of the propaganda effort worldwide by the Soviet conspiracy? Is it significantly on the increase?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes, I would say it is. I would say probably in the order of 5 percent or something of that nature, 5 or 10 percent worldwide in the free world.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any way of appraising how effective it is in accomplishing its respective objectives?

Mr. LOOMIS. Propaganda, theirs as well as ours, is tied to reality. When the facts are on your side, propaganda can help the impact of the facts.

When the facts are against you, if you are lucky you can diminish the negative effect. But it is almost impossible for them and for us to estimate that effect.

As an example, Hungary was a fact that was against them. They have gone backwards in spite of their heroic propaganda efforts. How much further they would have gone back if they hadn't done the propaganda—who knows?

Mr. ARENS. Are you in a position to give us your judgment or appraisal on the effectiveness of their propaganda drive in the Middle East which would, of course, have to be tied in with the events of the last few months?

Mr. LOOMIS. That has been most effective. But again you get confused as to what is propaganda and what is political motivation.

In other words, sometimes a country for political reasons wants something, and then the propaganda comes in as part of the byplay.

But, to get back to your initial statement, I think you can say that where the facts have been against them for any length of time, the Communist propaganda has failed dismally.

The chief example of that, of course, is the Hungarian revolution. And the second example would be the unrest in the Russian youth itself.

These are the people who have been subjected to continuous propaganda every waking minute, and still it didn't change them.

Mr. WILLIS. How do you know that? What evidence do you have of that, that it has been a failure?

Mr. LOOMIS. The fact that they revolted, the fact that the youth are among the most dissident in Communist countries.

Mr. WILLIS. You are still talking about Hungary?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes, Hungary, and Russia, too.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. KEARNEY. Would you include Poland in that also?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes, sir; all the satellites to varying degrees.

Mr. SCHERER. Including East Germany?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. If I may, Mr. Chairman, on the point of Poland, what was your analysis and appraisal of the recent Polish election?

Mr. LOOMIS. We don't do that, sir. That is the State Department's function. Ours is to look at how it has affected their propaganda media and their propaganda line.

Mr. JACKSON. Was this a propaganda victory or was it a propaganda defeat?

Mr. LOOMIS. It was certainly a victory for Gomulka. And he didn't play it too much externally. He didn't make it as an external line one way or the other. It was more for domestic use.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions? Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. You said the propaganda in the free world is on the increase.

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. About 5 percent or more.

Is that also your estimate as to the propaganda directed toward the United States and into the United States—the same percentage?

Mr. LOOMIS. Well, in the case of their radio, that doubled last year. They instituted a new program to the west coast. They also doubled their Ukrainian-language broadcast to North America. But that is just radio. I have no knowledge of the scope of their publications coming in.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you any information as to whether they are increasing their propaganda toward the United States more than they are toward, for instance, Indonesia or any other foreign country?

Mr. LOOMIS. No.

In the case of Indonesia they are throwing everything in but the kitchen stove.

Mr. DOYLE. Why?

Mr. LOOMIS. Because they think they have been making some success. And the more their ability to throw stuff in, the more they will.

It is their judgment that it is not being counterproductive. In some countries where they throw in too much, it gets the government worried, the host government worried, and then it becomes counterproductive.

Mr. DOYLE. You said the United States is a transshipment point. I don't quite understand what you mean by that.

You mean do they ship from Russia itself to the United States and then from the United States to other nations?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. How are we involved in that? I mean our Government. Is our system such that they can do that with ease or without expense or what?

Mr. LOOMIS. Again, this is the customs office or customs service question. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. I would respectfully suggest that the postal authorities will discuss that very problem this afternoon.

Mr. DOYLE. I remember we had testimony on that point at the San Francisco hearings.

Mr. ARENS. Yes; we did.

Mr. DOYLE. Why the change in the Stalin line?

Mr. LOOMIS. You mean the going back to Stalin being a good boy again?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes. Why did they adopt that change?

Mr. LOOMIS. Well, they must have made the judgment that their other one was wrecking them more than helping them.

Mr. DOYLE. You mentioned the trade fairs. As I have read about those trade fairs over the world, we are not participating in very many of them in competition with the Russian displays. Why is that?

Mr. LOOMIS. I believe we are participating in more now. I have the the Soviet and Communist figures which might interest you.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes; it would.

Mr. LOOMIS. There were 72 Soviet-bloc exhibitions or displays at international fairs in 1956 as compared to 68 in 1955, 46 in 1954, and only 15 in 1951.

Mr. DOYLE. What is the number in which we participated?

Mr. LOOMIS. The number of international trade fairs in which the United States participated last year: 16.

Mr. DOYLE. I think you will find there were very few. I don't understand why we do not have more.

Mr. LOOMIS. We estimate that the Communist bloc in 1956 spent something on the order of \$50 million on the trade-fair program.

Mr. DOYLE. You said that Indonesia has the fourth largest Communist Party in the world, as I understood it.

Mr. LOOMIS. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. Can you give the order in which it is the strongest in each nation? Indonesia is fourth. Which are the first, second, and third?

Mr. LOOMIS. Russian, Chinese, and French, and Indonesian, and Italian.

Mr. DOYLE. How about the United States?

Mr. LOOMIS. Excuse me. I think Italy is third, and France is fifth. Excuse me. I had that wrong.

Mr. DOYLE. Why the increased activity in Africa just at this time?

Mr. LOOMIS. They obviously believe that it will become a fertile ground for agitation. They made that decision in the Near East about 9 years ago when they started their language training program, which is one reason why in the Near East now their trade delegations, their diplomatic people, all speak fluent Arabic. They are now trying to teach people Swahili and all those strange African languages, because they think that continent is seething and it is coming into a new era of independence, and they want to try and grab it fast.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you familiar with the identity of the nations and countries in Africa which have outlawed communism by statute or ordinance or regulation? I understand there are some.

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes.

Of course, most of them are still dependencies of European powers.

The Union of South Africa has outlawed the party. I am not aware offhand of any of the others. I don't think they have. I don't think they are in the Gold Coast, for instance. I can find that precisely.

Of course, whether the party is legal or illegal doesn't make too much difference in its propaganda activities. As an example, in Brazil, where the party is illegal—legally it is a major entity and has had a major publishing business.

Mr. SCHERER. We had a witness before the committee the other day who said, in substance, that the Communists were attempting to substitute Russian colonialism in Africa for European colonialism. Is that true as far as you know?

Mr. LOOMIS. I think it is understating the situation because colonialism, as practiced by the European powers in the last century, was a rather mild affair as compared to being a satellite of the U. S. S. R. And they are, of course, desirous of gaining satellites.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question, please, and I direct this to what information you have about propaganda directed against the American form of government in propaganda sheets and publications: In other words, are they continuing to ship into the United States publications printed in various languages attacking our constitutional form of government?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes, they do. And they, of course, attack our economic system. Those are the two major things. According to them, our Government is run by a few rich people for their own benefits. And, of course, their explanation of capitalism is complete exploitation of the many for the few on top.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you come across any propaganda that is directed toward investigating committees of the Congress originating from, say, the Far East?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Tell us about that.

Mr. LOOMIS. I don't have any right here, but I am sure we can find it. They pick on anything they can to make an issue out of. And they have picked Congress and various members of Congress by name as examples of these terrible imperialists.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Walter, for instance?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes, sir, they have mentioned him and mentioned numerous Senators.

Usually it isn't so much the committee as an entity. They usually make it individuals because that is easier to sell.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you find that some of this propaganda against Congress generally, or individuals in Congress who are anti-Communist, is being used today by left-wing organizations in this country?

Mr. LOOMIS. I don't know about this country, you see. Of course I don't have the time to follow this country at all.

Mr. KEARNEY. I can tell the gentleman from Ohio that it is true.

Mr. SCHERER. We know, but we want to get it in the record.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question: Following up my questions as to the direction of propaganda against the United States or into the United States: is any of the printed propaganda coming now into our country from Russia, or at the instigation of Russia, in other languages which, either directly or indirectly, advocates the thought or proposition that there should be and will be a revolution of any sort?

Mr. LOOMIS. I think most of the material which comes into the United States is on the theme that Russia and China and the satellites are pleasant, prosperous, happy places rather than being strongly anti-American.

Mr. DOYLE. Is any of it presented in photography—pictures?

Mr. LOOMIS. Oh, yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Is any of it in color?

