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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN
THE UNITED STATES—PART 6
(NEW YORK CITY AREA)

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

—————
MARCH 14 AND 15, 1957
—————

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

INCLUDING INDEX



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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

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

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

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* * * * *

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.

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES—PART 6

(New York City Area)

THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1957

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
New York, N. Y.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, in room 518, United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York, N. Y., at 10 a. m., Hon. Morgan M. Moulder (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Morgan M. Moulder of Missouri, and Gordon H. Scherer of Ohio.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, director, W. Jackson Jones, and Frank Bonora, investigators.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order. Mr. Counsel, call your first witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Hagelberg?

(No response)

Mr. BAYER! Please come forward.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BAYER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF THEODORE BAYER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

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

Mr. BAYER. Theodore Bayer, 200 West 15th Street, Manhattan.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation?

Mr. BAYER. I am the administrative secretary of the National Council of the American-Soviet Friendship.

Mr. ARENS. Are you appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. BAYER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. BAYER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer of Washington, D. C.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been administrative secretary of the Council on American-Soviet Friendship?

Mr. BAYER. This would be about the 11th year?

Mr. ARENS. Have you been connected with the publication known as Russky Golos?

Mr. BAYER. I am not connected with Russky Golos.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been connected with Russky Golos?

Mr. BAYER. I have not been connected with the Russky Golos for at least 7 years.

Mr. ARENS. What was your position when you were connected with Russky Golos?

Mr. BAYER. As I said, I am not connected with the Russky Golos, and I would prefer not to discuss the Russky Golos since I have no connection with it.

Mr. ARENS. Please tell us what was your connection 7 years ago with Russky Golos.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer this question on the basis of my rights under the first amendment and my privilege under the fifth amendment not to testify against myself.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to display to you now, if you please, Mr. Bayer, a photostatic reproduction of a document filed with the clerk of the supreme court of New York County, to decrease the number of directors of the Russky Golos Publishing Corp., in which your name appears as president of the Russky Golos Publishing Corp.

Kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not you are accurately described there as president of the Russky Golos Publishing Corp.

(Document marked "Bayer Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. BAYER. I refuse to answer this question for the reasons stated.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel, Mr. Bayer, that if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you have been president of the Russky Golos Publishing Corp. you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. BAYER. It might.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. BAYER. Russia.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. BAYER. In 1912.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. BAYER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen by naturalization or derivation?

Mr. BAYER. Naturalization.

Mr. ARENS. When were you naturalized and where?

Mr. BAYER. In 1919 at the District Court of Newark, N. J., Essex County.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time of your naturalization?

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer this question for the reasons given.

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently a Communist?

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer for the same reason.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of John Lautner?

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Two days ago before this committee, John Lautner took an oath and identified you as a person known by him to have been a member of the Communist Party. Was he lying or was he telling the truth?

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer this.

Mr. ARENS. What has been your connection, if any, with Soviet Russia Today?

Mr. BAYER. I have not had any connection with Soviet Russia Today for about 11 years.

Mr. ARENS. What was your connection when you did have a connection with Soviet Russia Today?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer this on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. You were manager of Soviet Russia Today, were you not, Mr. Bayer?

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. I will display to you now a photostatic reproduction of the masthead of Soviet Russia Today in which you are identified as manager of Soviet Russia Today. Kindly look at this document and tell us whether or not you are accurately described as manager of Soviet Russia Today.

(Document marked "Bayer Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer this on the grounds given previously.

Mr. ARENS. Was Soviet Russia Today a predecessor publication to New World Review?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer this.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel that if you told this committee what information you have with reference to the successor publication, New World Review, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. BAYER. Possibly.

Mr. ARENS. We will display to you, if you please, sir, a photostatic reproduction of 2 pages from New World Review of March 1951 in which your name appears, Theodore Bayer, as one of the contributors. Kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not you are accurately described.

(Document marked "Bayer Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer this on the grounds stated before.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, or have you ever been, connected with the Citizens Emergency Defense Conference?

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. We will display to you now, if you please, a photostatic reproduction of the letterhead of the Citizens Emergency Defense

Conference on which you are listed as one of the officials of that organization.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Kindly look at that document and tell us whether or not you are accurately described there.

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer this question on the grounds given before.

(Document marked "Bayer Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Bayer, as the chairman announced in the opening statement, this Committee on Un-American Activities is developing factual information with the view of such amendments to the law as the facts might warrant with reference to the dissemination within the United States of Communist propaganda. Do you have information respecting contributions made from the International Workers Order to Russky Golos?

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer this on the grounds given.

Mr. ARENS. The fact is, is it not, that while you were president of Russky Golos several thousand dollars were contributed from the International Workers Order, a Communist-controlled organization, to your publication Russky Golos?

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer this question on the ground given.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you occupied your present position?

Mr. BAYER. You are referring to the National Council?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Mr. BAYER. Since 1946.

Mr. ARENS. Who is your immediate superior or superiors in the organization?

Mr. BAYER. Well, I don't know whether—

Mr. ARENS. You are an employee of the organization are you not?

Mr. BAYER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Who employs you?

Mr. BAYER. The organization.

Mr. ARENS. Who in the organization employs you?

Mr. BAYER. There is an officer of the organization, the director of the organization.

Mr. ARENS. I have a letterhead of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., on which appears the names of several officers of that organization. Kindly look at that letterhead and tell this committee, while you are under oath, the name of each person listed on that board of directors or who holds an official position with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship known by you to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. BAYER. I didn't get your question.

Mr. ARENS. Please look at that letterhead and tell this committee, while you are under oath, the name of each person whose name appears on that letterhead known by you to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer the question as stated.

(Document marked, "Bayer Exhibit No. 5," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MOULDER. Is there any one whose name appears on the letter-head who is not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BAYER. I would have to refuse to answer that, Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons given before.

Mr. MOULDER. It would not incriminate you, would it, to reveal the name of some person who was known to you not to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Zoltan Deak, editor of the Hungarian Daily?

Mr. BAYER. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Paul Novick, editor of the Morning Freiheit?

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of David Krinkin, editor of Russky Golos?

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer this question on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Michael Tkach, editor of the Ukrainian Daily News?

Mr. BAYER. I will refuse to answer this question on the grounds given.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of James Lee, editor of the China Daily News?

Mr. BAYER. I will give the same answer concerning individuals.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Catherine Gyarmaty, editor of Nok Vilaga?

Mr. BAYER. I refuse to answer that.

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

Mr. MOULDER. The names that you have read there, do we have evidence of their communistic activity?

Mr. ARENS. All but one on this record in the last 2 days have been identified as persons known to have been members of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. All of the documents presented by counsel to the witness will be made a part of the records of the committee.

The witness is excused; and you may claim your witness fees with the clerk of the committee.

Mr. ARENS. Zoltan Deak, please come forward.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you give this committee will be the truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DEAK. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ZOLTAN DEAK (MORTON GRAD), ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ABRAHAM UNGER

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

Mr. DEAK. Zoltan Deak, 660 Arnow Avenue, Bronx, newspaperman.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. DEAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. DEAK. Yes.

Mr. UNGER. Abraham Unger, 320 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. SCHERER. What did you say your address was?

Mr. UNGER. 660 Arnow Avenue.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ever live at 2251 Loring Place in New York?

Mr. DEAK. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know the Zoltan Deak who does live at 2251 Loring Place?

Mr. DEAK. Just by hearsay.

Mr. SCHERER. To your knowledge there is another man named Zoltan Deak, then, in the city of New York?

Mr. DEAK. To my knowledge there is.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know what his business or profession is?

Mr. DEAK. He has been a newspaperman, as far as I know.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. DEAK. I was born in Hungary in 1904, May 24.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. DEAK. I arrived here on December 1, 1923.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. DEAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. By what device are you a citizen; by naturalization or derivation?

Mr. DEAK. By naturalization.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you naturalized?

Mr. DEAK. I was naturalized in the District Court of Northern Illinois in 1930; I believe in February. I don't know the exact date.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were naturalized as a citizen of the United States?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. Mr. Chairman, permit me to say a few words before I answer this question. There are bad laws on the lawbooks of our country which jeopardize the existence—

Mr. SCHERER. Pardon me just a minute. I didn't hear what you said. There are what kind of laws on the books?

Mr. DEAK. Bad. Which jeopardize the livelihood of people and for this reason—and the liberty of the people—I decline to answer this question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of John Lautner?

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer on the same basis.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lautner, 2 days ago before this committee, took an oath and identified you while he was under oath as a member of the Communist Party. Was he lying or telling the truth?

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer this on the same basis.

Mr. ARENS. What is the firm or organization in which you are employed?

Mr. DEAK. Are you asking a firm name?

Mr. ARENS. Where do you work?

Mr. DEAK. Hungarian Word, Inc.

Mr. ARENS. Where is that located?

Mr. DEAK. 130 East 16th Street, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity are you employed there?

Mr. DEAK. As an editor.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed as an editor of the Hungarian Word? That is the English translation of the publication, is it not?

Mr. DEAK. I don't know the exact date. It must have been sometime in 1953 when this newspaper was established.

Mr. ARENS. What is the circulation of the Hungarian Word?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. Approximately 3,500, I would say.

Mr. ARENS. Is it a daily?

Mr. DEAK. No, sir. It is a weekly.

Mr. ARENS. Who publishes the Hungarian Word?

Mr. DEAK. The Hungarian Word, Inc.

Mr. ARENS. And who are the principal officers of the Hungarian Word, Inc.?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. I wouldn't be able to list them correctly; Arpad Fodor Nagy is one officer.

Mr. ARENS. Spell his name.

Mr. DEAK. A-r-p-a-d F-o-d-o-r N-a-g-y.

Mr. ARENS. Will you pause there a moment, please? Could you tell this committee whether or not to your certain knowledge he is a Communist?

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer this on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Give us another name of an officer.

Mr. DEAK. Pardon me?

Mr. ARENS. Give us another name of an officer in this publishing firm.

Mr. DEAK. Louis Dattler.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us whether or not to your certain knowledge Louis Dattler is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer this on the basis of the fifth amendment and first amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, has Louis Dattler been identified?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir; and so has the gentleman whose name I gave preceding Dattler.

Proceed, if you please, sir.

Mr. DEAK. The other officers?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. DEAK. I can't recollect any other officer right now.

Mr. ARENS. Was there a predecessor publication to the Hungarian Word?

Mr. DEAK. Yes, sir; there was.

Mr. ARENS. What was the name of it?

Mr. DEAK. That was the Hungarian Daily Journal.

Mr. ARENS. Were you editor of the Hungarian Daily Journal?

Mr. DEAK. Part time.

Mr. ARENS. What was your status with the Hungarian Daily Journal?

Mr. DEAK. Editor at a certain time of its existence.

Mr. ARENS. Did the Hungarian Daily Journal receive subsidies from the International Workers Order?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. I have not been in its business office. I couldn't possibly answer.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not the Hungarian Daily Journal received funds from the International Workers Order?

Mr. DEAK. I could not answer that, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is Hugo Gellert identified with the Hungarian Word?

Mr. DEAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. G-e-l-l-e-r-t.

Mr. DEAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Tell this committee whether or not to your certain knowledge Hugo Gellert is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. DEAK. I respectfully decline to answer it on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Is Alex Rosner connected with the Hungarian Word?

Mr. DEAK. Yes, sir; he is.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us whether or not to your certain knowledge Alex Rosner is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. DEAK. I respectfully decline to answer this on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. What sources of funds does the Hungarian Word have other than the funds derived from subscriptions and from advertisements?

Mr. DEAK. I have not been connected with the business administration of the paper. I know that we receive donations from the readers.

Mr. ARENS. Does the Hungarian Word receive funds from any organization which is a Communist-controlled organization?

Mr. DEAK. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. The insurance examiner's report during the proceedings by the State of New York against the International Workers Order disclosed that several thousand dollars were transferred from the International Workers Order, a Communist organization, to the Hungarian Word. Are you cognizant of that fact? I mean to the predecessor organization, the Hungarian Daily Journal. Are you cognizant of that fact?

Mr. DEAK. I am not.

Mr. ARENS. Does your publishing firm, in addition to publishing the Hungarian Word, also publish books, pamphlets, or periodicals of any other description?

Mr. DEAK. Pardon me. What was the question?

Mr. ARENS. Does your publishing firm also publish other material besides the paper?

Mr. DEAK. From time to time, we did publish pamphlets and also some books.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a characterization of the pamphlets and of the books, if you please, sir.

Mr. DEAK. There is one collection of Hungarian short stories that we published recently. The title was Magyar Remekirok.

Mr. SCHERER. What does that mean in English?

Mr. DEAK. It means the writers of Hungarian masterpieces, I would say.

Mr. ARENS. Are you, or to your certain knowledge is any one, connected with your firm—

Mr. UNGER. He is not finished with his answer.

Mr. DEAK. I did not finish describing the book, which collected works from classic Hungarian short-story writers and novelists. Also we published—I was not prepared for this questioning—Springtime on the Danube, the work of two French journalists, Janine Boussin-nouse and her husband, Louis Villosse, to the best of my recollection. These are two French newspaper people. One of them was the former admiral of the free French Navy who visited Hungary in 1954, and we thought this book would be of interest to the general public. We published this book in English and in Hungarian with the arrangement of the publishing firm in Paris. Some pamphlets, I can't recall them. One of them was the "Know Your Rights." We published pamphlets.

Mr. ARENS. Does your firm operate a bookstore?

Mr. DEAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Where is the bookstore and what is its name?

Mr. DEAK. It is on the same premises.

Mr. ARENS. What is the name of the bookstore?

Mr. DEAK. Magyar Konyvesbolt. It means in Hungarian "book-shop."

Mr. ARENS. Does this bookstore or does your firm—

Mr. DEAK. Pardon me. It is not a store as such. It is a sort of stockroom from which we fill orders.

Mr. ARENS. Is your firm, or is any individual in your firm, registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. No; not that I know of, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Does your firm import from abroad from any Iron Curtain country publications or periodicals of any kind, character, or description?

Mr. DEAK. For resale?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEAK. While I am not directly connected with the business end of the newspaper, to my knowledge it does not. The business itself publishes from sources in New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever traveled abroad?

Mr. DEAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. When and where did you go when you were traveling abroad?

Mr. DEAK. The last and only time I traveled abroad was in 1948.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you go?

Mr. DEAK. I went to Hungary.

Mr. ARENS. What precipitated your visit to Hungary?

Mr. DEAK. Hungary went through the Second World War through the course of which it was almost completely destroyed. Our readers and the Hungarian public in general have an abiding love toward their native land and its people.

Mr. SCHERER. I didn't understand you. You have what?

Mr. DEAK. An abiding love toward their native land and its people. There has been widespread demand among our readers to have their newspaper furnish firsthand information as to the condition of the country 3 years after the end of the Second World War. In pursuance

of that thing and also as a newspaperman who should, if possible, see things firsthand, I went to Hungary in 1948.

Mr. ARENS. Were you the guest of any group or organization in Hungary in 1948?

Mr. DEAK. No, sir; I would not say I was a guest. I had friends there, and relatives.

Mr. ARENS. How does your publication receive its information respecting events in Hungary for portrayal to its readers?

Mr. DEAK. Primarily we rely on the American press, especially the New York Times.

Mr. ARENS. Does your publication—

Mr. DEAK. Pardon me, sir. I want to continue. The New York Times I read regularly. The Wall Street Journal I read also regularly. I am getting every newspaper and have been getting the Christian Science Monitor for a while. This we supplement with newspapers from Hungary.

Mr. SCHERER. You said you rely on these different newspapers. How about the Daily Worker? Do you read the Daily Worker?

Mr. DEAK. Yes; we read that, too.

Mr. ARENS. You receive newspapers from Hungary?

Mr. DEAK. Yes, sir; we subscribe to newspapers in Hungary.

Mr. ARENS. Do you in the portrayal of news and in your editorial policy follow a line laid down by the Communist Party?

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer this on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Are you in the propagation of information presently under discipline of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. DEAK. I respectfully decline to answer this on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you say you were born in Hungary?

Mr. DEAK. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. You came here at what age?

Mr. DEAK. I was 19 years old.

Mr. SCHERER. And you are a naturalized American, then?

Mr. DEAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you belong to any Hungarian societies in the United States?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. I belong to a social club in the Bronx.

Mr. SCHERER. What is the name of that social club?

Mr. DEAK. Hungarian Social Club, to my best knowledge, is the name of it.

Mr. SCHERER. You said that your trip in 1948 to Hungary was prompted by the fact that your readers were evidently persons of Hungarian extraction, and have an abiding love for their native land and for the people of Hungary. Did you not say that?

Mr. DEAK. I must have said words to that effect.

Mr. SCHERER. Since the Russian atrocities in Hungary, have you written anything in condemnation of the action of the Communists in Hungary?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. SCHERER. Are those publications available?

Mr. DEAK. I am sorry. If I had been advised in time, I would have brought a copy to substantiate that statement. I stated in one but possibly more articles that I consider the calling in of the Soviet troops to suppress the popular demonstration of October 23 a fatal and tragic error.

Mr. SCHERER. On the part of the Communists?

Mr. DEAK. On the part of the authorities in charge of that particular step.

Mr. SCHERER. I didn't understand you. You mean on the part of the authorities, did you say?

Mr. DEAK. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean the Russians?

Mr. DEAK. No. The Russians didn't call in the Russians. It was the Hungarian authorities who called in, under the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary at that time.

Mr. SCHERER. You know it was the Communists in Hungary who invited the Russians in; do you not?

Mr. DEAK. I couldn't answer as to the mechanism and the political coloration of people who called them in. I assume the call-in must have been by proper governmental authorities.

Mr. SCHERER. You know actually now that the calling in of the Russians was a mere subterfuge, do you not, upon the part of the Communist Hungarian officials? You know that, do you not?

Mr. DEAK. The calling in was subterfuge, did you say, sir?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Mr. DEAK. Soviet troops were stationed in Hungary on Hungarian territory under the Warsaw Pact.

Mr. SCHERER. You said they were called in, did you not?

Mr. DEAK. They were called into Budapest, I meant.

Mr. SCHERER. That is what I mean. You said that the Russians were called in by the Hungarians.

Mr. DEAK. I meant to say to Budapest, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. You know, as a matter of fact, the calling in, if there was any such calling in, was a mere subterfuge, that the Russians decided and controlled exclusively the movements to be made in connection with Budapest?

Mr. DEAK. I don't know that, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't know that, in spite of your close connection?

Mr. DEAK. I have no close connections with the subject.

Mr. SCHERER. You have been identified as having been, at least at one time, a member of the Communist Party. Since the Russian atrocities in Hungary which you condemn—you said it was a mistake to call them into Budapest—have you severed your connection with the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. In answer to a question on communism, sir, I stated before that I consider there are bad laws on our lawbooks which jeopardize the people's livelihood and the liberty of the American people. Therefore, any questions which have reference to this subject I am compelled to respectfully decline on the basis of both the first and fifth amendments. That is the reason why I cannot answer.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't consider the fifth amendment as one of the bad laws to which you refer, do you?

Mr. DEAK. The fifth amendment is an amendment to the Constitution, or part of the Constitution.

Mr. SCHERER. That is right. But you don't consider that a bad provision?

Mr. DEAK. No. I consider the Constitution in its entirety a very good bill.

Mr. SCHERER. You are refusing to answer my question because you say there are certain bad laws. Which laws do you refer to—the anti-Communist laws, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954? Are those the bad laws?

Mr. DEAK. Yes, sir. You properly listed them, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Are there any others?

Mr. DEAK. And the McCarran and Walter law. The Taft-Hartley law, while we are at it, I consider a bad law.

Mr. SCHERER. You are opposed principally to the security provisions of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, those provisions which make it easier for us to deport alien Communists and more difficult for Communists to gain entrance to the United States. Are those the provisions you are specifically opposed to in the McCarran-Walter Act?

Mr. DEAK. I believe that every citizen should have equal rights in this country, and I particularly believe that there should not be any discrimination against foreign-born people. That is the reason, as far as I can formulate at this point, for my opposition to the McCarran-Walter Act.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you opposed to the security provisions because it may provide a means for denaturalization of naturalized citizens like yourself and eventually lead to deportation? Is that the reason for opposition to these laws?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. You raised the issue of bad laws. That is the reason I am going into it.

Mr. DEAK. I believe the McCarran-Walter law, as a citizen, is a bad law for the people. That is my opposition to it.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. I also—

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute, Counsel. You understand the rules. You are not supposed to tell the witness what to answer on factual matters. You are supposed to advise him as to constitutional rights. You have been telling him everything he has said in response to the last few questions.

Mr. UNGER. Mr. Scherer, I don't think that last remark is quite fair or accurate.

Mr. SCHERER. I can hear you.

Mr. UNGER. If the whole point of this is that you want me to speak up louder so you hear it more distinctly, I have no objection. I say that with all due respect, Mr. Scherer. I say to you that I am not doing any more than advising him of his rights. I don't think you are quite accurate when you say all I have to do is to advise him of his constitutional rights. That is not really an accurate statement.

Mr. SCHERER. All right; his legal rights, too.

Mr. UNGER. That is all I am doing. When he sits here and asks me what reaction I have to questions that you ask him, I am perfectly free to give him my reaction. I don't think you should object to that, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. MOULDER. Let us proceed. Do you have any questions to ask?

Mr. UNGER. Mr. Chairman, I beg your pardon. I said no more than to answer Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. ARENS. Was the conviction of the American Communist leaders a frameup?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer this on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. In the December 1949 issue of Political Affairs, you wrote:

The trial of the American Communist leaders took place under the lying, frameup charge that they "conspired to teach and advocate force and violence"—did you not?

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer this on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. And, in 1949, writing in the December issue of Political Affairs, you attacked vigorously another uprising which took place in Hungary by the forces of freedom against the Communist regime, did you not?

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer this question.

Mr. ARENS. Look at that article in the 1949 issue of Political Affairs as it is laid before you, authored by yourself, in which you vigorously attack those forces struggling for freedom in Hungary against the Communist masters, and tell us while you are under oath whether or not you authored that article.

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer this on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Deak Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. What names have you been known by, other than the name pursuant to which you have been appearing here today?

Mr. DEAK. Morton Grad.

Mr. ARENS. When did you use the name Morton Grad?

Mr. DEAK. I used that all the time.

Mr. ARENS. Was that a nom de plume?

Mr. DEAK. No. Zoltan Deak is the nom de plume.

Mr. ARENS. This Hungarian club to which you presently belong, is it a successor to the unit of the International Workers Order which was controlled by the Communists?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer this on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a member, or have you been a member, of the International Workers Order?

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer that on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. The fact is that the roots of the International Workers Order are still in existence; isn't that true? When the State of

New York dissolved the IWO, all it did was to lop off the top: isn't that correct?

Mr. DEAK. I am not aware of that.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, were you a member of the Communist fraction of the IWO working among the Hungarian nationality groups in this Nation?

Mr. DEAK. I respectfully decline to answer this question.

Mr. ARENS. Is the organization, this Hungarian club to which you belong, in truth and in fact the successor to the Hungarian fraction of the Communist Party within the IWO?

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

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall the National Committee for Freedom of the Press? Have you been identified with that organization, the National Committee for Freedom of the Press?

Mr. DEAK. I cannot recall it.

Mr. ARENS. I will display before you an exhibit of the Daily Worker (January 21, 1953) with reference to a meeting organized by the National Committee for Freedom of the Press in which your name appears in this article as one of those who participated. Would you tell us whether or not that prompts your recollection or refreshes your memory?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. I don't recall this.

(Document marked "Deak Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. A little while ago in response to questions posed by Representative Scherer you evidenced your hostility to the immigration laws. I should like to ask you if you know a person by the name of Michele Salerno?

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. He was a Communist up for deportation, was he not?

Mr. DEAK. I decline for the same reason.

Mr. ARENS. You, according to this exhibit, which we are now going to display to you, were one of the sponsors of a testimonial dinner (October 26, 1947) in tribute to this Communist who was deported. Look at that exhibit and see if that refreshes your recollection in reference to your interest in immigration matters and the phases of the immigration matters which whet your interest.

Mr. DEAK. This happened 10 years ago, and it was possible that I was a sponsor or my name was used without my knowledge, which sometimes happens. I can't recall.

(Document marked "Deak Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. If you can't recall, that is good enough for us.

You also evidenced to Mr. Scherer your hostility to certain laws. Does that hostility embrace the Smith Act pursuant to which the 11 Communist traitors were convicted for conspiring to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. I am opposed to the Smith Act.

Mr. ARENS. You joined in a protest to Judge Medina, did you not, against the jailing of the Communist traitors? Do you recall that?

Mr. DEAK. I don't.

Mr. ARENS. I will display before you now a photostatic reproduction of the Daily Worker (June 7, 1949) in which your name appears as one who is protesting the jailing of these Communist traitors. Kindly glance at the second page where your name appears and see if that refreshes your recollection.

Mr. SCHERER. Wouldn't that be rather natural, Mr. Counsel, for fellow Communists to join in such a protest?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Feeling that the law might strike them one of these days?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. The trouble is that the American people do not know how many of those who join in such protests are Communists and why they have ulterior motives.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. I protested against the Smith Act. I must have protested at that time.

(Document marked "Deak Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. You also wrote an article in Political Affairs (May 1949) in which you were vigorously attacking Cardinal Mindszenty, and the cardinal's activities in Hungary, isn't that correct?

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer this on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Look at this article and see if this refreshes your recollection with reference to your charges of treason against Cardinal Mindszenty and against the officials of the Government of the United States in their position on the Mindszenty case. See if that refreshes your recollection in reference to your position in the Communist-controlled publication, Political Affairs.

Mr. DEAK. I decline to identify this.

(Document marked "Deak Exhibit No. 5," and retained in committee files.)

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

Mr. MOULDER. All documents referred to by counsel and presented to the witness will be made a part of the record.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Deak, you said in response to one of my previous questions that after the Russian army moved into Budapest you wrote an article or two. How many articles did you write?

Mr. DEAK. On this question in general? We keep on writing on this subject so I must have written several articles.

Mr. SCHERER. And your criticism went to the extent of saying that the Communist Hungarian regime made a mistake in asking the Russian troops to move into Budapest, is that right?

Mr. DEAK. I said they made a tragic error—fatal and tragic error, or something to that effect.

Mr. SCHERER. The Hungarian-American readers of your paper would not have tolerated any other position. If you had taken any other position your paper would have gone out of existence, would it not?

Mr. DEAK. As a matter of fact, there was some opposition to that attitude among our readers as manifested in letters coming to the newspaper.

Mr. SCHERER. Those were the Communist readers of your publication, were they not?

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer this question.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't mean to tell us that the Hungarian community in New York that reads your paper would have tolerated for one minute any defense on your part whatsoever of the action of the Russians and the atrocities that were committed in Budapest, would they?

Mr. DEAK. As I stated before, I said that there was a lot of opposition to that statement—

Mr. SCHERER. You mean opposition to the position you took with reference to condemning the Hungarian Communist regime by Hungarians?

Mr. DEAK. With reference to the October 23 events and the calling in of the Soviet troops, there was opposition and we published a lot of letters which appeared in the newspaper.

Mr. SCHERER. Maybe I misunderstand you. My question assumed that there was a lot of opposition from the Hungarian community, and that is putting it mildly. Wasn't there almost a revolution among the Hungarian community to what happened in Hungary? Wasn't it almost universal? Wasn't there almost a universal opposition and condemnation of the Russians and the Hungarian puppet Communist regime in the Hungarian community? Isn't that right? (The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DEAK. There are—

Mr. SCHERER. These people who you said have an abiding love for their native land and the people of Hungary, didn't that group revolt and didn't they severely condemn actions of the Russians and the puppet Hungarian Communist regime? Didn't your whole community revolt?