Mr. LOOMIS. Yes. I have some examples here which might interest you. One of the main people, of course, is China. This is a very well printed book—this one doesn't have color but most of them do—showing China as an extremely happy place. Here is one on Slovak folklore which is very much in color, very much a prestige volume. You can buy this for \$3, which shows that somebody is subsidizing something along the line.

Mr. SCHERER. Why do all these Hungarian refugees want to come here instead of going to all those nice places?

Mr. LOOMIS. As I stated previously, sir, I think the Hungarian revolution is the clearest example of their failure as propagandists.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Willis, any questions?

Mr. WILLIS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. General Kearney.

Mr. KEARNEY. Just one question, please.

You spoke about the propaganda sent by the Russians to north Africa. Is it true that most of their propaganda efforts in north Africa are directed toward American bases?

Mr. LOOMIS. I would not say most, no, sir. That is one of the major themes. Most of it is directed against France and European colonialism and the slavery of Africans by Europeans.

Mr. KEARNEY. But our bases are also included?

Mr. LOOMIS. Oh, yes; that is one of the major themes. They know if they could get France out, then they have a better chance of getting us.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Then it simply occurs to me, Mr. Chairman, that it might be very helpful if Mr. Loomis and his associates would get a few extracts from the attacks upon this and other investigating committees. I personally agree with Mr. Scherer—I would like to relate those to some of the attacks that originate in some of our domestic organizations. I dare say we will find them word for word the same. If it would be possible to get a few of those together it might be well to have them when the appropriation for the committee comes up on the floor next week.

Mr. LOOMIS. There is one service which we have been performing, which you may not be aware of, sir. We produce 3 times a week, a 1-page summary of the party line. We make a point there where it has mentioned a Congressman or a Senator by name, to put it in. A good many copies of that are sent to various Members of the Congress. If you are not receiving them and would like to, we would be very glad to send them.

Mr. JACKSON. It would be very helpful. Also something in the way of a reasonable documentation of a few things that have been done.

(The material referred to submitted by Mr. Henry Loomis, follows:)

ROBESON APPEARS BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE

(Moscow, Soviet Home Service, June 15, 1956, 0545 G. m. t.—L.)

(Text:)

As we already reported, the Un-American Activities Committee on June 12 investigated the well-known singer and peace fighter Paul Robeson. Throughout his interrogation Robeson remained fearless and dignified. He justly charged his investigators with being reactionaries and obscurantists.

The committee did not permit Robeson to read a statement which he had prepared and circulated among press representatives. He did, however, express his views in replies to the chairman of the committee.

Replying to the committee's question as to what his attitude toward the Soviet Union, Robeson declared: "In Russia, for the first time, I felt myself a man who is valued equally."

He said that he had returned to America to struggle for his people—the Negro people. "And I will not allow myself to be driven out by profascist people." Robeson also stated: "The peoples of the Soviet Union and China are in the forefront of the struggle for peace, just as is, thank God, our President. I hope that we shall have peace, if committees such as yours do not spoil things."

Robeson repeatedly criticized the treatment of Negroes in the United States. When the committee's counsel indicated to Robeson that his personal successes as evidence that the United States gave some chance to Negroes, Robeson said that personal successes achieved by him and the baseball player Jackie Robinson could not be taken as a consensus of the situation of thousands of Negroes living on \$700 per year. "My father was a slave; my cousins are" [word missing—Ed.].

[BB 21—U. S. S. R. International Affairs, June 18, 1956]

Robeson refused to tell the committee whether he was a member of the Communist Party, referring to his rights under the fifth amendment to the American Constitution. He also referred to his rights under the Constitution in refusing to reply to questions about various people. When the committee asked him about a Communist Party leader, the Negro Benny Dennis [Ben Davis], Robeson declared that Dennis was one of the best Americans that could be imagined.

He went on to say: "You are bad Americans; you belong in the category of those who are connected with laws concerning aliens and incitements. You should be ashamed of yourselves."

At this point the chairman of the committee, Walter, abruptly suspended the sitting. As Robeson was leaving the witness box he observed: "You should suspend this sitting for good." Shortly afterward Walter announced that the committee had asked Congress to indict Robeson for contempt of the committee for his scornful remarks about the committee and its members.

NEW ATTACK ON UNITED STATES PROGRESSIVES BEGINS

Moscow, Tass, in Russian Hellschreiber to Europe, November 13, 1956, 2115 G. m. t.—L.)

(Text:)

Judging by reports in the American press, reactionaries in the United States are beginning a new onslaught against progressive organizations. This is borne out by appeals voiced recently in congressional committees and the bourgeois press to start wide-scale persecutions of progressive elements.

On November 12 the notorious House Committee on Un-American Activities will start work. According to its chairman, Walter, the committee will "investigate" activities of progressive-minded people who have been opposing the so-called internal-security program—in other words, the program of persecuting progressive organizations—which is being carried out in accordance with the legislation of McCarran and Walter, Smith legislation aimed at controlling "subversive" activities. Representatives of progressive organizations in Washington and other towns will be summoned by the committee.

[BB 33—U. S. S. R. International Affairs, November 14, 1956]

The notorious Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, whose chairman is Eastland, is resuming its "investigating work."

According to the New York Times, the head of the dockworkers' union, Bridges, said that members of this union employed in the Hawaiian Islands will strike during the 4 days that the meetings of this Senate subcommittee are taking place there. Eastland, said Bridges, "is showing particular interest in our union."

The paper points out that 5 years ago the House Un-American Activities Committee carried out similar "investigations" in Hawaii, after which the leader of the stevedores' union, Hall, and several other progressive workers were convicted on the basis of the notorious Smith Act.

[BB 33—U. S. S. R. International Affairs, November 15, 1956]

UNITED STATES GOES BACK TO McCARTHY PRACTICES

(Moscow, in English to North America, November 15, 1956, 0100 G. m. t.—E.)

(Brief comment on the news.)

(Text.)

You probably remember the last days of Senator McCarthy, his attacks on Americans, and his (notoriety) in the United States and abroad. So infamous were the attacks and so great the indignation they aroused that he and his immediate henchmen had to take a back seat in the political arena.

The news from various American commentators indicates that the (acts) of the McCarthy era are again being perpetrated there. True, McCarthy's name is seldom, if ever, mentioned, but those of Walter, the chairman of the House Un-American Committee, and Eastland, the chairman of the Senate Security Subcommittee, are again appearing in the headlines.

Congress committees are again holding sessions and again calling up and questioning individuals and again invoking the Smith and McCarran Acts, which are no honor to the United States. Many Americans are again facing a threat because they want to think freely and openly to express their (progressive?) anti-Fascist, anticolonial, and antiwar sentiments.

The same questions are asked now as in the days when the McCarthy clique was active. Why is it that many Americans are denied the right to liberty proclaimed in the Bill of Rights? Why must they explain their views on things and events to congressional committees? Why must all Americans think as the Pentagon and Wall Street men do or be persecuted, questioned by committees, and even jailed if they do not? These questions evoke an understandable indignation in many Americans. The New York Times reports that members of the longshoremen and warehouse workers' trade union in the Hawaiian Islands have decided to strike during the 4 days that the Senate Security Subcommittee will be meeting there.

Abroad, too, questions are being asked about the resumption of the infamous loyalty investigations in America. As you know, American diplomats often accuse other countries of undemocratic practices. What moral right have they to accuse others when man's inalienable right to think as he chooses is not respected in their own country? Now American leaders are obviously good at seeing (something in other men's yards?) but they do not see the witch hunting in their own country, nor the thousands of men and women who are being dragged before investigation courts and forced to lay bare their thoughts and convictions in violation of the United States Constitution. They do not even see how free thinking Americans are being sent to jail on false testimony.

Would not the American diplomats do well to start the fight for democracy at home? There is another thing to be said: Everyone knows from the experience of the past years that reactionary attack on democratic life in America is an evil omen, (that) McCarthyism is [three words missing—Ed.] of the cold war. The McCarthyites and the congressional committees are raising their (heads) at a time when responsible American officials are supporting the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression, at a time when these officials are supporting the Fascist (struggle) in the people's democratic countries. Can it be that they intend to drag America back to the dark times of the cold war and of McCarthyism? The American people will hardly be grateful to them for that.

[BB 32—U. S. S. R. International Affairs, November 28, 1956]

REACTION GAINS IN POSTELECTION UNITED STATES

(Moscow, Tass, in English Morse to North America, November 24, 1956, 2210 G. m. t.—E.)