Mr. DEAK. I can only speak, sir, on the basis of the letters that come into our paper from our readers. I cannot in truth—

Mr. SCHERER. I am not a Hungarian, but I know that took place and everybody else in this room knows the Hungarians resented it terrifically. You only know from the letters that came into your paper?

Mr. DEAK. Mostly on the basis of that.

Mr. SCHERER. And those letters you say opposed the actions of the Russians in entering Budapest, is that what you are telling us?

Mr. DEAK. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Then I didn't misunderstand you. They approved the action, the letters that came into your paper, is that right?

Mr. DEAK. Some of our readers approved, some had reservations, some opposed it. Everybody tried to interpret it to his understanding of what actually transpired. Most of our readers were land-lease peasants as much as I know them, who came out from Hungary because they could not make a living. More than 2 million Hungarians came out from Hungary before the First World War. The readers of our paper belong to this group, who were land-lease poor peasants who could not make an existence and who also remembered what came after

the First World War in the Horthy times. Therefore they have some knowledge of the events that were behind the October events in Hungary.

Mr. SCHERER. Certainly everybody approved the Hungarian effort to throw over the Communist puppet regime.

Mr. DEAK. They formed their own views in their own minds and hearts. They communicated it to our paper and I, as an editor, published it in our newspaper. As I said, there were various views. Some people interpreted the October 23 events as an attempt of those people—the big landlords who had been expropriated in 1945—as an attempt on the part of the big landlords and former Horthyite elements to regain power.

Mr. SCHERER. This was a revolt of young people and students, 17, 18, 19, 20 year olds.

Mr. DEAK. Utilizing the grave mistakes which have been made in the last few years which led youth and other elements of the people to try to change certain aspects of the economic and political life in Hungary, coming as it did in the midst of a cold war and other factors, the developments took such an unfortunate and regrettable turn.

Mr. SCHERER. Don't you think that Hungary should have had self-determination rather than using the Russian troops to settle this internal conflict in Hungary?

Mr. DEAK. As a matter of fact, in one article I wrote I did make reference to the right of self-determination of the people. I believe in it very much. But of course this element, like any other element, is not a pure situation that appears in any given country. Basically I believe in that. I believe the Hungarian people should determine for themselves what kind of existence they want to live in. They lived for 1,000 years under another type of social and economic system, and the result of it was that 2 million of them came to the United States because they were starving there and 2 million of them died in two world wars. That is why they tried a new system for 12 years. Obviously it was not as easy to build in 12 years a new order. It takes more than that to develop it, to remove imperfections and injustices.

Mr. SCHERER. And now thousands and thousands of them are coming to the United States and other countries of the world because of Communist persecution and because of the atrocities.

Mr. DEAK. May I say, sir, or may I quote you Dr. Saunders, the head of the Save the Children Federation, who stated that of those people who left Hungary—

Mr. SCHERER. Answer the question.

Mr. DEAK. I am answering the question, sir. One-fifth of those who fled Hungary during this period were freedom fighters, two-fifths were common criminals, and two-fifths came for economic reasons which had no relationship whatsoever with the present—

Mr. SCHERER. Two-fifths were common criminals?

Mr. DEAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. We want to worry about that, Mr. Counsel, in the amendments to the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act.

How many were Communists? You told us about the common criminals, the freedom fighters, and others.

Mr. DEAK. It is not my statement. I am quoting you Dr. Saunders, head of the Save the Children Federation. It is a statement which

appeared in the New York Times and I am simply quoting it as one estimate of the people who left Hungary.

Mr. SCHERER. Was there any estimate as to how many Communist Hungarians came over? You know when the first revolt took place, a lot of the Communists fled, didn't they? That is, fled Hungary. The first revolt was a revolt of the people of Hungary against the Communists in Hungary. The first group that came over and fled across the border were the Communists. When the Russians came in, the freedom fighters left. Do you have any idea how many Communists came over in that first group?

Mr. DEAK. Sir, I have quoted you the statement of Dr. Saunders.

Mr. SCHERER. I don't care about the other statements. I am asking you, you are apparently an expert.

Mr. DEAK. I am in no position to tell you.

Mr. SCHERER. You write on these subjects every day.

Mr. DEAK. I know. I just know what I see in the papers.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that all? I know that, too.

Mr. DEAK. So I am just trying to get the gist of the situation as it is reflected in the press.

Mr. SCHERER. Do the readers of your paper know that you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DEAK. I respectfully decline to answer this on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you follow the line of the international Communist apparatus in your paper?

Mr. DEAK. I decline to answer on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. MOULDER. With reference to the refugees that you and Congressman Scherer have been discussing, have you had any contact with any of them who have come over recently?

Mr. DEAK. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. MOULDER. Have you made any effort to organize them into any organizational group?

Mr. DEAK. No, sir; certainly not.

Mr. MOULDER. Did they contact you or did you contact them?

Mr. DEAK. They came to our place of business, a few. While we are at it, some of them who claim that they want to go back, I told them that 1 month in the United States is not enough to find out the value of being in the United States. I told them that I have been in his country for 30 years and I went through some very hard times. I was unemployed for years. But I certainly didn't think that being here 1 month should be enough for a person to determine whether he wants to stay or not. I told that to one of those people who came to me.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you have any knowledge or information as to any of those persons you have come in personal contact with of being active Communists or sympathizers for the Soviet Union?

Mr. DEAK. Sir, I never ask anybody who comes up to our place what his affiliation is. If a person comes and asks for help, I am trying to help him to the best of my ability.

Mr. SCHERER. I don't think that answers the chairman's question.

Mr. DEAK. I am not aware. I never inquired. In fact, some of them expressed very condemnatory views as to the situation in Hun-

gary. But inasmuch as they were unable to get a job here they still wanted——

Mr. MOULDER. You say expressed condemnatory——

Mr. DEAK. Being opposed, yes.

Mr. MOULDER. You mean in sympathy with the Soviet Union?

Mr. DEAK. No, sir. They opposed many aspects of living in Hungary. Some of them who came asked us what they should do to get back.

Mr. SCHERER. They oppose it but they want to go back?

Mr. DEAK. They criticized the situation in Hungary. They said there were very many bad things and they probably would live poorer but for some reason or other these particular persons I am talking about wanted to go back.

Mr. SCHERER. They criticized the situation in Hungary. You mean they opposed the Communist regime and control of Hungary? Is that right?

Mr. DEAK. At least economic aspects. They were all very critical as to the economic standards they lived under.

Mr. SCHERER. They said nothing about the Communist regime or what happened in Hungary recently?

Mr. DEAK. That is all I can tell you, sir, as I told you so far.

Mr. SCHERER. Where did you get this figure that two-fifths of those who came over were common criminals?

Mr. DEAK. That is from Dr. Saunders, president of the Save the Children Federation. It is a national organization. Dr. Saunders was in Austria and investigated the camps in which Hungarian refugees are living. After I believe 2 weeks of visit and investigation he came back and made a statement to the representatives of the American press.

Mr. SCHERER. And that is the only knowledge you have, that is, that which was reported by Dr. Saunders? Is that right?

Mr. DEAK. As to those specific facts and figures.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have any opinions of your own from what you have learned as to how many were common criminals, how many were Communists?

Mr. DEAK. I could not possibly because I did not investigate. I was never present in the processing of any of these people and I contacted only a few.

Mr. ARENS. Do you think he might have been referring to criminals as political prisoners?

Mr. DEAK. I am not sure now of the exact text of the article but he referred that many jails were opened in consequence of the upheavals and as a result of that many criminals came over.

Mr. MOULDER. They would be common criminals?

Mr. DEAK. Common.

Mr. SCHERER. What other classification did you give us?

Mr. DEAK. The final two-fifths were people who came due to economic compulsion. That is, who would have left Hungary regardless of the events if they had an opportunity sooner.

Mr. MOULDER. In other words, as I understand, only one-fifth were those who were seeking refuge as a result of their opposition to the Communist or Soviet regime?

Mr. DEAK. That is Dr. Saunders' estimate.

Mr. SCHERER. We are taking two-fifths common criminals and two-fifths of the people on welfare in Hungary?

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused. You may claim your witness fee with the clerk of the committee.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order. Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Catherine Gyarmaty.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that in the testimony you give this subcommittee you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss GYARMATY. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF CATHERINE GYARMATY, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, DAVID FREEDMAN

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Miss GYARMATY. Catherine Gyarmaty, 1040 Fox Street, in the Bronx, editor of the Hungarian women's magazine, Nok Vilaga.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Un-American Activities Committee?

Miss GYARMATY. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Miss GYARMATY. Yes.

Mr. FREEDMAN. David Freedman, F-r-e-e-d-m-a-n, 320 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. What is the circulation of Nok Vilaga?

Miss GYARMATY. About 2,500.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been editor of the publication?

Miss GYARMATY. Since 1941.

Mr. ARENS. What firm publishes the publication?

Miss GYARMATY. Nok Vilaga, Inc.

Mr. ARENS. Who are the principal officers?

Miss GYARMATY. Margaret Torok, Clara Reich as secretary, and Catherine Gyarmaty, as treasurer.

Mr. ARENS. What is the address of Nok Vilaga?

Miss GYARMATY. 130 East 16th Street, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. That is the same address as the Russky Golos and the Hungarian Word, is it not?

Miss GYARMATY. It is.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a Communist?

Miss GYARMATY. You are implying with this question to incriminate me. I decline to answer it under my rights of the fifth amendment of the American Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. John Lautner 2 days ago before this committee took an oath and identified you as a Communist. Was he lying or telling the truth?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer on the same basis.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ask her yet whether she was naturalized?

Mr. ARENS. I am going to. Is it Mrs. or Miss?

Miss GYARMATY. I am a divorcee, so I don't know how to define it.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Miss GYARMATY. In Hungary.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States for permanent residence?

Miss GYARMATY. In 1922.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of this country?

Miss GYARMATY. I am.

Mr. ARENS. By naturalization or derivation?

Miss GYARMATY. By naturalization.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you naturalized?

Miss GYARMATY. In the common pleas court in New Jersey, 1928.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you were naturalized?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer on the same basis, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you asked any questions with reference to membership in an organization dedicated to the overthrow of this Government by force and violence at the time you made application for citizenship?

Miss GYARMATY. I can't remember those questions.

Mr. SCHERER. If you had been asked that question, what would your answer have been?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Gyarmaty, Mr. Bonora, investigator for this committee, is going to read each of two translations from the February (1957) issue of your publication. I would like to have you follow him in the publication, and you check him now and be sure that he gives a correct translation of the language.

Miss GYARMATY. What page?

Mr. ARENS. He will tell you the page.

Mr. BONORA. This is entitled "Come on Home."

The National Council of Hungarian Women sent a letter to the Women's International Democratic Federation to forward their appeal everywhere. The appeal is the following:

"In the near past weeks a great storm broke out over Hungary. After this storm, it is our will that life shall begin in a cleaner atmosphere, we want to build a socialist country, and a society that is really free.

"But the storm did demand a lot of victims. Young lives were lost, homes are in ruins, and families are scattered. More than 100,000 of our countrymen left the country, partly because they fell under the influence of foreign propaganda. Many of them young, below the age of 18, almost kids, who in the mood for adventure, led by false promises and false reports, left their families, in many instances without consent and in many instances without notifying their parents.

"Many a Hungarian family and many a mother cries for her child, and they would do everything if they could embrace them. A great part of these thoughtless and badly informed youths would return to their homes if they would know that there was no reason for their running away, and if they would know that their families, friends, and the whole country waits for them with love and understanding. Many of them, who are disillusioned, because of their love for their country came back and started to work or study again, and spent Christmas and New Year with those dearest and closest to them. But there are still many who do not dare to face the truth. They listen to the distorted news in radio and newspapers.

"The Hungarian mothers ask for the aid of the WIDF (Women's International Democratic Federation), the women's organizations, and every mother to help in their respective countries, to bring back to their families the boys and girls. Help them to know the truth, that we are waiting for them, they shall

not be afraid, as those who already came home, know. We don't promise them an easier life, because our country must still conquer the hardships, but we promise them understanding and love, and we promise to help in building a kind of country which will parallel with the desires of the best amongst them. We need their young hearts and young arms.

"We ask you to publish this in your paper. Go to the camp of the escapees, where the young Hungarians are, seek out the Hungarian youth at their place of work, tell them what you would say to your own kids, that their mother, family, and country is waiting for them with open arms and honest love.

"With warmest greetings,

"THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF HUNGARIAN WOMEN,
"ANNA BODONYI, *Secretary.*"

Mr. ARENS. Is that a true and correct translation?

Miss Gyarmaty. It is correct.

(Document marked "Gyarmaty Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Bonora, will you read a translation of another article from the same issue, February 1957, Nok Vilaga, and we would like to have you follow him in the Hungarian and tell us at the conclusion of his reading whether or not that is a true and correct translation.

Mr. BONORA. This is entitled "Through My Eyeglasses," a column by Catherine Gyarmaty.

Mr. ARENS. That is yourself, is it not?

Miss GYARMATY. Yes.

Mr. BONORA (reading):

A dear and old reader of ours sent us a letter in which she asks us to cancel her subscription to the Hungarian Word and the Women's World. This letter was painful, because this woman of ours at one time was for a long period a press director of our paper, and who at the time sent us a lot of new subscribers.

In her letter she writes in detail how disillusioned she was in relation to the situation in Hungary—how dissatisfied she has been that on the packages she has sent to her needy relatives, high duty taxes had to be paid. Although she does not blame us, but because we have given so much support to that system, she has no desire any more for our publications.

The fact is that both papers, in its entirety, brought out all the progress, construction, social gains that happened to aid the happiness of the Hungarian people. We brought this out and were happy to do so because we solemnly believed that all this was never there before in the thousand-year-old history of the Hungarian people. We not only knew the Hungarian past, but because we came from there, we knew what was left there—what was their life.

All that we, for over a year, brought through pictures in the Women's World was true. It was true that the Hungarian people were given such a constitution, the kind they never had before. It was true that the right to work, equal rights to women, even the right to vacations, was guaranteed to the Hungarian people. It was true that the children of simple people could go to the universities, and that this was so is not idle talk.