(Text:)

Moscow.—“The United States elections before and after” is the title of an article by S. Menshikov, published in the latest issue of New Times. The article reads in part:

“In the American elections 2 weeks ago both the Republican and the Democratic Parties acted, at least on the surface, as united organizations. But within both parties a muffled struggle was going on between rival groups, each of which sought to exploit the elections to strengthen its own position. Now that the elections are over, this internal struggle is coming out into the open.

“For the Republicans, the elections were both a victory and a defeat. A victory, because their presidential and vice presidential candidates have been elected for another 4-year term. A defeat, because they failed to carry off their principal maneuver, nicknamed ‘Operation Coattails.’ The idea was to pull through a majority in both Houses of Congress by clinging to the coattails of a popular presidential candidate. The operation failed. As the current gag in the American press has it, the electors passed a vote of confidence in Eisenhower and lack of confidence in the Republican Party.

“But there has been another result of no less consequence. Elected together with Eisenhower, who heads the so-called moderate wing of the Republican Party, was Vice President Richard M. Nixon, who is backed by the most reactionary groups in the party. Eisenhower had the support in the elections of the whole Republican machine, but this does not mean that he enjoyed, or now enjoys, unlimited influence in the Republican Party. The fact that nobody

ventured to oppose Eisenhower's nomination does not mean that the Republican rightwing has changed its attitude.

"But the elections did not strengthen Eisenhower's position. The 'moderates' owed the big influence they enjoyed hitherto to the fact that the rightwing had based on hopes of success on Eisenhower. Now the situation has changed—the White House is safely in the hands of the Republicans for another 4 years. But Eisenhower himself cannot, under present constitutional rules, stand for President for a third term. The rightwing no longer feels any necessity to support the 'moderates,' and is working strenuously to seize the leadership of the party. Nixon's supporters are openly boosting him as the 1960 presidential candidate.

"Immediately after the elections, there were reports in the American press of impending changes in the Government, but on November 15 the White House announced that the Cabinet, in which the Republican rightwing is strongly represented, would not be reformed.

"The elections have been followed by a realignment of forces within the Democratic Party. Also, there, the rivalry is chiefly between a relatively liberal wing—headed by Adlai Stevenson, the unsuccessful presidential candidate, and Estes Kefauver, his running mate—and a frankly reactionary racist wing, which is strongly backed by the Democratic machine in the Southern States.

"Defeated in his bid for the presidency, and with the racist wing of his party predominant in Congress, Stevenson's position is a very awkward one. Formally, he remains the head of the Democratic Party, but his influence has seriously waned.

"The elections have thus strengthened the extreme right elements in the Republican Party. And if in the past months the exigencies of the election campaign compelled these groups to play a game of mutual fisticuffs, now the ground exists for restoring, and even strengthening, their former bloc.

"All this was a signal for the activation of the reactionary elements. They forgot their election promise to protect the civil liberties and at once passed to the offensive. Already at its first meeting, on November 12, the House of Representatives Un-American Activities Committee resumed its campaign against the progressive organizations which are working for the repeal of the McCarran, McCarran-Walter, Smith, and other draconic laws.

"A swing to the right is also to be observed in foreign policy. On November 9 the congressional leaders of the two parties agreed to act in coalition.

"Numerous statements in the bourgeois press of many countries show that the reactionary and aggressive elements all over the world are now placing great hopes in the definite swing to the right to be observed in the United States ruling circles since the elections.

"But the reactionary revival, Menshikov concludes, runs directly counter to the sentiments and wishes of the overwhelming majority of the American people. It was not for a bloc of rightwing Republicans and Democratic racists and not for a bellicose bipartisan policy that they voted on November 6. They voted for the presidential candidate with whom they link their hope of peace. They voted against the Republican Party, which is associated in their minds with monopoly and militarist interests. It is therefore not to be doubted that the postelection trend to the right in United States home and foreign policy will meet with the determined resistance of progressive opinion."

COMMITTEE HOUNDS UNITED STATES PROGRESSIVES

(Moscow, Tass, in English Hellschreiber to Europe, December 16, 1956, 1735 G. m. t.—L.)

(Text:)

NEW YORK.—Press reports show that the notorious Un-American Activities Committee has launched another drive on civil rights and liberties in the United States. Material published in the press about the committee's activities once again proves that the United States, while raising a hue and cry about the observance of the U. N. human rights declaration by other countries, does not insure in its own country the elementary civil rights and liberties proclaimed in that declaration.

[BB 37—U. S. S. R. International Affairs, December 18, 1956]

The committee held a number of sessions in Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle in the first half of December under the guise of investigating "Communist attempts to undermine the laws designed to insure security." It interrogated close to 100 people.

The main target of the committee's attacks is the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, a progressive organization, which for a number of years has been defending in the courts trade-union and other progressive leaders sentenced to deportation for their political views. With the help of perjured testimony of professional informers, the committee sought to discredit this organization and its workers.

The methods used by the committee to hound innocent people are illustrated by the following facts: One of the paid informers whose services the committee enlisted, seeking to vilify some employees of the General Electric Co. in Chicago, alleged at a meeting of the committee that, when he wormed his way into the Communist Party on orders of the FBI, party members at meetings were trained in handling rifles and shown how they would line up people and shoot them.

In Los Angeles the committee summoned 75-year-old John Uhrin, a Hungarian by birth, and threatened to deport him for refusing to reply to the question of what he thought of photos of events in Hungary that he had been shown.

In San Francisco the committee picked as its victim Prof. Victor Arnautov [Arnautoff], of Stanford University. The "charge" against him is that he drew a cartoon of Vice President Nixon 3 years ago.

People summoned by the committee are threatened with the loss of their jobs and court trial on the standard charge of so-called contempt of Congress if they invoke constitutional provisions in refusing to answer questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McIntosh.

Mr. MCINTOSH. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Loomis, you say that the attention of the Kremlin is now focused on Africa. That is probably because they have done such a good job in India. Africa is on the timetable. Isn't it a fact that South America is next on that timetable?

Mr. LOOMIS. It would appear reasonable that South America is the last area left, so to speak. They would certainly tackle South America before they would tackle us.

The CHAIRMAN. What attempts are we making to offset the propaganda campaign now being conducted in Africa?

Mr. LOOMIS. While I am not familiar with the details, I know that our agency and, I believe other agencies of the Government, are increasing their staffs in Africa and increasing the attention. One of our problems in a free world is to get people to learn these odd languages, because if you learn Swahili then you become an expert in it, and you can't get anywhere else in the world. If you are a bright, smart young boy you would rather do something else. That is one of the problems. Of course in the case of the Communists they can just order, "I want 40 of the brightest people to learn Urdu," or whatever they want, and you have no choice. One of the major problems of our agency, and I understand also of other agencies of the Government, has been to get a sufficient number of people to learn the more unorthodox languages.

The CHAIRMAN. We are deeply indebted to you. Thank you very much, Mr. Loomis.

Is there anything further?

Mr. ARENS. No, sir. We have more witnesses.

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Messrs. Lenvin and O'Shea, would you kindly come forward and please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

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

Mr. LENVIN. I do.

Mr. O'SHEA. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF NATHAN B. LENVIN, CHIEF, AND JUSTIN J. O'SHEA,
ATTORNEY, REGISTRATION SECTION, INTERNAL SECURITY DIVI-
SION, DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE**

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourselves by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. LENVIN. My name is Nathan B. Lenvin, Arlington, Va., and I am the Chief of the Registration Section of the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice.

Mr. O'SHEA. Justin J. O'Shea, Washington, attorney with the Registration Section of the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lenvin, give us, if you please, sir, just a word about your own personal background and experience.

Mr. LENVIN. I have a bachelor of arts from New York University, and I have a bachelor of laws from Columbia University. I have been with the Department of Justice since 1941, except for 3 years service in the Armed Forces of the United States, and have been with the Registration Section, which was formerly known as the Foreign Agents Registration Section, since July of 1945.

Mr. ARENS. Please give us a word about the jurisdiction, powers and duties of the Section with which you are identified, as its Chief.

Mr. LENVIN. The Registration Section is charged specifically with the administration and enforcement of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, and with Public Law 893, which was enacted August 1, 1956, which requires the registration with the Attorney General of any person who has knowledge of or who has received training or assignment in the espionage, counterespionage, or sabotage service or tactics of a foreign government or foreign political party.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly give us, if you please, a brief summary of the principal provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act pertaining to propaganda.

Mr. LENVIN. The Foreign Agents Registration Act which was originally enacted in 1938, was directed primarily at forcing disclosure by persons who act within the United States as propaganda agents for persons outside the United States, particularly foreign governments or foreign political parties. The act underwent a drastic revision in 1942, so it now includes the requirement that there be

disclosed the activities of agents who may be engaged in activities other than just propaganda activities. The purpose of the act, of course, is to apprise the Government and the people of the United States of the relationship which exists between people who act for foreign principals within this country, so that we can appraise and evaluate their statements and their activities in the light of their foreign associations and relationships.

The CHAIRMAN. How many people have registered under the act?

Mr. LENVIN. A total of 990 registration statements have been filed under the act, but that figure does not include the total number of people who have registered, because when a registration statement is filed in the name of a corporation, association, partnership, or other combination of individuals, each officer, director, or other person rendering assistance to the registrant in the interest of a foreign principal is required to file a short-form registration statement. We have some recent figures here.

The total number of persons who registered as of:

December 31, 1956-----	4,358
June 30, 1956-----	4,172
June 30, 1955-----	3,838

Mr. ARENS. Please tell us a word about the labeling provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Mr. LENVIN. That provision of the statute was included in the revision made in the act of 1942, and its purpose, of course, was to accomplish the disclosure which was envisaged by Congress in the enactment of the statute.

The labeling provision of the act requires in essence that any agent of a foreign principal who disseminates within the United States political propaganda by the use of the mails or through any other instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce, must accompany such political propaganda or affix to it or have stated conspicuously thereon, a statement which contains the agent's name and address, the name and address of his foreign principal, the fact that he has filed a registration statement with the Department of Justice; that his registration statement is available for public inspection at the office of the Foreign Agents Registration Section or at the Department of Justice, and that the fact of registration does not indicate approval of the contents of the propaganda by the United States Government.

Mr. ARENS. Does the law require that the propaganda coming into the United from abroad be labeled as such at the port of entry?

Mr. LENVIN. No; it does not. In fact, there is no requirement in the statute that political propaganda be labeled as such. The labeling requirements, of course, are applicable only to political propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt at this point?

The statutes to which you refer, of course, were reported by the committee of which I happen to be a member. In the light of the testimony adduced by this committee over the last 6 months with respect to the introduction of all of this propaganda material, don't you think the need to amend the registration act is indicated?

Mr. LENVIN. If I may respectfully say, sir, probably not amend the registration act but probably new legislation is needed. On that

point, I have, of course, been considering this problem now for at least the last 6 years, and in conjunction with our consideration of the problem we have met with other interested agencies of the Government with respect specifically to this problem of the importation of Communist political propaganda. I am frank to admit that we sought a solution or some measure which would help us in this problem. We had to take into consideration the provisions of the first amendment and the American traditions of so-called free exchange of information. It was the consensus of those with whom we have over a period of years discussed this problem that new legislation would be necessary, and that any amendment to the Foreign Agents Registration Act would probably achieve only a partial solution.

In that connection even to achieve a partial solution, as you know, sir, at the last session of Congress we came with a recommendation that what is now a rule of the Attorney General be enacted into law in order that customs and post office would have a firm legal basis upon which to conduct their activities.

Mr. ARENS. That is the opinion of December 1940?

Mr. LENVIN. Yes that is the opinion of the Attorney General of December 10, 1940, upon which we based what was rule 50 of the Attorney General and under the new revision of the rules that we made in December of last year is now rule 6. If you like, sir, I could read that rule as it is now, and this is what we tried to do with the problem.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we are acquainted with that.

Mr. LENVIN. Yes; I think you are.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lenvin, the Foreign Agents Registration Act does not apply to Communist propaganda coming into the United States from abroad which is solicited by the individual recipient. Isn't that correct?

Mr. LENVIN. I would like to make it clear, of course, that the Foreign Agents Registration Act is not, in and of itself, directed against propaganda, but under its terms, of course, it relates to persons.

Mr. ARENS. The two elements of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, namely, registration and labeling, do not apply to propaganda which is solicited by the recipient. Isn't that correct?

Mr. LENVIN. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. I think the significant words of that statute, because the hearings you refer to were conducted by my subcommittee of the Judiciary last year, are that you must be an agent "of a foreign principal."

Mr. LENVIN. That is right, sir. That is the only way we can bring this statute into play as it is now worded, you see, because section 1 of the statute defines the term "agent of a foreign principal" and all of the rest of the provisions of the statute must relate to the term "agent of a foreign principal."

Mr. ARENS. And the Foreign Agents Registration Act does not apply to domestic propaganda, does it?

Mr. LENVIN. It applies to persons within the United States who disseminate political propaganda, domestic or otherwise, as long as they are in an agency capacity.

Mr. ARENS. If a person is a member of the Communist Party in the United States and is assigned to develop Communist propaganda, is he required to register and is he required to label his propaganda?

Mr. LENVIN. No; not unless we can show that he is doing that in an agent status as defined in the act.

Mr. ARENS. Is it necessary for the propaganda to be labeled and is it necessary for the person who receives it to register if that person who is the recipient is in diplomatic status?

Mr. LENVIN. No. The statute specifically exempts duly accredited diplomatic and consular officers.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, we have, then, at least three areas in which the Communist propaganda is not within the purview of the act or for which there is not a requirement of registration or labeling; namely, that which comes to a recipient who solicits it individually, that which is of domestic origin if there is no agency relationship, and, third, if it goes to a consul or embassy.

Mr. LENVIN. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. In which of those three categories is the Daily Worker, let us say?

Mr. LENVIN. That is a domestic publication concerning which we have not had sufficient information to warrant any action under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, under agency.

Mr. JACKSON. Is there any question that it is in fact an organ?

Mr. LENVIN. No, sir; in my opinion there is no question that it is an organ but, as Mr. Walter will recall, we had that same problem with an organization in the United States, for example, that was disseminating the Stockholm Peace Appeal and we were thrown out of court on the grounds that we would have to prove agency as defined by the restatement of law of agency.

Mr. WILLIS. The Daily Worker would be reached through the Internal Security Act.

Mr. LENVIN. That is right, the Internal Security Act of 1950.

Mr. ARENS. But the Internal Security Act provisions are not yet applicable because the Supreme Court has not yet found that the Communist Party is a Communist-action organization.

Mr. LENVIN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. In this recent spy case about which we have been reading in the papers, assuming the facts as reported by the papers, is there an applicability of the Foreign Agents Registration Act to those facts?

Mr. LENVIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. In what respect, could you kindly tell us?

Mr. LENVIN. As you know, Mr. Arens, I have just returned from New York on that matter and no indictment has as yet been returned. Of course I am extremely limited as to what I can say, but as reported in the newspapers the three defendants have been charged with engaging in activities within the United States on behalf of a foreign government. As I interpret the Foreign Agents Registration Act, that would be enough to bring them within the purview of the registration requirements of the act. Of course I caused the records of our Department to be searched and since I find no record of any registration statement, I feel then that they are in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have statistics respecting the volume of Communist propaganda which is disseminated in the United States by persons who have registered with the Department of Justice as agents of a foreign principal?

Mr. LENVIN. Yes. There are four principal agencies registered under the terms of the act. They are the Four Continent Book Corp., an organization known as Imported Publications and Products, a man by the name of Edwin S. Smith—

Mr. ARENS. Your response is applicable exclusively to the Soviet bloc countries, is it not?

Mr. LENVIN. That is right. This one is Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. I did not want my question and your answer to be confused here. We are not asking you about propaganda, for instance, distributed by the British Empire.

Mr. LENVIN. No, no. The Four Continent Book Corp. has a foreign principal in 2 or 3 of the Iron Curtain countries, including the Soviet Union. Imported Publications and Products has a foreign principal in 2 or 3 Soviet bloc countries. So does Edwin S. Smith, who does business under Sov-Photo and East Photo.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that the same Edwin S. Smith who at one time was a member of the National Labor Relations Board?

Mr. LENVIN. I believe so, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Who before this committee took the fifth amendment and has been identified as a former member of the Communist Party.

Mr. LENVIN. I believe that is the same individual.

Mr. SCHERER. I am sure it is.

Mr. ARENS. You were giving us statistics on the volume of material.