The witnesses are many American-Hungarians, to whom it is written from home, that the children of peasant relatives are preparing to become engineers, professors, doctors, or other professions, even army officers. I, myself, spoke to a woman in Stalin City, who with her husband and two other sons worked on a construction but had one son an army officer and a daughter at the Pest University. I saw, myself, Stalin City in feverish construction, saw the new workers' homes in many places and the new schools.

It is true that in case of sickness the patient received free medical treatment, free hospitalization, dental care was also free, and eyeglasses were free. Workers went through a systematic medical examination so they were able to detect serious illnesses in its early stages and treat it. It goes without saying that the American worker knows how to appreciate this, because he knows what it means to be sick here, how it takes away his hard-earned savings, and he knows even better if he had no money saved what kind of medical aid he receives under such circumstances. Although for this country war brought riches, for Hungary, ruins,

gigantic loss in men, misery, starvation, and tens of thousands of orphans and waifs.

There were mistakes, and as later revealed, serious mistakes. About these generally we have only recently gained some orientation. So there were not enough schools and some circles have suggested that in the new 5-year plan, if there is not enough money, then some other, less important thing, should be cut, and new schools should be built. It seems that the building of living quarters was also insufficient because, in spite of our known and described feverish construction, there still was "doubling up" and newlyweds had to live with their parents and other members of their family, or even worse, the new wife and the new husband had to live separately with their own parents.

Mr. SCHERER. That happens in this country.

Mr. BONORA (continuing):

There was a lot of complaint about the leaders of the housing authority, and perhaps justified, but if there would have been enough homes, there would be no need for the housing authority.

As we have learned the nice and good "constitution" was not carried out in all its points. Why, we don't know. Is it because of the newly developed situations that made it impossible or because the officers were permeated with bureaucratism and they lost sight of the rights of the Hungarian people, only squeezing their duties out of them—it would be hard to establish. Most likely this would be the starting point. Wages were not enough, and this is important. The Hungarian people did not starve; even the escapees would not say this, their looks don't show hunger. But there was very little for anything else or nothing, and this brought out the bitterness. Our woman companion, in her bitter letter, brings out the fact that American parcels with completely used clothing were highly taxed for duty. We have heard this complaint many times but while we, ourselves, could not understand it, somehow we just thought that the Hungarian Government most likely had a good reason for this arrangement. I confess that in complacency we acknowledged this without criticism, but it should serve as an extenuating circumstance, that many others got letters in which they thought there is no need for packages and also read such letters that the value and use of the received goods were higher than the paid duty. I understand this when only used goods was received but when good goods was received, then the duty was worth it.

For all this—they placed the responsibility on the Rakosi-Gero government and there is no doubt they have part in it, but when in the workers' papers I read about "Rakosi-Gero click," I am somewhat indignant. According to the dictionary, the word "click" means a gang and is used to mean when individuals conspire to exploit others to advance their own gains. Let's see—can we apply this on Rakosi or Gero? As we know, Rakosi spent 16 years in the jails of Horthy, which is no small thing. Can it be visualized that he was ready for this much sacrifice for the misery of the Hungarian people? Or let's take Gero. I don't know his past well, but every Hungarian can tell you that he spent 20 to 22 years around the bridge constructions, and Hungary can be thankful, for the almost destroyed system of bridges was not only rehabilitated, but is in better shape than ever before. It may be that Rakosi and Gero got rich from this. They could have established a faulty system. They could have lost from sight the important things. In their ambition, they might have taken away lawful rights, perhaps created things too much on the Russian pattern, but the gigantic progress and construction going on in the country for 11 years, one cannot, and it is not right to talk only of mistakes, and brand them with the name of "gang." Let us not forget for a second that for the suffering of the Hungarian people, besides Rakosi and Gero, the stubborn cold war is also responsible.

All the mistakes committed against the Hungarian public by the removal of Rakosi and Gero, and others who helped them, could have been easily corrected, but not in one stroke. But most certainly, if the counterrevolutionary gang, in alliance with the cold war "West," would not exploit this with such powerful force, which took the nation to the brink of disaster, and it will need a hard struggle until the 22d of October, 1956 (the day before the uprising), living conditions will be reestablished. Many thousands have run away but the ones who remain face a dreadful winter and unemployment.

But the Hungarian people will overcome this, we don't know how soon, and at what sacrifice but overcome it they will. My fellow woman should not have departed so soon from those newspapers that were enthusiastic for the well-

being of the Hungarian people, even if these papers did not see the mistakes; even then before our eyes we only held the happiness of our former country, and if there were a lot of mistakes in the government of the new system, the happiness of the Hungarian people cannot be restored by the old exploiting system, but only by a new democratic system, by the will of the people which we will continue to support with a more critical eye.

And we believe that the fellow woman, whose son was amongst the first to die in the war against fascism, and with whom at the time I cried together for the young son—one day she will return to us, with understanding that we struggle for the happiness of our former country and its people, and for the freedom of the peoples of all nations, as well as for our own complete democracy.

Mr. ARENS. Is the reading of Mr. Bonora a true and correct translation of the article by yourself in the February issue of your publication?

Miss GYARMATY. I assume so.

(Document marked "Gyarmaty Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. I gather from that article it did three things. It praised the economic conditions in Hungary under the Communists, condemned the freedom fighters, and was silent on any condemnation of the Russian atrocities in Hungary. She condemned the freedom fighters. She referred to them as the counterrevolutionary gang.

It did three things: Praise the economic conditions of Hungary under the Communist regime, condemn the freedom fighters, and is strangely silent on the Communist Russian atrocities in Hungary.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you get the notion that the forces undertaking to overthrow the Communist terrorist regime in Hungary were a counterrevolutionary gang?

Miss GYARMATY. Sir, I know that many people who were the former owners of the land or the factories, or whatever they had, remained in Hungary. In the later years, the Hungarian Government gave amnesty to people who ran away from the country and many of them returned. Many of these people were staying in the neighboring Austria and returned with an aim, and they were working on the Hungarian people to get back their former position.

Mr. SCHERER. You mentioned in one of your articles that the freedom fighters, or, as you call them, a revolutionary gang, were the young people, the students, and the fine young people of Hungary. You are asking them to come back to Hungary; that all is forgiven.

Miss GYARMATY. Sir, I was not asking them. The Hungarian mothers were asking them.

Mr. SCHERER. You approved that, did you not, because you published it in your paper? You approved that appeal for these boys, and in the one article you call these people a revolutionary gang and in the other article you are saying what fine people they are—"You should come back; all is forgiven; come home to mother." Where is there any consistency in those two articles?

Miss GYARMATY. I think so.

Mr. MOULDER. As I understand your position, you object to the people making an effort to reclaim their property and their individual free enterprise—the property which they owned before and which was confiscated by the Soviet form of government or the Communist form of government. Is that the way I understand your position to be?

(No response.)

Mr. MOULDER. You condemn the efforts on the part of the people to reclaim property which they formerly owned until invaded and taken over by the Communist regime; you call them a counterrevolutionary gang. Is that the way I understand your position?

Miss GYARMATY. Yes. I am not using judgment, sir, on that. I know it was a counterrevolution. It was stated in many newspapers also here in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Do you follow the line of the international Communist conspiracy in your publication?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer on this on the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. The two articles written indicate conclusively she does.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Clara Reich?

Miss GYARMATY. Clara Reich is the secretary of the Nok Vilaga, Inc.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us whether or not to your certain knowledge Clara Reich is a member of the Communist Party.

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Erna Fodor?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. Has she ever been associated with your publication, Nok Vilaga?

(No response.)

Mr. ARENS. Has she ever been associated or identified with your publication?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. We lay before you now a statement of ownership required by the postal laws. This was published in your paper in which you identify Erna Fodor as one of the owners of the publication. Look at that document and tell us whether or not that is a true and correct reproduction.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss GYARMATY. This was before the incorporation.

Mr. ARENS. Was she at that time a part owner of your publication?

Miss GYARMATY. That is right.

(Document marked "Gyarmaty Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not she is a Communist?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been connected with the National Women's Appeal for the Rights of Foreign Born Americans?

Miss GYARMATY. I can't recollect that.

Mr. ARENS. Then I would like to lay before you, if you please, a photostatic reproduction of the Daily Worker, of January 25, 1951, in which an article announces that 40 noted women join to form an organization known as the National Women's Appeal for the Rights of Foreign Born Americans, and your name appears as one of those 40 prominent women forming this organization.

Look at that document, if you please, ma'am, and tell us whether or not that refreshes your recollection.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss GYARMATY. Yes, sir.

(Document marked "Gyarmaty Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Look at the names of the other people who joined with you in the formation of that organization and tell us the name of each person known by you to be a member of the Communist Party.

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the National Hungarian Bureau of the Communist Party?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer that, sir.

Mr. ARENS. When were you last in Hungary?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the question and, in giving that direction and instruction to you, it is not given in the spirit of a threat but to advise you of the possible dangers of being in contempt of Congress for refusal to answer.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Have you, in the course of the last 10 years, been in Hungary?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee refuses to accept your response to the question. You are directed to answer.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss GYARMATY. I still decline.

Mr. ARENS. Have you in the course of the last 10 years traveled abroad?

Miss GYARMATY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Miss GYARMATY. In 1953.

Mr. ARENS. And where did you go in 1953?

Miss GYARMATY. In several countries.

Mr. ARENS. Name them, please.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

(The witness conferred with her counsel.)

Miss GYARMATY. I still decline.

Mr. ARENS. Did you travel on an American passport?

Miss GYARMATY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, in the application which you filed with the State Department to procure your passport, truthfully set forth the names of the countries you intended to visit in the course of your trip?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

Miss GYARMATY. I still decline.

Mr. MOULDER. And for what reason do you decline?

Miss GYARMATY. On the basis of the fifth amendment. It might involve me in some incrimination.

Mr. ARENS. Who paid your expenses on your trip?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. Was it paid by the Communist conspiracy?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. Who accompanied you on the trip?

Miss GYARMATY. Nobody.

Mr. ARENS. Did you go as a result of an invitation from someone abroad or from some group or organization abroad?

Miss GYARMATY. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you gone on your trip?

Mr. SCHERER. Pardon just a moment. Did the Communist Party have any connection with that trip?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you visit Russia during your trip?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer that.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you have any conferences with Communist Party leaders while you were in Europe?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of John Lautner?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lautner testified under oath a couple of days ago before this committee that he knew you as a member of the Communist conspiracy. Was he lying or telling the truth?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer that.

Mr. MOULDER. In each case in response to each question when you say you decline to answer, are you claiming or invoking the provisions of the fifth amendment?

Miss GYARMATY. Yes. On the fifth amendment.

Mr. MOULDER. As to every question that has been asked you?

Miss GYARMATY. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. Do we have this witness' passport application for her trip abroad?

Mr. ARENS. We do not have it with us.

Mr. SCHERER. That application is sworn to under oath, is it not?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. I think that is probably one reason she invoked the fifth amendment with reference to the interrogation on the passport.

Mr. SCHERER. How long is the statute of limitations on perjury?

Mr. ARENS. It is 5 years, I believe. Were you the guest of any group, person, or organization during any time you were on this trip to Europe in 1953?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer this.

Mr. ARENS. The fact is you were the guest of the leading Hungarian Communist conspirators in Hungary; were you not?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline, sir, on this.

Mr. MOULDER. You decline to answer for the reasons previously given?

Miss GYARMATY. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the International Workers Order?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer on the same basis.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us the names of all organizations to which you presently belong.

Miss GYARMATY. I can't recollect any.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to any Hungarian nationality groups?

Miss GYARMATY. I can't recollect.

Mr. ARENS. Is there one group that you can recollect to which you presently belong and meet with?

(No response.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you a Communist? Do you meet with Communists in closed party meetings?

Miss GYARMATY. I decline to answer that, sir. Whenever you ask such questions, I will decline on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you. I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. You indicated in one of your articles the freedom fighters, to whom you referred as a counterrevolutionary gang, were young people; did you not?

Miss GYARMATY. That is what the Hungarian mothers stated. As far as I know, there were even 13- and 14-year-old children among them. The teachers were taking them out with them.

Mr. SCHERER. And then, in response to Mr. Moulder's question, you said that the people who were behind this counterrevolutionary movement were the individuals who had been deprived of their properties under the Communist regime; is that right?

Miss GYARMATY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. These young people, these 13-, 14-, 17-, 18-, 19-year-olds whose mothers did not want to get into this fight and who were asking them to return home, had no property that was taken away from them by the Communist regime?

Miss GYARMATY. I would not think so myself. But they got involved in it. They became the tools of these people to whom you refer.

Mr. SCHERER. They became the tools of the people who had been deprived of their farms, their homes, their factories, when the Communist regime took over; is that right?

Miss GYARMATY. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. That is the Communist line. That is the position taken by the Communists today. It is the position taken by Russia, is it not?

Miss GYARMATY. That is your opinion, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. I am asking you if you know as a matter of fact, if that is not the position taken by the Communists.

Miss GYARMATY. Maybe someone else is sharing the same opinion and so it does not make someone Communist because the Communists think the same line as you do.

Mr. SCHERER. You praised in the article the economic conditions in Hungary under the Communist regime and contrasted those conditions which existed in Hungary prior to the time that the Communists took over, did you not?

Miss GYARMATY. Yes; I did.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you say here that the revolt in Hungary had nothing whatsoever to do with the austere conditions under which the people were compelled to live?

Miss GYARMATY. In that article, sir, I have stated the earning of the people was low.

Mr. SCHERER. Under this economic system which you praise—the Communist economic system which you praise—you say that the conditions were not austere. I am asking you if it is not a fact that part of this revolution resulted from the rule of the austere economic conditions under the Communist regime.

Miss GYARMATY. Sir, I don't know exactly how the conditions were in October in Hungary. I know when I left Hungary I could not buy a pair of shoes on my 1 month's earning. I don't think it was as bad in the Communist regime, as you call it, as it was at that time when I left Hungary.

Mr. SCHERER. How long ago was it that you left Hungary?

Miss GYARMATY. I left in 1922.

Mr. SCHERER. We who came up during the depression as young men had a pretty bad situation in this country, too.

Miss GYARMATY. Yes. I enjoyed it, too.

Mr. SCHERER. That is all.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused, and you may claim your attendance fees with the clerk of the committee.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Alex Rosner, please come forward.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear the testimony which you are about to give before the committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ROSNER. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF ALEX ROSNER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ABRAHAM UNGER

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

Mr. ROSNER. Alex Rosner, 150 West 80th Street, linotype operator by occupation and manager of the Hungarian Word.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. ROSNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. ROSNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. UNGER. Abraham Unger, 320 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. ROSNER. I was born in the free city of Pula, which was under the protectorate of Hungary. Then it became Italian, and presently is part of Yugoslavia.

Mr. ARENS. When were you born?

Mr. ROSNER. I was born on March 17, 1912.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. ROSNER. I came to the United States in 1929.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen?

Mr. ROSNER. I am a citizen.

Mr. ARENS. By derivation or naturalization?

Mr. ROSNER. By derivation. That means my father was a citizen.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been business manager of the Hungarian Word?

Mr. ROSNER. Since its organization.

Mr. ARENS. When was that?

Mr. ROSNER. 1953 or 1954. I don't know exactly.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately prior to your assumption of office as business manager of the Hungarian Word?

Mr. ROSNER. I was the business manager of the Hungarian Daily Journal.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you business manager of the Hungarian Daily Journal?

Mr. ROSNER. Some time in 1948.

Mr. ARENS. The Hungarian Word is the successor publication to Hungarian Daily Journal; is it not?

Mr. ROSNER. Yes, sir. I don't know about the law, but it is the successor.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Zoltan Deak is identified with your publication; is he not?

Mr. ROSNER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. As business manager of the Hungarian Word, could you tell us what funds have been received by your publication from the International Workers Order?

Mr. ROSNER. I don't think the Hungarian Word received any money from—

Mr. ARENS. The predecessor organization.

Mr. ROSNER. The Hungarian Daily Journal?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. ROSNER. I think the Hungarian Daily Journal carried publicity for the IWO and was paid for it. How much it is I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. What sources of revenue has the Hungarian Word at the present time, other than its revenue from subscriptions and advertisements?

Mr. ROSNER. From fund-raising social affairs and collections.

Mr. ARENS. Does it receive funds from the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSNER. The Hungarian Word does not receive funds from the Communist Party, or from any party, for that matter.

Mr. ARENS. Is it controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSNER. It is not controlled by anybody.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a Communist?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSNER. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully would like you to hear my reasons—or some of the reasons—for which I want to decline to answer this question. I know that there are laws in this country which I publicly opposed, which makes it criminal to be a member of this particular political party.

Mr. SCHERER. There is no law such as that.

Mr. ROSNER. As a layman, this is my understanding. I know that I could get incriminated if I would answer a question of this kind.

Mr. SCHERER. No; if you teach and advocate the overthrow of this Government by force and violence, actively, then you can be prosecuted under one of those laws. But mere membership is not a violation of law.

Mr. ROSNER. From what I have seen before, people who have been accused of being Communists have been prosecuted. Certainly I don't

have neither the funds to defend myself nor the wish to be dragged through the courts. Because of this, in view of the fact that I don't want to be incriminated, my answer must be that I deny this question under my rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know John Lautner?

Mr. ROSNER. I understand——

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask you this: If under the Immunity Act you were promised and assured of immunity from criminal prosecution, would you answer the question?

Mr. ROSNER. Mr. Chairman, at this time I am not ready to answer any questions in this category.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know John Lautner?

Mr. ROSNER. I refuse to answer this question under the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. He testified the other day before this committee that while he was a member of the Communist Party he knew you as a Communist. Was he lying or was he telling the truth?

Mr. ROSNER. I respectfully decline to answer this question, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ever live in Cleveland, Ohio?

Mr. ROSNER. Yes; I lived in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. ARENS. When did you live in Cleveland, Ohio?

Mr. ROSNER. 1931 or 1932 or 1933. I don't know exactly.

Mr. ARENS. What training did you receive in Cleveland, Ohio, in the early thirties?

Mr. ROSNER. What training?

Mr. ARENS. Yes. Did you attend any training school in Cleveland, Ohio, in the early thirties?

Mr. ROSNER. I was an apprentice printer in a publication, if you are interested in that.

Mr. ARENS. Just rack your brain a moment and tell us whether or not you recall any training school that you attended in Cleveland, Ohio, in the early thirties?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSNER. I respectfully decline to answer this question.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that while you were in Cleveland, Ohio, in the early thirties you were one of the top echelon being trained in secret underground operations in the National Hungarian Training School. If that is not true, deny it while you are under oath.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Were you trained in the National Hungarian Training School in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1932 by the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSNER. Again I decline to answer the question, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. In your refusal to answer, as I understand it, you are invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. ROSNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the International Workers Order?

Mr. ROSNER. Yes; I have been a member of the International Workers Order.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time?

Mr. ROSNER. Quite a few years, I imagine.

Mr. ARENS. You were active in the IWO up until 1954; were you not?

Mr. ROSNER. You said what?

Mr. ARENS. You were an active member of the International Workers Order until 1954?

Mr. ROSNER. I was a member of the IWO. I was never active in the IWO.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently belong to any Hungarian nationality group?

Mr. ROSNER. Except those connected with my newspaper.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to any Hungarian nationality club?

Mr. ROSNER. No; I don't belong to any nationality club.

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

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. What I have heard here, and if I am incorrect so advise me, Witness; everyone connected with this newspaper of yours, in an official capacity at least, is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. ROSNER. I didn't understand the question, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. I say, from the evidence that I have heard here, everyone connected with your newspaper in an official capacity is a member of the Communist Party. If that statement is incorrect, would you so advise.

Mr. ROSNER. I don't think I am competent to tell you who and how or what is, because, perhaps, I don't know or perhaps I would not want to incriminate myself under the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know of anyone with your paper who is not a Communist?

Mr. ROSNER. I decline to answer that question, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. For what reason?

Mr. ROSNER. The fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you have any information or knowledge of any activity on the part of the Communist Party to contact or solicit membership from the refugees—the so-called refugees—who have been recently coming into this country from Hungary?

Mr. ROSNER. No; I don't have any knowledge of that kind, sir. I did have refugees come up to my newspaper to talk to me, which has nothing to do with the Communist Party. That is the only knowledge I have of the refugees that are over here at this time.

Mr. SCHERER. You say, which had nothing to do with the Communist Party. Didn't any of them complain about the Communist atrocities?

Mr. ROSNER. Who; the refugees?

Mr. SCHERER. The people who came to see you.

Mr. ROSNER. No. Some of them told me that they would eat potatoes and bread as long as they could go back. They were having an awful hard time to get back over there. If you wish, I can furnish you those names.

Mr. MOULDER. They wanted to go back?

Mr. ROSNER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall their names at the moment?

Mr. ROSNER. Yes. One was a man by the name of Nemeth, who at that time gave me his address.

Mr. MOULDER. How do you spell his name?

Mr. ROSNER. N-e-m-e-t-h.

Mr. ARENS. He wanted to go back to Hungary?

Mr. ROSNER. Yes. He claimed that he was being given the run-around and that he didn't know where to go. I also tried to convince him, and told him that he is not a judge of American life. That America is a nice country, and that I was lonesome, too, when I came to this country, and I began to love this country. But he insisted that he wanted to go back and that he didn't know where to go.

Mr. SCHERER. Why did this particular individual tell you that he left Hungary?

Mr. ROSNER. Nemeth? There were a number of people who told me that they wanted to go back to Hungary.

Mr. SCHERER. Let us talk about the one you are talking about. That certainly entered into your discussion.

Mr. ROSNER. I certainly want to tell you. He told me that during the uprising he participated as a member of the Workers' Council; and, when the events of November 4 began, he got scared since he belonged to the Workers' Council. He claimed that he has never committed any criminal act, and he got scared and he left the country. He left the country, and he answered his son and got to Austria, and then he was taken over here.

Mr. ARENS. Was he a Communist? Did he tell you?

Mr. ROSNER. He did not tell me he was a Communist or not.

Mr. SCHERER. Was the Workers' Council Communist?

Mr. ROSNER. From what I read in the newspaper the Workers' Councils were formed by the workers in the various factories and in the various industries. From what I read today in the newspaper, the Workers' Councils are the so-called owners of these industries in Hungary. The Workers' Council is the legal owner. This is my understanding. I would not swear to it, because I don't know. They are supposed to be owners of a particular factory.

Mr. SCHERER. When the anti-Communists started to revolt in Hungary, was he one of those who got scared and left because he was afraid of being designated as a Communist? Was he one of the first group that left?

Mr. ROSNER. He said that he left after the November events; that is, after the intervention of the Russian Army.

Mr. SCHERER. He didn't participate in the uprising against the Communist regime; did he?

Mr. ROSNER. Apparently the Workers' Council must have, because he claims that that is why he was afraid, that he participated in the Workers' Council. He got over here, and he was sorry to have left and he wants to go back. In his statement which we published in our paper, he stated that he would rather eat potatoes and bread to be back in the country where he was born. If you want to, I will give you some more names of people who want to go back to Hungary. I think it may be of interest to you to look into this affair. I don't know. A man by the name of Mate.

Mr. ARENS. Where does he live?

Mr. ROSNER. Also living on 23d Street and 7th Avenue. There is a hotel there. That is what he told me. He lives at the Chelsea Hotel. He went innumerable times up to the World Church Council, or whatever the organization name is.

And they were giving him the runaround, and they would not help him to get back to his country. His statement about leaving Hungary was as follows: He left Hungary because his son who went to the university in Budapest, when the uprising took place—he went to Budapest to see his son, being a student—and when he went to the house where his boy was living, he found the house destroyed and some people that he contacted had told him that his son ran to Vienna. So he followed his son to Vienna. In Vienna he looked at the list of names and he found one name that was similar to his son's. Because of that he inquired and tried to find where this name was. He found himself with information that his son was here in the United States. So he pleaded with the authorities that he wanted to go after his son and reach his son. He came to the United States, and in Camp Kilmer he found that the man by the name of Mate was not the same boy. When he determined the fact that this boy was not his son, he wanted to go back but they tried to convince him to go to work. He is construction engineer, or something of that kind. When he went for employment he was told—he is 47 years old—to dye his hair if he wants to get a job at that age in this particular industry. He said that he was disillusioned and disgusted and he wanted to go back. I told him to go to the authorities, if he wants to go back, and ask the authorities to do something for him or to do whatever they see fit to do.

There were other people who similarly came with their complaints to our newspaper that they wanted to go back to Hungary. I am trying to recall at this moment the name. They also live in the Chelsea Hotel. They asked me since they did not speak Hungarian whether I was willing to go and interpret for them.

Mr. UNGER. You mean do not speak English?

Mr. ROSNER. Yes, did not speak English—if I was willing to interpret for them, which I did. I went up to the World Council of Churches. I found that they did not need an interpreter because there were people who were competently speaking Hungarian. Then in questioning them as to why they wanted me to come with them, they said that they did not know whether this person was sincere or whether he sincerely translated what was told to them by whatever authorities there may have been. This was the story, some of which I think we published. I am not sure. We published something to that effect, anyway.

Mr. ARENS. You know there is a Communist regime in Hungary now, do you not?

Mr. ROSNER. I know that the members of the Hungarian Government, the Hungarian regime, are members of the Hungarian Workers Socialist Party and commonly. I guess, they say it is a Communist regime.

Mr. ARENS. Do you want a Communist regime in the United States?

Mr. ROSNER. I am very, very satisfied with our Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Why don't you then break from the Communist Party and testify before this committee so that we can help protect the Constitution of the United States and protect this Nation against the international Communist conspiracy?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSNER. Mr. Chairman, I have been talking over here and testifying and, as I said before, I am not ready to be victimized for the things that I may be believing now or for the things that I may have believed 2 days ago or 20 years ago. So I am not going to allow that I should be in any way incriminated, whether justly or unjustly.

Mr. ARENS. That would conclude the staff interrogation.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you think, or do you believe, there are a sufficient number of Hungarian refugees in this country desiring to return to justify our Government setting up some sort of project or commission to hear those people and provide transportation back to Hungary?

Mr. ROSNER. Mr. Chairman, if you want my opinion, when you talk about providing them with transportation back to their country or wherever it may be, it means that you and I will have to stand the expenses. It will reflect itself in our taxes. So I don't know exactly what I would suggest in this connection. I would say this: According to Mr. Walter there are about 7,000 Communists—I am quoting Mr. Walter, who is the chairman of your committee—and I would say not whether they are Communists or not, it is not my business, but there are people who are not satisfied with the conditions or the form of government that we have, that they probably have no place in this country.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean they have complained to you about being dissatisfied with the form of our Government?

Mr. ROSNER. I quoted Mr. Walter, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. I thought you said that.

Mr. MOULDER. He said if they were not satisfied.

Mr. ROSNER. If they were not satisfied and wanted to go back to the country where they came from, I don't see why anybody would want to force them to stay over here.

Mr. MOULDER. For lack of transportation or means of getting back?

Mr. ROSNER. I don't know. Let them work or let the Government take one ship. We spend a lot of money on a lot of things. Maybe we could put a ship at their disposal if they want to go back.

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

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m. the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 2 p. m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1957

(Committee members present: Representatives Moulder and Scherer.)

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Louis Dattler, please come forward.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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. DATTLER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS DATTLER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ABRAHAM UNGER

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

Mr. DATTLER. Louis Dattler, 2229 Throgneck Boulevard, the Bronx.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing in response to a subpoena by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. DATTLER. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. DATTLER. Yes, sir. Abraham Unger, 320 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. DATTLER. In 1904 in Hungary.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. DATTLER. 1931.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. DATTLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you obtain your citizenship by derivation or naturalization?

Mr. DATTLER. Naturalization.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you naturalized?