Mr. LENVIN. Perhaps you would like to have some statement as to the funds or amount of money or business which these people do. From their statements, in the 6-month period from January 1, 1956, through June 30, 1956, these organizations took in a total of \$325,394 and some cents. If you would like that broken down, Four Continent Book Corp., \$272,861.

Mr. SCHERER. And Smith's outfit?

Mr. LENVIN. Edwin S. Smith took in \$21,930 through the sale of his pictures to whatever newspapers, magazines or other publications he could sell them to.

Mr. SCHERER. His pictures, his propaganda pictures?

Mr. LENVIN. Yes; he receives photos under agreement with the foreign principals, whether an agency in the Soviet Union or Communist China, photos which he then attempts to peddle within the United States.

Mr. SCHERER. Wasn't Smith the witness, Mr. Arens, the one you asked if his conscience didn't bother him when he peddled those photographs allegedly depicting the use of germ warfare by American boys in Korea and he said "No," his conscience didn't bother him a bit.

Mr. ARENS. I recall the substance of that.

Mr. SCHERER. He is the fellow who admitted he visited the Russian Embassy regularly.

Mr. LENVIN. Imported Publications and Products for that 6-month period reported \$3,618, and Artkino Pictures, Inc., which is of course

the agency within the United States that has the exclusive agreement for the importation and showing of Soviet films, a total of \$27,184.

On the amount of propaganda, these, of course, are figures which we obtained because of a requirement in the statute that registered agents who disseminate political propaganda are required to file a dissemination report showing the number of copies disseminated and the general category of its distribution. From the dissemination reports filed by these 4 registered agents we learn that they disseminated in 1 year 158,395 different items. Four Continent Book Corp. was responsible for 12,504; Imported Publications & Products, 125,367; and Edwin S. Smith, 488.

As far as Artkino Pictures is concerned, in the 6-month period for the showing of Soviet films there were 1,758 play dates, and an estimated attendance of 490,200. Polish films had 118 play dates with an estimated attendance of 37,250. They had 7 German films—of course these are films from East Germany—2,200 estimated attendance.

Mr. ARENS. What is your aggregate figure on the total expenditures made by these registered foreign agents representing the Soviet bloc in the United States?

Mr. LENVIN. Mr. Arens, the only figures on expenditures that we get of course are those that they spend for rent, heat, light, salaries for their employees, and in the case of Four Continent Book Corp., of course, the amount of money which it spends within the United States for the purchase of books, periodicals, and other materials for its foreign principal.

Mr. ARENS. The thing we want to get now is an appraisal by yourself of the volume of Communist propaganda which is disseminated in the United States annually by the registered agents. Your best figure.

Mr. LENVIN. That would be about 250,000 to 300,000 items a year.

Mr. ARENS. This does not include items that come from abroad to individual recipients. Isn't that correct?

Mr. LENVIN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. It does not include your domestic propaganda?

Mr. LENVIN. It does not.

Mr. ARENS. It does not include propaganda disseminated by the consuls and embassies and people in diplomatic status; isn't that correct?

Mr. LENVIN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us, if you have the information, an estimate of the volume of the propaganda which is distributed in the United States which is not within the purview of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. LENVIN. I am sorry, I do not have those figures, Mr. Arens. As you know, Mr. Irving Fishman makes up monthly a volume that thick [indicating] itemizing the various pieces of Communist political propaganda which arrive not only through the port of New York but through other ports and which, of course, is sent to him for examination.

Mr. ARENS. The nonregistered propaganda far exceeds the registered propaganda in volume, does it not?

Mr. LENVIN. From the things that I have seen I would say that it does.

I brought some samples of this propaganda. All of this is labeled. If you like, of course, I can read the label used by Four Continent.

Mr. ARENS. I suggest you allude to a few of the typical samples there.

Mr. LENVIN. This is a publication called Soviet Literature. It is a monthly publication and theoretically of course has articles on developments and new features of Soviet literature.

New Times has articles and comments on the political scene. News, a Soviet Review of World Events. I think you probably have had some samples of this before.

And a magazine entitled "The Soviet Union," which is on the order of one of our magazines.

Mr. DOYLE. If the label isn't too long, could a typical label be read? I would like to see what they are required to put on the label.

Mr. LENVIN. This is what the label says:

This material is filed with the Department of Justice where the required statement under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of Four Continent Book Corp., 38 West 58th Street, New York, N. Y., as an agent of Mezhdunarodnaja Kniga, Moscow, U. S. S. R., is available for public inspection. Registration does not indicate approval or disapproval of this material by the United States Government.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the source of funds for the purpose of creating Communist propaganda in the United States domestically?

Mr. LENVIN. No; I don't think that in my position I would get that information, Mr. Arens, as to the source of funds for the creation of domestic committees.

Mr. ARENS. Does the magazine Soviet Union which you have bear the stamp—the labeling stamp?

Mr. LENVIN. It should have. Yes, it has.

(Exhibit No. 1—Soviet Union, issue of November 1956, bearing the labeling stamp of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, follows on pp. 32 and 33:)

EXHIBIT No. 1—SOVIET UNION



Destination: Melbourne



MELBOURNE

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The Melbourne Olympic Games, which opened on January 22, 1956, are being held in a city which is the largest and one of the most modern in Australia. The city of Melbourne is situated on the coast of the state of Victoria, about 100 miles from the capital, Canberra. The city has a population of about 1,000,000 and is one of the most important industrial and commercial centers in Australia. The Melbourne Olympic Games are being held in a city which is the largest and one of the most modern in Australia. The city of Melbourne is situated on the coast of the state of Victoria, about 100 miles from the capital, Canberra. The city has a population of about 1,000,000 and is one of the most important industrial and commercial centers in Australia.

This material is filed with the Department of Justice where the required statement under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of Four Continent Book Corp., 38 West 58th Street, New York, N. Y., as an agent of Mezhdunarodnaja Kniga, Moscow, USSR, is available for public inspection. Registration does not indicate approval or disapproval of this material by the United States Government.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any other item of information you would like to invite to the attention of the committee?

Mr. LENVIN. Yes, there may well be.

Perhaps the committee would be interested in looking over the reports which we make to Congress on the administration and enforcement of the act and, if so, I have some extra copies here which I could leave with the committee which list the names of all persons who have registered with us during that period as well as the number of those who have terminated during the period. They also contain appendixes which contain a table showing the amount of money received by each person who is registered under the act.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have with you statistics on the number of indictments under the act?

Mr. LENVIN. I have, but perhaps I had better go over them.

Up until the end of World War II we had obtained 19 indictments for failure to register. Since that time, in 1949 we indicted the Amtorg Trading Corp. for failure to register. We indicted the Peace Information Center for failure to register. Most recently, in June of last year, we indicted the Rumanian-American Publishing Association which publishes the Rumanian newspaper, *Romunal America*, for failure to register, charging that it acted as a publicity agent for the People's Republic of Rumania without filing a registration statement.

Mr. ARENS. And how about your convictions?

Mr. LENVIN. We convicted Amtorg, we lost the case against the Peace Information Center, and we are hopeful that we are going to win this one in Detroit in which we expect to go to trial next month. Of the 19 cases which we brought I think we were successful in all but one. On trial one, *United States v. Westerman and Company*, was nolle prossed.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lenvin, we have here another issue of Soviet Union, typical of magazines which have been picked up in various parts of the country, at bookstores by one of our investigators. It does not bear any label as required by the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

(Exhibit No. 2—Soviet Union, issue of October 1956, on which the labeling stamp of the Foreign Agents Registration Act does not appear, follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 2—SOVIET UNION



Mr. ARENS. What would be a plausible explanation for that on the basis of your background and experience?

Mr. LENVIN. Either that the bookstore in which it was bought got it in a way of which we know nothing, perhaps, or it may have ordered it directly from the Soviet Union under such circumstances that we could not establish agency. The only other alternative, Mr. Arens, would be that it might be supplied by one of the registered agents who was failing to label. We have gone into that and I might say that we have requested several times that investigations be conducted to determine whether any of these registered agents are avoiding the labeling provisions of the statute. We have also requested, as we are authorized to do under the statute, an examination of their books and records.

Mr. ARENS. They could have gotten it also from a consul or embassy; could they not?

Mr. LENVIN. Yes; they could have.

Mr. ARENS. It is a fact, however, is it not, that most of the Communist propaganda disseminated now in the United States is not identified as Communist propaganda.