Mr. DATTLER. In New York southern district court in 1945, I guess.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been known by any name other than Louis Dattler?

Mr. DATTLER. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist at the time you were naturalized a citizen of the United States?

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

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently a Communist?

Mr. DATTLER. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of John Lautner?

Mr. DATTLER. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lautner identified you 2 days ago before this committee under oath as a member of the Communist Party. Was he lying or telling the truth?

Mr. DATTLER. I decline on the same basis.

Mr. ARENS. Are you employed?

Mr. DATTLER. I am unemployed right now.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you last employed?

Mr. DATTLER. I was working with the painting industry.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been identified with the Hungarian Word?

Mr. MOULDER. A newspaper.

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. DATTLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Mr. DATTLER. Secretary.

Mr. ARENS. When were you secretary of the Hungarian Word?

Mr. DATTLER. In 1956, October, I guess it is.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon?

Mr. DATTLER. Since 1956, October.

Mr. ARENS. Until when?

Mr. DATTLER. Until recent days. I mean right now.

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently secretary of the Hungarian Word?

Mr. DATTLER. That's right.

Mr. ARENS. Do you receive compensation for your service as secretary?

Mr. DATTLER. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What is the Hungarian Word?

Mr. DATTLER. It is a newspaper publication.

Mr. ARENS. Is it controlled by the Communist Party?

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. DATTLER. It isn't.

Mr. ARENS. Is the editor a Communist?

Mr. DATTLER. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Zoltan Deak?

Mr. DATTLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is he a Communist?

Mr. DATTLER. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. Were you ever a member of the Hungarian IWO Center in the Bronx?

Mr. DATTLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time were you a member of that organization?

Mr. DATTLER. About 10 years.

Mr. ARENS. Beginning when and ending when, please?

Mr. DATTLER. I think since 1945.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently belong to any nationality group, club, or organization?

Mr. DATTLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What is the name of the organization?

Mr. DATTLER. It is a small Hungarian society.

Mr. ARENS. What is the name of it?

Mr. DATTLER. In English it doesn't come out right. Hungarian Social Club.

Mr. ARENS. Who is president of it?

Mr. DATTLER. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. Are you president of it?

Mr. DATTLER. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. DATTLER. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Is that club a group which is the successor to the Communist fraction within the IWO of Hungarian nationals?

Mr. DATTLER. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. What are your duties as secretary of the Hungarian Word?

Mr. DATTLER. I am signing checks.

Mr. ARENS. What is the annual income of Hungarian Word?

Mr. MOULDER. You mean gross income?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. DATTLER. It is between \$40,000 and \$50,000.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Alex Rosner?

Mr. DATTLER. He is the manager of the paper.

Mr. ARENS. Is he a Communist?

Mr. DATTLER. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Arpad Nagy?

Mr. DATTLER. In what respect, who is he?

Mr. ARENS. Do you know him?

Mr. DATTLER. I know him.

Mr. ARENS. Does he have any connection with Hungarian Word?

Mr. DATTLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is he a Communist?

Mr. DATTLER. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. What is his connection with Hungarian Word?

Mr. DATTLER. He is treasurer.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Hugo Gellert?

Mr. DATTLER. He is the president of the organization.

Mr. ARENS. Is he a Communist?

Mr. DATTLER. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. What is the name of the predecessor to Hungarian Word?

Mr. DATTLER. It is a Hungarian name.

Mr. ARENS. How do you spell that in Hungarian?

Mr. DATTLER. Unless I write it down, I can't spell it. I am very bad on spelling. In Hungarian?

Mr. ARENS. Yes. Is that Magyar, first name, Jovo, last name; is that what it is?

Mr. DATTLER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Does the Hungarian Word receive financial support from the Communist Party?

Mr. DATTLER. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did it receive financial support or did its predecessor receive financial support from the IWO?

Mr. DATTLER. I wouldn't know nothing about that.

Mr. ARENS. Does it follow the Communist Party line?

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. DATTLER. I don't think so.

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

Mr. MOULDER. Are there any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. No.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Arpad F. Nagy.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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. NAGY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ARPAD FODOR NAGY, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ABRAHAM UNGER

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

Mr. NAGY. Arpad Fodor Nagy.

Mr. ARENS. Spell your name for the reporter, please.

Mr. NAGY. A-r-p-a-d F-o-d-o-r N-a-g-y.

Mr. ARENS. Your residence and occupation?

Mr. NAGY. 165 Highwood, Weehawken, N. J.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation?

Mr. NAGY. Dental technician.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. NAGY. That's correct.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. NAGY. Yes.

Mr. UNGER. Abraham Unger, 320 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed as a dental technician?

Mr. NAGY. I have a dental laboratory.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. NAGY. 110 West 42d Street, New York.

Mr. ARENS. And the name?

Mr. NAGY. Master Touch Dental Laboratory.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. NAGY. December 13, 1916, St. Paul, Minn.

Mr. ARENS. Are you connected with the Hungarian Word?

Mr. NAGY. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Mr. NAGY. I am treasurer.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been treasurer of Hungarian Word?

Mr. NAGY. About a year, I assume.

Mr. ARENS. Were you treasurer of the predecessor publication?

Mr. NAGY. No.

Mr. ARENS. As treasurer of the Hungarian Word, could you give us an indication of the income of Hungarian Word? Its gross income?

Mr. NAGY. Subscriptions readers' contributions, advertisements.

Mr. ARENS. What is the aggregate amount?

Mr. NAGY. What is the amount?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. NAGY. The yearly income?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, please, an approximation.

Mr. NAGY. Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.

Mr. ARENS. What percentage of that comes from subscriptions and what from advertisers and what percentage from any other source?

Mr. NAGY. I believe about 70 percent of subscription, and advertisers and the remaining amount is contributions, fund raising by the readers.

Mr. ARENS. What is the circulation of Hungarian Word?

Mr. NAGY. I believe about 3,500.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a Communist?

Mr. NAGY. I decline to answer on this question.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. MOULDER. State your reasons.

Mr. NAGY. It might incriminate me and I take the fifth amendment to protect myself.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of John Lautner?

Mr. NAGY. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. ARENS. Two days ago Mr. Lautner took an oath before this committee and identified you as a person known by him to have been

a member of the Communist Party. Was he lying or telling the truth?

Mr. NAGY. He has the right to say whatever he pleases. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Hungarian National Bureau of the Communist Party?

Mr. NAGY. I decline to answer on that question.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. NAGY. Pardon me?

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. NAGY. No.

Mr. ARENS. Has the Hungarian Word or any of its officers, to your knowledge, ever registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. NAGY. I don't know anything about it.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the International Workers Order?

Mr. NAGY. I decline to answer on that question.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. NAGY. I believe I heard here this morning that the organization was dissolved and that it has no connection whatsoever for the individual who was a member or not a member.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. Your reasons stated are insufficient. The committee rejects your reasons, and you are instructed and directed to answer the question.

Mr. NAGY. I refuse to answer on that because it might incriminate me.

Mr. MOULDER. As I understand, you intend to invoke the provisions of the fifth amendment?

Mr. NAGY. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to any group or organization of Hungarian nationals?

Mr. NAGY. No.

Mr. ARENS. Do you belong to the club that the gentleman, Mr. Dattler, who preceded you on the witness stand, was speaking about? Do you and Mr. Dattler belong to the same club?

Mr. NAGY. I decline to answer that question.

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

Mr. MOULDER. Any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Does the Hungarian Word receive any literature, pamphlets, or newspapers from any country behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. NAGY. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SCHERER. Is there a bookshop connected with your printing plant?

Mr. NAGY. It is not a bookshop. It has some books available for the readers to buy.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean readers of the Hungarian Word?

Mr. NAGY. For that matter, everybody else who wants to buy books which have some advertisement in the paper, naming these books which are available to whoever wants to read Hungarian books.

Mr. SCHERER. Are they all books or are there some newspapers, pamphlets or other material?

Mr. NAGY. No, those mostly are novels.

Mr. SCHERER. Mostly novels?

Mr. NAGY. Yes, or poems.

Mr. SCHERER. Do these come from Iron Curtain countries?

Mr. NAGY. I really wouldn't be able to tell you that.

Mr. SCHERER. But they are books that you advertise for sale in the Hungarian Word.

Mr. NAGY. Personally, I didn't buy any and I don't know any of these books, so I won't be able to answer where they were printed.

Mr. SCHERER. Who in your organization would know the answer to the question?

Mr. NAGY. Most probably the manager of the paper would know.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MOULDER. Did I understand you to say that you were born in Minnesota?

Mr. NAGY. St. Paul, Minn.

Mr. MOULDER. Is that where your parents were born?

Mr. NAGY. No, they came from Hungary and I was born here.

Mr. MOULDER. When did you come to New York?

Mr. NAGY. I went back to Hungary to my mother. She took me back in 1921. I came back to my country, to the United States of America, in 1937.

Since then I am a resident mostly of New York and lately Jersey.

Mr. MOULDER. Any further questions?

Mr. SCHERER. Did you serve in the Armed Forces, sir?

Mr. NAGY. No. I was deferred on two grounds. I was engaged in public health and family hardship.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. ARENS. Clara Reich, please come forward.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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?

Mrs. REICH. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. CLARA REICH, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ABRAHAM UNGER

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

Mrs. REICH. My name is Mrs. Clara Reich, 739 Custer Street, Bronx, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation?

Mrs. REICH. I am a secretary or technical worker.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing here today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mrs. REICH. Yes.

Mrs. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mrs. REICH. Yes.

Mr. UNGER. Abraham Unger, 320 Broadway.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mrs. REICH. In Hungary in 1912.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mrs. REICH. 1937.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mrs. REICH. I am.

Mr. ARENS. By naturalization or derivation?

Mrs. REICH. Naturalization.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you naturalized?

Mrs. REICH. In 1942, Southern District of New York.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist when you were naturalized?

Mrs. REICH. I decline to answer on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mrs. REICH. Hungarian Word, Inc.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been so employed?

Mrs. REICH. About 2½ years or 3 years.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity?

Mrs. REICH. As a technical worker.

Mr. ARENS. What do you do as a technical worker?

Mrs. REICH. I take care of correspondence with the readers, I send them their receipts, I take care of the circulation department.

Mr. ARENS. What was your occupation immediately prior to your occupation with the Hungarian Word?

Mrs. REICH. I was unemployed.

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask at this point, Mr. Arens: Is the circulation of this newspaper restricted to the city of New York?

Mrs. REICH. No; it is a national newspaper.

Mr. MOULDER. The majority of the subscribers are here in the city of New York?

Mrs. REICH. I don't know. I wouldn't say that.

Mr. MOULDER. Is that so?

Mrs. REICH. All over the United States.

Mr. MOULDER. All over the United States?

Mrs. REICH. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. It covers the entire country?

Mrs. REICH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What was your last employment prior to your present employment?

Mrs. REICH. My last employment was with Hungarian Brotherhood, IWO.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you employed there and in what capacity?

Mrs. REICH. I was employed there—I wouldn't be sure—about 16 years as a technical employee.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been connected with Nok Vilaga, Inc.—Women's World?

Mrs. REICH. Yes; since October I am secretary, I think.

Mr. ARENS. Are you then, secretary of that publication as well as employed by the Hungarian Word, or have you now become disassociated from Women's World?

Mrs. REICH. No. I am just secretary of the corporation of the Nok Vilaga. I am not employed by them.

Mr. ARENS. You are presently secretary of the publishing firm which publishes Women's World: is that right?

Mrs. REICH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you receive any compensation for that?

Mrs. REICH. I don't.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a Communist?

Mrs. REICH. I decline to answer on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of John Lautner?

Mrs. REICH. I decline to answer on the same basis.

Mr. ARENS. He identified you under oath 2 days ago before this committee as a member of the Communist Party. Was he lying or telling the truth?

Mrs. REICH. I decline to answer to that question on the same basis.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the IWO, International Workers Order?

Mrs. REICH. I decline to answer on the same basis.

Mr. ARENS. You were employed by them, were you not?

Mrs. REICH. I didn't have to be a member for that.

Mr. ARENS. Were you also a member?

Mrs. REICH. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. As a former employee of the IWO and a present officer or present employee of the Hungarian Word and secretary of the Women's World, kindly tell this committee whether or not the IWO, International Workers Order, subsidized certain publications including Women's World and the predecessor publication to Hungarian Word.

Mrs. REICH. I wouldn't know that.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been to Hungary?

Mrs. REICH. I was born there.

Mr. ARENS. Since you came to the United States?

Mrs. REICH. No, I wasn't.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Catherine Gyarmaty?

Mrs. REICH. She is the editor of the Nok Vilaga.

Mr. ARENS. That is the publishing firm of which you are the secretary, is that correct?

Mrs. REICH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is she a Communist?

Mrs. REICH. I decline to answer on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Margaret Torok?

Mrs. REICH. I think she is the president of that same corporation.

Mr. ARENS. Is she a Communist?

Mrs. REICH. I decline to answer. I don't even know.

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

Mr. MOULDER. Are there any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes. Are there any other Hungarian papers in the country?

Mrs. REICH. I guess so. Other Hungarian publications in this country?

Mr. SCHERER. Newspapers.

Mrs. REICH. There are.

Mr. SCHERER. Similar to yours?

Mrs. REICH. There are.

Mr. SCHERER. Which is the most prominent of the Hungarian newspapers?

Mrs. REICH. That I wouldn't know.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know which has the largest circulation?

Mrs. REICH. I don't know. There are many Hungarian papers, but I don't know what the circulation is.

Mr. SCHERER. Are there any others that are printed here in New York?

Mrs. REICH. They might be. I think there are some weeklies. The Ember is printed in New York. It is called The Man in English. That is printed in New York I guess. I don't know.

Mr. SCHERER. Yours is a newspaper, is it not?

Mrs. REICH. Ours is weekly newspaper.

Mr. SCHERER. You do not know which of the Hungarian papers then, has the largest circulation, do you?

Mrs. REICH. I don't know.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. ARENS. Michael Savides, come forward.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth so help you God?

Mr. SAVIDES. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL SAVIDES, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, IRA GOLLOBIN

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

Mr. SAVIDES. Michael Savides, 322 West 20th Street, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation?

Mr. SAVIDES. Newspaperman.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. SAVIDES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. SAVIDES. Yes.

Mr. GOLLOBIN. Ira Gollobin, 1441 Broadway, New York, 18.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. SAVIDES. In Larnaca, the Greek island of Cyprus.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. SAVIDES. 1903.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. SAVIDES. 1927.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. SAVIDES. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. By naturalization or derivation?

Mr. SAVIDES. Naturalization.

Mr. ARENS. When and where were you naturalized?

Mr. SAVIDES. I decline to answer that using the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question as to where and when he was naturalized?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes; the committee rejects your refusal to answer the question. You are directed to answer the question. The purpose of so advising you is to inform you that the committee does not accept your response and to advise you of the possible dangers of being guilty of contempt of Congress.

Mr. SAVIDES. I still think and I believe that, according to the constitutional rights which I have, I can use the fifth amendment as a source of defending myself and be able not to be incriminated.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you conscientiously believe that to answer the question as to when and where you were naturalized might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. SAVIDES. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask, Mr. Chairman, that you direct the witness to answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is so directed.

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. SAVIDES. I still think it might incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist when you were naturalized?

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute. Is there something in your application for naturalization that might tend to incriminate you? Is that the reason you are refusing to answer?

Mr. SAVIDES. I still decline because it might tend to.

Mr. SCHERER. When you made your application for naturalization, did you tell the truth to all the questions asked?

Mr. SAVIDES. I still stand on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, in view of this witness' statement, I think this is a matter that should be referred to the Department of Justice to determine whether or not proceedings should be commenced to denaturalize this individual.

Mr. ARENS. When you came to the United States, did you jump ship or did you come under the quotas?

Mr. SAVIDES. I came in the United States quota.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a Communist?

Mr. SAVIDES. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. What is your present occupation?

Mr. SAVIDES. On that, I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. As a matter of fact, you are presently, are you not, the business manager of the Greek-American Tribune?

Mr. SAVIDES. I decline to answer that.

Mr. ARENS. We will lay before you, if you please, the statement required by the postal laws of the Greek-American Tribune, which you signed with reference to that publication, and designated yourself as business manager of the Greek-American Tribune.

Mr. MOULDER. Does the record show that the witness is examining the document now referred to by the counsel?

(Document marked "Savides Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Look at that document, if you please, Mr. Savides, and tell this committee whether or not you are accurately described in that document.

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. SAVIDES. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact and ask you to affirm or deny the fact that you are business manager of the Greek-American Tribune.

Mr. SAVIDES. I believe in the Constitution of the United States and as a citizen I have a right to defend the Constitution of the United States and myself. I stand on the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. That statement comes in ill grace from a man who will not even tell a congressional committee as to where and when he became a citizen of the United States.

Mr. SAVIDES. I have the right and I hold my rights.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I lay before you two copies of the Greek-American Tribune. Please look at these publications and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are the business manager of that publication. (Published weekly by Proodos Publishing Co., New York.

(Documents marked "Savides Exhibit No. 2" retained in committee files.)

Mr. SAVIDES. I stated before: I decline.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that, in the presence of this witness, another witness be sworn.

Mr. Charles Solon, please come forward.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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. SOLON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES SOLON

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

Mr. SOLON. Charles Solon, 852 East 172d Street, Bronx, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation?

Mr. SOLON. Consultant for the Immigration and Naturalization Service and part-time interpreter.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Solon, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SOLON. I was.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, a brief sketch of the facts with respect to your membership in the Communist Party, the period of your service, and any posts or offices you may have held in the party.

Mr. SOLON. I joined the Communist Party at about the end of 1924 and left or was expelled from the Communist Party about September of 1934.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your membership in the Communist Party, did you know a person by the name of Mike Savides?

Mr. SOLON. I did.

Mr. ARENS. Do you see that person in the hearing room today?

Mr. SOLON. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Would you point him out to the committee?

Mr. SOLON. The gentleman here.

TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL SAVIDES—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Savides, you have just heard the testimony of Mr. Solon, have you not?

Mr. SAVIDES. I think I did. I heard.

Mr. ARENS. He just now identified you, under oath, as a person known by him to have been a member of the Communist Party. Was he lying or was he telling the truth?

Mr. SAVIDES. I decline to say. That is his own business. That is not mine.

Mr. SCHERER. It is not only his business. It is more important business to you.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES SOLON—Resumed

Mr. Solon, can you give us the basis of the information upon which you identify this witness as having been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SOLON. I met with Mr. Savides on many, many occasions at numerous party meetings of the Greek section of the Communist Party, and I had many occasions to meet with Mr. Savides in his capacity as a leading member of the Greek section of the Communist Party while I was also one of the leading members of the Communist Party of the Greek section and in charge of the Greek organ of the Communist Party in 1931.

Mr. MOULDER. Are there any other questions?

Mr. ARENS. No further questions of Mr. Solon.

Mr. MOULDER. He will be recalled later on as a witness?

Mr. ARENS. No; as far as we are concerned, he may be excused.

Mr. SCHERER. When did you say you left the Communist Party?

Mr. SOLON. 1934, September.

Mr. ARENS. That is all for the present, if you please, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. He is excused as a witness. Mr. Solon, you are excused as a witness. Thank you very much for your information.

(Witness Solon was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL SAVIDES—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Savides, who is the editor of the Greek-American Tribune?

Mr. SAVIDES. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. What is the circulation of the Greek-American Tribune?

Mr. SAVIDES. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Who publishes the Greek-American Tribune?

Mr. SAVIDES. Still the same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Are you connected or have you been connected with the International Workers Order?

Mr. SAVIDES. I decline to answer on that question.

Mr. ARENS. Is the Greek-American Tribune controlled by the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. SAVIDES. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. The Daily Worker for May 2, 1956, which I now hold in my hand—the Communist Daily Worker lists you as a speaker at

the May Day rally held in Union Square in this city just last year.

Please look at this photostatic copy of the Communist Daily Worker and see if you will be good enough to tell this committee whether or not the facts are accurately reported there.

(Document marked "Savides Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MOULDER. The record should show the witness examining the document.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly respond to the question?

Mr. SAVIDES. I decline.

Mr. ARENS. Now, we have a photograph which was taken at that May Day celebration, a photograph showing you making a speech and right next to it is the name, Michael Savides. Please look at that photograph and see if you would not be good enough to help the Committee on Un-American Activities by identifying your physical features there. Is that a good likeness of you?

Mr. SAVIDES. I still decline.

(Document marked "Savides Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. You are not ashamed of your own photograph, are you?

Mr. SAVIDES. That's a different thing.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon?

Mr. SAVIDES. I say that's a different question.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been to Greece?

Mr. SAVIDES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. SAVIDES. When I was coming to the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been back to Greece?

Mr. SAVIDES. Yes; I went in 1933.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been there since?

Mr. SAVIDES. No.

Mr. ARENS. What occasioned your trip to Greece in 1933?

Mr. SAVIDES. I just took a trip.

Mr. ARENS. Under whose auspices? Just a personal trip?

Mr. SAVIDES. With my money.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon?

Mr. SAVIDES. With my money. My pocket money, after I worked hard to make the money during the depression.

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

Mr. MOULDER. Any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. I am going to ask the witness once again and if you do not answer the question, you are placing yourself in contempt of the committee. When and where were you naturalized?

Mr. SAVIDES. As I said before I still decline on the grounds that I have the right to use the fifth amendment because I am an American citizen and I know my constitutional rights. I want to show I know how to defend my constitutional rights.

Mr. SCHERER. I did not ask you whether you made any false statements in that application. I just asked you when and where you were naturalized.

In the opinion of this member of the committee, at least, he places himself in contempt because it is a public record.

Mr. SAVIDES. I still decline because it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, so that the record is clear, I ask that you direct the witness once again to answer the question after my statement.

Mr. MOULDER. As requested by Mr. Scherer, the witness is directed to answer the question.

Mr. SAVIDES. Again the same answer.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee is refusing to accept your response to the question. Therefore, you are directed to answer.

Mr. SAVIDES. I said before and I still say that I stand on the fifth amendment because, otherwise, it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you naturalized?

Mr. SAVIDES. I said before; yes.

Mr. SCHERER. And then I submit for another reason, Mr. Chairman, he waived the privilege if he ever had any and I don't believe he has. He says he was naturalized.

Mr. MOULDER. Any more questions?

Mr. ARENS. No; thank you, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. You are excused as a witness.

(The witness was excused.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. James Lee, please come forward.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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. LEE. I do.

TESTIMONY OM JAMES LEE (SHEW HONG) ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, PAUL ROSS

Mr. ROSS. I would like a statement on the record of the subject of the inquiry to be directed to this particular witness.

Mr. SCHERER. I object.

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. LEE. My name in English is James Lee, Shew Hong in Chinese.

Mr. ARENS. Your residence and occupation?

Mr. LEE. 56 East Fourth Street, New York City. I am a newspaperman.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mr. Lee, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. LEE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. LEE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself?

Mr. ROSS. Paul Ross, 160 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born, please?

Mr. ROSS. Before you proceed—

Mr. ARENS. I might read you the rules, counsel. The sole and exclusive prerogatives of counsel before this committee are to advise his client of his legal rights.

Where and when were you born?

Mr. ROSS. All I asked the chairman was a statement of the purpose of the inquiry.

Mr. MOULDER. Your request has been overruled. You are being vexatious by asking that.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. LEE. I was born in 1915, in China.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. LEE. 1930.

Mr. ARENS. Did you come under the quotas or did you come otherwise?

Mr. LEE. My father was a citizen.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon?

Mr. LEE. My father was a citizen.

Mr. ARENS. When did you arrive in the United States?

Mr. LEE. 1930.

Mr. ARENS. And you are a citizen of the United States?

Mr. LEE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. By derivation or naturalization?

Mr. LEE. Derivation.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. LEE. May I ask the chairman that you state the reason for this hearing?

Mr. ARENS. Your lawyer just told you to say that, did he not?

Mr. ROSS. I have a right to advise the client.

Mr. ARENS. You do not have a right to advise him to vex or harass this committee or overrule the decisions of the chairman of this committee.

Tell us where you are employed, Mr. Lee.

Mr. LEE. I refuse to answer that question on the ground of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly contend that if you told this committee truthfully where you are employed you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. LEE. I suppose.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to lay before you, Mr. Lee, a photostatic reproduction of the statement filed by the China Daily News pursuant to the postal laws in which you are identified as editor and as managing editor of the China Daily News, Inc. Kindly look at that and tell us while under oath whether or not that is a true and correct and accurate description of your status with that publication.

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer under the first and fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. You read Chinese, do you not?

Mr. LEE. I do.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to have you, if you please, follow in Chinese some of these excerpts from this China Daily News that Mr. Bonora is going to read. We have 3 or 4 of them here. He is going to read them very slowly and you follow them if you please, in Chinese, and tell us after he has concluded whether or not he has given a true and correct translation of the various issues.

Mr. BONORA. These are summarized reports:

[China Daily News, October 26, 1956]

TO OVERTHROW THE PEOPLE'S AUTHORITY IS A FANTASY; RIOTS OF REACTIONARIES
IN POLAND AND HUNGARY; THE RIOTS HAVE SUBSIDED UNDER THE JOINT
SUPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE AND THE GOVERNMENT

A SUMMARIZED REPORT

In the last few days, under the direction of foreign imperialists, counter-revolutionaries of Poland and Hungary have staged riots in many places in these two countries, trying to overthrow the peoples' democratic authorities and restore the old capitalistic systems. But this fantasy vanished under the concerted blow of the working people and their governments. At present the riots have been suppressed, and public order has begun to be restored.

Based on a broadcast from Warsaw, groups of narrowminded nationalists staged anti-Soviet demonstrations at Wei-lo-k'o-lo Monday evening. They intended to cast a dark shadow on Soviet-Polish friendship, but this intrigue failed to materialize.

According to news from Budapest, in Hungary, reactionaries, hidden among the people, rioted on October 23, aiming at the overthrow of the people's authority. According to the news, these counter-revolutionaries who had been constantly instigated by foreign reactionaries, rioted.

Although they have destroyed some public enterprises and caused some bloodshed, the intrigues did not succeed, as a result of joint suppression by the masses of people and their national forces.

MR. ARENS. Mr. Lee, is that a substantially correct translation of the paper that is now before you? I realize there is a difficulty of translating from Chinese to English.

Is that substantially correct?

MR. LEE. I decline to answer that question under the first amendment.

MR. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

MR. MOULDER. Yes, the record should show that the witness examined the document referred to by counsel and that he followed the reading of the transcript by Mr. Bonora as he read.

Therefore, you are directed to answer the question. The reason for giving this direction is to show clearly that the committee refuses to accept your refusal to answer and to also advise you of the possible dangers of being in contempt of Congress.

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

MR. LEE. Mr. Chairman, I still decline to answer that question on the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

MR. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, so this record may be absolutely clear, I request that an oath be administered to Mr. Bonora so he can identify the translations.

MR. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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. BONORA. I do.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK BONORA

MR. ARENS. You are Frank Bonora, an investigator for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, is that correct?

MR. BONORA. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Pursuant to directions from myself, did you cause to be translated certain issues of the China Daily News by the official translators in the Library of Congress?

Mr. BONORA. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have those translations with you today?

Mr. BONORA. Yes, I do.

Mr. ARENS. Do those translations include that translation you just read?

Mr. BONORA. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. And they also include the translations which you presently have in your hand and propose to read in just a few moments?

Mr. BONORA. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. That will be all. Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES LEE—Resumed

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Lee, do you understand the question propounded to you was merely whether or not the translation read by Mr. Bonora was a substantially true and correct translation of the document which you held in your hand and followed the reading of during the time he was reading?

You understand that is all that is being asked of you, whether or not it is true or correct. You said you could speak and read Chinese.