Mr. LENVIN. That is true. In fact, one of the things which took up our attention during these consultations that we have had with the other Government agencies is the fact that there is neither an executive department of Government nor any law relating specifically to this problem. The fact that we found is that there is no executive agency charged with the responsibility or charged with the problem of doing something about Communist political propaganda.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest we have covered the highlights of this testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. We are deeply appreciative of your cooperation. We will have to adjourn at this time because we are going to have a vote on a resolution now under consideration in the House. Have you a witness for this afternoon?

Mr. ARENS. We have 2 or 3 witnesses for this afternoon, which would take, I would surmise, about an hour, Mr. Chairman. They are friendly witnesses.

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask one question?

You mentioned the case that was nolle prossed, *U. S. v. Westerman and Company*. Do you recall from what city that was?

Mr. LENVIN. My recollection is that it is New York, but that was a case back in 1942. Actually it was brought in 1944.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee stands in recess until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a. m., the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 2 p. m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1957

The CHAIRMAN. Call your witness.

(Committee members present: Representatives Walter, Doyle, and Scherer).

Mr. ARENS. Messrs. Doyle, Mindel, and Bouton, would you kindly be sworn.

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

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. I do.

Mr. MINDEL. I do.

Mr. BOUTON. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF LOUIS J. DOYLE, ASSOCIATE GENERAL COUNSEL;
SAUL J. MINDEL, GENERAL COUNSEL'S OFFICE; AND JAMES O.
BOUTON, MAIL CLASSIFICATION SPECIALIST, DIVISION OF MAIL
CLASSIFICATION, POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT**

Mr. ARENS. Will each of you kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. I am Louis J. Doyle, Associate General Counsel, Post Office Department.

Mr. MINDEL. Saul J. Mindel, General Counsel's Office, Post Office Department.

Mr. BOUTON. James O. Bouton, mail classification specialist, Division of Mail Classification, Post Office Department.

Mr. ARENS. Gentlemen, we invite your attention this afternoon to the subject of foreign Communist political propaganda, which is being beamed at the United States. I ask you if you will first of all tell us the status or classification of such foreign Communist political propaganda from the standpoint of the postal service.

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. May I ask that either 1 of the 3 of us answer the question which may be most appropriate?

Mr. ARENS. Yes; I thought that was understood.

Mr. MINDEL. The great bulk of the propaganda which comes in, comes in the open mail. Some of it might be said to be sent in what would be the equivalent of our third or fourth class. A very, very small percentage would come in sealed first-class letter mail form.

Mr. ARENS. What part of the open mail that comes in is subject to inspection by the postal authorities from the standpoint of Communist propaganda?

Mr. MINDEL. All of the open mail is subject to inspection by the customs service and by the Post Office Department to determine whether it is of a prohibited character under any of the Federal statutes.

Mr. ARENS. If the Communist propaganda coming in in open mail status is destined to a recipient who has solicited such propaganda, is it in violation of the law?

Mr. MINDEL. The rule which has been applied, and is being applied, is that if the addressee has ordered or subscribed for the publication, delivery will be made.

Mr. ARENS. If it is destined to a person in diplomatic status, is it subject to any control or regulation, and by "it" I am referring to Communist political propaganda?

Mr. MINDEL. That, too, would be delivered because of the exemption in the Foreign Agents Registration Act in behalf of duly accredited diplomatic representatives of foreign countries. That is assuming, of course, that the Communist propaganda does not become a matter

in violation of the statutes against treasonable matter or matter inciting to insurrection, and so forth.

Mr. ARENS. If it is destined to a registered agent it is not subject to control, is it?

Mr. MINDEL. It would be delivered, too, yes.

Mr. ARENS. If the foreign Communist political propaganda arrives at the shores of the United States in open mail status and is not destined to a recipient who has requested it, nor is it destined to a person in diplomatic status, nor is it destined to a registered agent, what is its status from the standpoint of the operation of the post office?

Mr. MINDEL. Under an opinion given by the Attorney General on December 10, 1940, foreign political propaganda which is disseminated in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act may be treated as nonmailable under the law that we now find in section 1717 of title 18 of the code, and therefore we would apply that nonmailable treatment to the material which you have just classified.

Mr. ARENS. It would be subject to confiscation, would it not?

Mr. MINDEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have statistics or can you give us an estimate of the volume of Communist political propaganda which has not been destined either to a recipient asking for it, to diplomats, or to registered agents, which has been confiscated, say, in the course of the last year?

Mr. MINDEL. Our figures are not complete. Actually we have not kept figures which would show that. We can only attempt a fair guess as to what that would be. We have received here reports of approximately 1,500,000 pieces of such material, and our fair guess as to how much of that we have held to be nonmailable would be about 65 or 70 percent.

Mr. ARENS. I want to be sure that this record is clear on this. What is this million figure you just alluded to?

Mr. MINDEL. The million-and-a-half figure I just referred to was pieces of foreign propaganda or material suspected of being foreign propaganda which were reported to the Department here in Washington by the postmasters at the several ports of entry.

Mr. ARENS. Which propaganda was not destined either to a recipient which asked for it, to a diplomat, or registered agent, is that correct?

Mr. MINDEL. Some of it might develop after the report to us to be destined for an addressee who requested it. It is not likely that it would be destined to either of the other two classes that you mentioned.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time does this million-and-a-half figure cover?

Mr. MINDEL. One year, the 1956 calendar year.

Mr. ARENS. Of the million-and-a-half pieces which were reported to the post office in the course of the last year, what is the figure on the volume that was actually confiscated because it was found to be sent into the country in a status which did not fall within the three classifications which I have just alluded to?

Mr. MINDEL. That was the fair guess figure that I referred to of approximately 65 or 70 percent. We don't have actual figures on that.

(Off the record.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you saying in substance, Mr. Mindel, that approximately 700,000 pieces of Communist propaganda have been confiscated by the post office coming from abroad in the course of the last year?

Mr. MINDEL. That is our present estimate; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. At how many ports of entry does the Post Office Department maintain this check?

Mr. MINDEL. These reports would come to us principally from the postmasters at New York City, Chicago, and San Francisco. There would also be some reports from other cities, including Los Angeles, as an example.

Mr. ARENS. I want the record to be absolutely clear on this, and I am afraid we are not quite clear. The Post Office Department in the course of the last year has confiscated approximately 700,000 pieces of Communist propaganda destined to this country from abroad, is that correct?

Mr. MINDEL. The figures that we arrived at before is about 900,000.

Mr. ARENS. Excuse me, 900,000. Would you in your own words describe to the committee why the Post Office Department confiscated that? I am not undertaking to take issue with you. I am just asking if you would give us a description of that material and why you were able to confiscate it.

Mr. MINDEL. This material consisted of magazines and other publications that came from the Iron Curtain countries, sent as foreign political propaganda as that term is defined in the Foreign Agents Registration Act, which I guess may be stated very broadly as propaganda designed to influence the recipient with respect to the policies and practices of the country of origin and also of the United States, and perhaps other countries on either side of the Curtain.

When the material is found to be of that character, as I say, applying the law as interpreted by the Attorney General in his opinion of 1940 we treat it as nonmailable, again with the exception that we have already referred to.

Mr. ARENS. May I probe that a little, please, Mr. Mindel.

This opinion of December 1940 of the Attorney General in essence stated that if propaganda is sent in from abroad by a person who himself is abroad but who has not registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, that propaganda is subject to confiscation. Is that correct?

Mr. MINDEL. Assuming that that person abroad is acting as an agent for a foreign principal; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have access to Communist propaganda which comes into the United States as first-class mail?

Mr. MINDEL. That presents more of a problem. We have a way of examining that under a joint postal customs regulation which provides that when sealed first-class matter is received from abroad and it is suspected of containing matter prohibited from importation it may be held and a notice sent to the addressee requesting his authorization for the opening of that in the presence of a customs agent to determine whether it is of the character suspected. That has been done from time to time with suspected propaganda, and the suspicions have always been borne out when the material was examined.

Mr. ARENS. Generally speaking, first-class mail is not subject to inspection or opening in order to ascertain the content of the package, isn't that correct?

Mr. MINDEL. We may not arbitrarily open it without the authorization which I mentioned.

Mr. ARENS. The mails are not self-sustaining, are they?

Mr. MINDEL. Do you want to answer that, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. ARENS. In other words, the postage that the man puts on in Red China to send a magazine to the United States does not completely defray the cost of transporting that magazine across this country to the recipient, isn't that correct?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. The revenue produced in the country of mailing is entirely the revenue of that country. We get no revenue out of that mailing. We do, as you say, under the convention which is entered into by all the countries of the world, carry that mail from the point of entry into the United States to the address of delivery within the United States free of charge.

Mr. ARENS. Is it true that the United States taxpayers are in truth and in fact defraying part, if not all, of the cost of transporting Communist propaganda throughout the United States?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. They are defraying it to the extent that we collect nothing for delivering it from New York to Chicago, shall we say.

Mr. ARENS. Gentlemen, we have covered just the highlight of the foreign Communist propaganda which hits our shores in various categories. I should like to invite your attention now to foreign Communist propaganda which enters the United States in transit, in other words, propaganda, we will say, which comes into the United States of Communist origin destined, we will say, from Red China to Mexico, as just an illustration. What are the provisions of the Universal Postal Convention applicable to the cartage of such propaganda?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. There is a principle of the Universal Postal Union that all countries will grant freedom of transit, that is to say, a parcel or a pouch coming from any country in Europe entering at New York, we will allow to pass through to Laredo, Tex., for introduction into the Mexican postal system.

Mr. ARENS. What if the recipient country by its diplomatic establishment does not desire the admission of that propaganda into the recipient country?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. Then there is another provision which Mr. Mindel may be able to tell you about better than I, in the Foreign Agents Registration Act, which would cover that.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly allude to that?

Mr. MINDEL. There is a provision in the Foreign Agents Registration Act that if propaganda material is going out of our country or through our country into another of the American Republics, contrary to the law or the wishes of that other Republic, and if that other Republic makes representation to the Department of State of our country concerning that material, the Department of State will convey to the Postmaster General that information and protest, which then will give the Postmaster General authority to treat that material as nonmailable.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of the history of your experience in the Post Office Department, do you know of any instances in which in-transit Communist propaganda has been seized because the recipient country has utilized this provision of the law?

Mr. MINDEL. I don't recall any such case myself.

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. We know of none.

Mr. ARENS. Gentlemen, what is the volume of Communist propaganda originated aboard which goes in transit through the United States to some other country?

Mr. MINDEL. I don't think we have any figures on that.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any estimate of it?

Mr. MINDEL. I have been able to find no figures on which to base the estimate. This material as a rule comes in in a closed pouch and we would never open it. Occasionally what they call a mixed pouch will come in, but it is so rare that we have never had instances of that.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know of any channels which have been opened by our Government whereby our Government would give a foreign government, say in the Western Hemisphere, information that there is going through our country, the United States, substantial quantities of Communist propaganda in transit to your country?

Mr. MINDEL. I don't know of any.

Mr. ARENS. I only suggest the possibility of some administrative action along that line with a view to the possible end—confiscation of the material or stopping of the material.

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. May I suggest again, to clarify the point, the pouch will arrive from the foreign country, shall we say at New York. It is a closed pouch. We do not open it. We do not know what is in it. We carry it to Laredo and there carry it over to the Mexican postal system.

Mr. ARENS. The pouch would not be first-class mail?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. It might be most any kind.

Mr. ARENS. It generally would be open record?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. The pouch itself would be closed against our inspection, regardless of the contents.

Mr. ARENS. Do the postal authorities have access to Communist propaganda coming into the United States in diplomatic pouch or by diplomatic route?

Mr. MINDEL. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any estimate or any information respecting the quantity of such material?

Mr. MINDEL. We have no such information.

Mr. ARENS. Do the United States taxpayers defray all or a substantial portion of the cost of transporting through the United States Communist propaganda destined to other countries?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. No, sir. We receive compensation, as does every other country of the world who performs the same service, from the country of origin for the movement of mail from New York, shall we say, to Laredo, Tex. Each country pays the same rate throughout the world.

Mr. ARENS. Has the Post Office Department in the experience of you gentlemen received any complaint that our mail was not delivered in a Communist country, say Communist China or the Soviet Union?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. I know of none.

Mr. MINDEL. No such complaint has ever come to my attention.

Mr. ARENS. Has the Post Office Department received any complaint or protest by what we might loosely describe as leftwing or pro-Communist organizations against this confiscation of these 900,000 parcels or 900,000 pieces of Communist propaganda which the Post Office Department has confiscated?

Mr. MINDEL. I could not say that any pro-Communist groups have made protests. In other words, I would not want to take a position on what they are.

Mr. ARENS. You do not want to characterize them?

Mr. MINDEL. That is correct. But there have been questions raised with us by different people, individuals, or parts of a group, as to our legal authority to do these things.

Mr. ARENS. How long has the Post Office Department been engaged in the actual confiscation of Communist foreign political propaganda which does not fall within the purview of our laws for permission to come into the country?

Mr. MINDEL. This began back at the time of the Attorney General's opinion in 1940. Then after World War II ended there was a lull where there was evidently not much of the propaganda coming in and therefore not a real program for the treatment of it. But then in 1950 the program was revised, and since then we have been going at it very actively.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to the proposition of domestic Communist propaganda. By "domestic" I mean that Communist propaganda which is originated and disseminated entirely within the United States. Kindly tell us on the basis of your specialized knowledge the principal provisions of the applicable law.

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. Sir, we have three exclusionary statutes which are the only ones that could be applied to this type of material if they can be applied at all. Mr. Mindel has briefed those and I think he can advise you with respect to them.

Mr. MINDEL. These are mailability statutes. The first one oddly enough is part of the obscenity law but there is a special part of it which deals with matters of character tending to incite arson, murder, or assassination. That is section 1461 of title 18. That would take care of one type of matter.

Then in section 1717 of title 18 it is forbidden to mail any matter which is in violation of any one of a number of specified sections of title 18, including 2388. 2388 is the wartime statute which, however, is carried over during this emergency period by a special statute. That makes it a violation to willfully make or convey false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies or, to state it broadly, doing things to encourage insubordination or mutiny or disloyalty in the Armed Forces.

So if any matter of that character is sent through the mails, the mailing of it violates the provisions of section 1717 in addition to 2388, and also 1717 says that such things are nonmailable and shall not be conveyed in the mails.

Additionally and lastly, section 1717 in itself forbids the mailing of any matter advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. If the particular propaganda which is disseminated here in the United States of domestic origin does not call for a forceful overthrow of the Government, does not call for spying as such or treason or does not fall within the purview of licentious literature, it is not subject to any regulation or control by the Post Office Department. Is that correct?

Mr. MINDEL. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell us in essence the provisions of the Internal Security Act which has applicability to Communist literature disseminated in the United States.

Mr. MINDEL. In the Internal Security Act of 1950, which is section 781 of title 50 of the code, there is a section, section 10 of the act as it was passed, which provides that any organization which is registered under the Internal Security Act or any organization with respect to which there is in effect a final order of the Board requiring it to register, that any such organization when it makes use of the mails or interstate commerce for the transmission of matters intended or designed to be circulated among two or more people, must label such matters in the material itself and on the envelope or wrapper in which it is carried, which label reads in this way:

Disseminated by ———, a Communist organization.

Mr. ARENS. But that provision of section 7 of the Internal Security Act is not presently in force; is it?

Mr. MINDEL. It is not presently in force because of the fact that the first case is not yet settled under that law involving the Communist Party of the United States of America.

Mr. ARENS. As to whether or not the Communist Party is a Communist-action organization within the purview of the act; is that correct?

Mr. MINDEL. There is no final order, in other words, because it is still in the courts.

Mr. ARENS. Now would you kindly tell the committee the prerequisites to the obtaining of a second-class mailing privilege?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. The prerequisites for getting your second-class entry are found in title 39 of the United States Code. Section 224 of that title is the first prerequisite—mailability. Section 226 is the general statute which deals with conditions of entry, and the publication must first be regularly issued at stated intervals, as frequently as four times a year. Then it must bear a date of issue and be numbered consecutively. It must be issued from a known office of publication. It must be formed of certain printed paper sheets. It has to be not in book form. The fourth condition is that it must be originated and published for the dissemination of information of a public character or devoted to literature, the sciences, arts, or some other special industry and having a legitimate list of subscribers. That is generally the conditions for the entry of second-class mail.

Mr. ARENS. The recipient of the second-class mailing privilege has a reduced rate of expenditure to disseminate his literature: does he not?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. It is a low rate to encourage the dissemination of current intelligence.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have information respecting the number of publications in the United States which have been found to be Communist publications which enjoy the second-class mailing privilege?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. Found by whom, sir?

Mr. ARENS. By a congressional committee, by the Subversive Activities Control Board, by the Attorney General, by the courts, by any Government agency.

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. There are some, the number of which I could not state, now, but a typical one is the Daily Worker. Mr. Bouton, have you any more information on it than that?

Mr. BOUTON. No; that would be with you people or the Department of Justice. We apply the rates to that. We don't have a list. I think we should add to what Mr. Doyle said that the prohibition in that law is against publications designed primarily for advertising purposes or the free circulation or circulation at a nominal rate. That is in the basic law. This second-class privilege is extended to publications which have a legitimate list of subscribers and are not designed primarily for advertising purposes, free circulation, or circulation at nominal rate.

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. Mr. Arens, I can say, drawing on my memory a little bit, that some of the publications listed in your guide to subversive organizations do have second-class entry. I can go that far. Maybe 10 or 12 of them.

Mr. ARENS. Do the taxpayers help defray the cost of disseminating the material which is scattered around the country by these organizations which have been given the second-class mailing privilege?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. Yes; they do.

Mr. ARENS. Have the officials of the Post Office Department given consideration to legislative proposals which would deny second-class mailing privileges to organizations which are found to be Communist controlled?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. We have given consideration to a number of bills which have been introduced in the Congress, sir. Most of the bills, however, have been in the form of Communist propaganda as such, without a definition which was at all a workable guide for us. We have asked each time that that be defined by the Congress so we could clearly know what was within the intendment.

There was, in 1953, a bill introduced by Mrs. St. George which for some reason or other never did get out of the committee, but it was along the line of what you speak. That denied second-class permit or any less-than-cost postage rate to publications of the type you mention. That never did get out of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, which had it.

Mr. ARENS. Did that bill deny second-class mailing privileges to an organization which had been found by an appropriate Government body to be Communist, or did it undertake to deny second-class mailing privilege to an organization that disseminated Communist propaganda irrespective of the nature of the organization itself?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. It did both. It denied second class entry and made it, for example, prima facie evidence of Communist leanings that any organization which was on the list of your committee.

Mr. ARENS. Do these 900,000 pieces of Communist propaganda coming from abroad which have been confiscated in the course of the last year include any first-class mail?

Mr. MINDEL. They would include a small amount of first-class mail that was confiscated in accordance with that procedure that I referred to before.

Mr. ARENS. Does it include any propaganda of domestic origin?

Mr. MINDEL. No, it does not.

Mr. ARENS. It is exclusively foreign Communist propaganda?

Mr. MINDEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What suggestions, if any, could you gentlemen propose to the committee concerning this problem with reference to a system of control or labeling or regulation of Communist foreign propaganda in transit through the United States? I understood you to say a little while ago that there never has been an instance to your knowledge in which there has been any regulation for confiscation of such material.

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. On its entry to the United States being in a sealed pouch without a revision of the Universal Postal Union Convention and treaty, there isn't any stamp we could put on it, sir.

Mr. ARENS. May I suggest this possibility for your consideration while we are having this colloquy here. Would it be at all feasible if the Government of the United States through diplomatic channels called the attention of the recipient countries to the material which is going in transit, which we understand is going in transit in great volume, with the end in view of soliciting that country to request the United States not to permit it to come through?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. I would be pleased to make that recommendation to my people.

Mr. ARENS. I was not asking you to do so. I was just soliciting from you your thoughts on the matter.

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. It could be done, sir. We could advise Mexico, if they don't know it now, that much of this material which is coming to them from behind Iron Curtain countries is material designed to change their attitude toward us, for example.

Mr. ARENS. You have no present estimate as to the volume of such material?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. No, sir; I have not. We would have to go principally to the ports of entry at San Francisco and at New York to find out what volume is coming in which they transfer on to Laredo, for example, for entry into Mexico. We have not those figures in Washington. They could be procured, I believe.

Mr. ARENS. As the chairman said in his opening statement, the purpose of this session today was to lay background information upon which the committee intends to pursue the whole subject matter further. We have covered only the highlights of each of the principal points with you, but I should like to ask you, are there any other items of information of special importance with respect to either the facts or the law or your operation which you should like to invite to the attention of the committee.

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. I would only invite your attention to the fact that of the material which we do exclude from entry into the United States it is probable that the vast amount of it if introduced directly in the United States mails would not fall within the prohibition of any statute.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, do I properly construe what you say that it is only because of this Attorney General's opinion on the agency matter that you are able to exclude from the United States this flood of material?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. That, plus the definition of propaganda within the Foreign Agents Registration Act; yes, sir. Once in the country, upon reintroduction in the mails we have no authority under any law to exclude it.

Mr. ARENS. One further question there on your own operation. Do you have a problem in translating this material and appraising whether or not it is Communist propaganda?

Mr. MINDEL. Yes; it is a problem. A great deal of that is done by employees of the Customs Service at the ports of entry. However, here in Washington we also have our own translators who supplement when and if necessary that which comes to us from the customs.

Mr. ARENS. Is there another item of information you would like to lay before the committee on this subject matter?

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. I know of no other.

Mr. MINDEL. I think that gives a pretty complete picture of it, sir.

Mr. BOUTON. I want to add in connection with the "second-class mailing privilege," as it is termed, if the publication is found to meet the statutory requirements laid out in these provisions of law which have been referred to and is mailable, then we have to accept it at some rate of postage. If it meets these tests of a legitimate list of subscribers and the other tests I have referred to, naturally it falls into second-class mail.

Mr. ARENS. You have no way of appraising this committee, I take it, of the aggregate total volume of Communist propaganda that is coming into the United States?

Mr. BOUTON. No.

Mr. ARENS. Because a good percentage of that comes in in accordance with the law, even though it is Communist propaganda; isn't that correct?

Mr. BOUTON. That is right. We don't have any facts on that or any on that which originates in this country in the second-class or other domestic rates.

Mr. ARENS. Is most of the Communist propaganda which you have confiscated in the course of the last year, these 900,000 pieces, of the nontreason variety?

Mr. MINDEL. Yes; they would all be that, as a matter of fact, because if they were of treasonable variety we could get at them directly without regard to the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Mr. ARENS. It is all of the subtle type of propaganda?

Mr. MINDEL. It is the type to make it appear that conditions are ideal behind the Iron Curtain, that everybody is as happy as can be, that the worker is treated like a king, and to try to contrast that with the terrible conditions alleged to exist in the western democracies, especially the United States. That is the general picture of it. They will also throw in comment on international matters on which the United States has taken a stand or on which the Soviet has taken a stand, and of course give their viewpoint of it. That generally is the trend of that propaganda.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of these witnesses.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions, Congressman Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. SCHERER. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it not be possible to extend the regulation so as to include the mailing of material into the United States?

Mr. MINDEL. Mr. Walter, the treatment of the material from abroad is based in part upon the assumption it is being sent by an agent of

a foreign principal. If it were a domestic operation, then we would be put to the test there. Those who are acting as agents are under the law as administered by the Department of Justice, and if they don't register here then they would be subject to prosecution.

The CHAIRMAN. Why don't you try a case like that and let someone contest it.

Mr. ARENS. I am wondering if the theory could be pursued, Mr. Chairman, that a Communist in the United States, just a United States Communist, who is disseminating Communist propaganda is in truth and in fact an agent of a foreign power, because we all know that the Communist conspiracy in the United States is controlled by a foreign power. Has that theory been pursued?

Mr. MINDEL. I can't answer because those are questions which are studied by Justice and they would be the ones who would have the answer on it. I do know that there was one case in the United States District Court here several years ago—I forget the parties—in which the Department was trying to hold them responsible under the act for failing to register. It was thrown out because they could not show a direct relationship of agent and principal to satisfy the court, even though to all appearances applying a common sense rule you might say surely he is acting as an agent.

Mr. ARENS. Have you studied the question whether or not the court would follow the legislative presumption that a Communist or person who disseminates Communist propaganda in the United States shall be deemed to be the agent of the foreign power?

Mr. MINDEL. No, sir; I have not studied that. I don't think our office has studied that.

Mr. LOUIS J. DOYLE. We have not studied that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. That is all we have this afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, we appreciate very much your cooperation.

The hearing is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 2:57 p. m. Monday, January 30, 1957, the committee was recessed subject to call of the Chair.)

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