Mr. LEE. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. The question was asked whether or not it was a substantially correct translation. You understand that?

Mr. LEE. Yes; I do.

Mr. MOULDER. And you still decline to answer, even though directed by the committee?

Mr. LEE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Would you proceed, Mr. Bonora, please, to read additional excerpts from another issue of the China Daily News and identify the issue?

Mr. BONORA (reading):

[China Daily News, June 22, 1953]

ALTHOUGH DEAD, THEY LEFT A GLORIOUS NAME—THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD MOURN THE DEATH OF THE ROSENBERG COUPLE WHO WERE INNOCENT—WHERE IS DEMOCRACY?—IN UNION SQUARE 5,000 PEOPLE PRAYED FOR THEM

(A SUMMARIZED REPORT BY THIS NEWSPAPER, JUNE 20, 1953)

Mr. and Mrs. Rosenberg, falsely accused as "atomic spies," have been electrocuted in Sing Sing Prison. Rosenberg, 35 years old, was executed yesterday evening at 8:41; Mrs. Rosenberg, 37 years old, was electrocuted at 8:11. This case had been in existence for over 2 years. In spite of the righteous protest of the people of the world, this fine young couple were executed under the orders of the American Government, leaving two sons, Michael Rosenberg, age 10, and Robert Rosenberg, age 6. Both Mr. and Mrs. Rosenberg were very calm before the execution, and the latter kissed the matron before she sat on the electric chair. The bodies of Mr. and Mrs. Rosenberg were claimed by Mr. Rosenberg's mother. Interment may take place tomorrow.

ELECTROCUTION CANNOT DESTROY MR. AND MRS. ROSENBERG—HISTORY WILL DECIDE THE "ROSENBERG CASE"

In the course of the case, Mr. and Mrs. Rosenberg maintained from the beginning to the end that "We are innocent; we demand a just verdict." The National Committee To Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case has pointed out repeatedly

that electrocution cannot destroy Mr. and Mrs. Rosenberg. The Government did not give Mr. and Mrs. Rosenberg a fair trial. Based only on evidence supplied by witnesses who were bought by the Government, this couple were sentenced to death. Recently new evidence was found, but the Government refused to grant them a new trial, thus concluding the case which had world repercussions. However, this committee pointed out yesterday that they would not cease their work of seeking the truth, despite the fact that Mr. and Mrs. Rosenberg were dead. They would continue their fight against this "case of false accusation," so that right and justice might prevail, and a repetition of similar cases may be avoided in the future.

Mr. ARENS. Is that a true and correct translation of the issue of the China Daily News which is before you now, Mr. Lee?

Mr. MOULDER. The record should show that Mr. Lee has been reading the document which you have just referred to.

Mr. LEE. I still decline to answer on the same ground.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer.

Mr. LEE. I still decline on the same ground.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lee, do you ever go back to China?

Mr. LEE. Since I have come here?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. LEE. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You know, of course, that the Chinese Red machine has destroyed and murdered over 20 million people in your native land, do you not?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer.

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. LEE. In what connection are you asking me that question?

Mr. ARENS. Do you know that the Chinese Red machine has destroyed and murdered over 20 million people of your native land?

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. LEE. Since I was here since 1930, how would I know? I was not there.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a member of the international Communist apparatus which murdered 20 million people in your native land?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a Communist?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Bonora, are you now laying before the witness another edition of the China Daily News?

Mr. BONORA. March 7, 1953.

Mr. ARENS. Please read some of the excerpts of that publication.

Mr. BONORA (reading):

JOSEPH VISSARIONOVICH STALIN—THE GREAT LEADER OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE, TEACHER OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT, PILLAR OF THE WORLD PEACE FRONT, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE U. S. S. R. COMMUNIST PARTY, AND CHAIRMAN OF THE U. S. S. R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS—HAS PASSED AWAY

The peace-loving peoples of the world, who demand progress and who fight for democratic peace, mourn for the death of Stalin. * * *

Neither friends nor foes may underestimate Stalin's influence and contribution to the world.

He led the people of Soviet Russia toward the road of happiness and led the working people of Soviet Russia victoriously from socialism toward the constructive work of Communism * * *

Mr. ARENS. Is that a substantially true and correct translation, Mr. Lee, of the issue of the China Daily News presently before you?

Mr. LEE. I still decline to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do the expressions contained in that article coincide with your position with reference to Comrade Stalin?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you have another translation there, Mr. Bonora, that you would like to summarize or read? Please announce the issue.

Mr. BONORA. This is September 7, 1951, and relates to the Japanese peace treaty signed around that time. It is entitled, "If You Sow Bad Seeds You Will Eat Bad Fruits":

President Truman declared during the Peace Conference with Japan held in San Francisco: "This peace treaty (referring to the peace treaty manufactured by the U. S. A.) is a very good treaty because it does not contain the seeds of another war. This treaty renews an old friendship. It looks to the future and forgets the past."

Is it true that this American-manufactured peace treaty is really a "very good treaty"? Aside from the two principal nations of Asia—China and India—which have repeatedly expressed their indignation and resentment, even the people of Australia are very much dissatisfied with it.

The statement of Evatt, former President of the United Nations General Assembly and Deputy Prime Minister and concurrently Minister of Foreign Affairs of Australia, is a concrete example.

He held an almost identical opinion with the peoples of Asia. He believed that the United States manufactured peace treaty is not only a violation of international agreements, but also it jeopardizes the security of Asia. He stated that on the basis of this peace treaty, the Japanese militarists will be on the march in all directions.

But the United States believes that the rebuilding of Japanese forces would be useful in resisting Soviet Russia and China, but this is a great fantasy. Finally Evatt stated that the majority of people in Australia understood that the peace treaty manufactured by the United States of America would imperil the security of the South Pacific and southeast Asia. This act disgracefully ignores international justice.

Just because this treaty is unfavorable to the peoples of Asia and Australia, Truman believes it is a very good treaty. The only persons who may profit are the American monopolistic capitalists and warmongers.

This treaty permits the American authorities to expand and organize Japanese forces without restriction. They will be used as the vanguard and cannon fodder. This treaty permits American forces to be stationed permanently in Japan, and to use it as a springboard for future military movements.

It permits American authorities in the name of justice to occupy the Ryukyu Islands, Ogasawara Gunto, and Formosa. The treaty does not require Japan to pay indemnities to the victorious nations, but to place her financial and human resources at the disposal of the big American capitalists.

In short, the advantages of this treaty to the American authorities are unlimited. This is the reason why Eisenhower, Dulles, and others hurriedly ordered the satellites to sign and seal this one-sided peace treaty, making it a fait accompli as soon as possible.

Mr. ARENS. Is that a true and correct translation of the issue of the China Daily News as presently before you?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MOULDER. You are again directed to answer.

(No response.)

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 5," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. Why do you fellows not go back to Red China or Russia? This attack on the United States and praising Red China

and the Russian Government and Communists—why do you stay here? Do you have any desire to go back like some of these others? Do you want to go back? I am asking a question.

Mr. LEE. I am an American citizen.

Mr. SCHERER. You do not act like one. You are an American citizen to the extent of using the rights of an American citizen, but you continue with Communist activities.

(No response.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, we would like to lay before you, and invite your attention to a World Peace Appeal signed by a number of people including one James Lee, Chinese Youth Club, in New York. Please look at this document and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are accurately described there as James Lee, of the Chinese Youth Club of New York in promoting world peace.

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer the question on the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Lee Exhibit No. 6," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. You would not be ashamed of promoting world peace, would you, unless you were doing it as part and parcel of an international conspiratorial apparatus?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed at your present place of employment?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is so ordered and directed.

Mr. LEE. I still decline to answer under the fourth and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you registered, or have you ever been registered, under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer that question under the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend the recent Communist Party convention held here in New York City last month?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer on the same ground.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Eugene Moy?

Mr. LEE. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. He is one of the owners of the China Daily News, is he not?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask, Mr. Arens, do we have any information concerning the subscriptions to this paper or the amount of circulation?

Mr. ARENS. We do not have that information with us in these hearings. We are in the process of trying to procure it right now, Mr. Chairman.

Could you not help this Committee on Un-American Activities, undertaking to protect this Nation under whose flag you have protection, by telling us the circulation of the China Daily News?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a loyal American?

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. LEE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a member of an apparatus designed to destroy this country?

Mr. LEE. Will you give me that question again?

Mr. ARENS. Are you a member of a foreign-controlled apparatus designed to destroy this country?

Mr. LEE. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. The tragic thing is that you give these fellows citizenship and then the first thing they do is attempt to destroy the very Nation that gave them the citizenship.

Mr. MOULDER. In the event of armed conflict between the United States of America—

Mr. LEE. I beg your pardon. I would like to answer Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I did not ask a question; I made a comment.

Mr. LEE. Could I answer it?

Mr. MOULDER. In the event of armed conflict between the United States of America and Red China, would you fight for the United States of America?

(The witness consulted with his counsel.)

Mr. LEE. That kind of question is a speculative question.

Mr. MOULDER. It is a very simple question. I said in the event our country should become involved in armed conflict, would you join your country in fighting for your country against Red China?

Mr. LEE. I would say that, if the United States was attacked by a foreign country, I would defend the United States. If it is attacked by another country, I would come forward to defend the country.

Mr. SCHERER. That is the "out" all you fellows use. Then, you can always say that it was the other country. That the United States was the aggressor. That is the import of your writings, that the United States is the aggressor. That would excuse you from fighting on behalf of this country against Red China.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, we have no further questions, and there are no other witnesses under subpoena to appear this afternoon.

Mr. MOULDER. All of the documents which counsel presented to the witness for identification, translation and examination are made a part of the record by reference.

The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 3:15 p. m., Thursday, March 14, the committee was recessed, to be reconvened at 10 a. m., Friday, March 15, 1957.)

(Committee members present: Representatives Moulder and Scherer.)

**INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN
THE UNITED STATES—PART 6
(New York City Area)**

FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1957

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
New York, N. Y.

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, in room 518, United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York, N. Y., at 10 a. m., Hon. Morgan M. Moulder (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Morgan M. Moulder, of Missouri, and Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, director, W. Jackson Jones and Frank Bonora, investigators.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order.

The next witness will be Mr. Michael Tkach.

Do you solemnly 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. TKACH. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL TKACH, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
ISADORE G. NEEDLEMAN**

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. TKACH. Michael Tkach.

Mr. ARENS. And your residence and occupation?

Mr. TKACH. I am a journalist, and my address is 42 East Third Street.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. TKACH. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. TKACH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel kindly identify yourself.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Isadore G. Needleman, 165 Broadway, New York 6.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. TKACH. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

(Witness consults with counsel.)

Mr. TKACH. On the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you employed as editor of the Ukrainian Daily News Inc.?

Mr. TKACH. The same: I refuse to answer.

Mr. ARENS. We lay before you a photostatic reproduction of a statement of ownership filed pursuant to the provisions of the postal laws by the Ukrainian Daily News, in which you are listed as editor of the Ukrainian Daily News. Please look at that document and tell us whether or not you are accurately described therein.

Mr. TKACH. The fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Tkach Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. TKACH. In 1881, in Austria.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. TKACH. I think it was 1908 or 1909.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen?

Mr. TKACH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Were you naturalized in the United States?

Mr. TKACH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when?

Mr. TKACH. Southern district of New York. I think it was 1936.

Mr. ARENS. In the southern district of New York?

Mr. TKACH. Of New York.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist when you were naturalized?

Mr. TKACH. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. Let him state his reasons.

Mr. TKACH. On the ground that I might—

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. TKACH. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Let the witness answer. You invoke the fifth amendments?

Mr. TKACH. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Claiming to answer the question truthfully might incriminate you and subject you to criminal prosecution?

Mr. TKACH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. TKACH. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Just so the record would be clear, may I make an observation?

Mr. MOULDER. No.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, your only prerogative is to advise the client.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. I want to protect his rights. When he refuses to answer, it is understood that it is on the ground of the fifth amendment. We have a language difficulty here.

Mr. MOULDER. You can confer with him. If it is agreeable, when you say you refuse to answer, we understand upon each occasion whenever you refuse you are claiming and invoking the protection of the fifth amendment; is that so?

Mr. TKACH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. TKACH. I refuse to answer that question on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Elizabeth Bentley swore before a congressional committee (a special subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, May 13, 1949) and testified as follows:

Question. By aliens, whom do you refer to? What general category of persons do you mean? Persons born abroad and sent into the country?

Answer. That is correct; people like Mr. Brown, who was never naturalized; the editor of the Ukrainian Daily News, which was a Communist publication, Mr. Tkach, I don't believe was ever naturalized. In addition to his duties as being head of the Ukrainian Daily News, he was working with the Russian secret police. I worked with him, together with Mr. Golos. He found other agents for us among the Ukrainians in this country.

Did you work with the Russian secret police in this country?

Mr. TKACH. No.

Mr. ARENS. Was Elizabeth Bentley lying when she said you did work with the Russian secret police?

Mr. TKACH. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. Your first response was "No"; that you did not.

Mr. TKACH. I personally did not work with any secret agency of nobody.

Mr. ARENS. With whom did you work?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. TKACH. I invoke the fifth amendment on that question.

Mr. SCHERER. Just a second. I think he understood the word "work" to mean "employ." That is what appears to be the problem here.

Mr. ARENS. Did you work with people who did work with the Russian secret police?

Mr. TKACH. I refuse to answer that question. I have no knowledge whatsoever of that.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know John Lautner?

Mr. SCHERER. Wait a minute. He says he has no knowledge.

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. TKACH. On the advice of my counsel, I invoke the fifth amendment, and that is that.

Mr. SCHERER. You just said, Witness, that you had no knowledge of any activity on your part with Russian secret police. Is that not right? You said you had no knowledge of that. Is that right?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. TKACH. That is correct. I never personally worked with anybody on any secret mission.

Mr. SCHERER. Was Miss Bentley telling the truth when she told that committee that you were the editor of the Ukrainian Daily News?

Mr. TKACH. I invoke fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Was she telling the truth when she said that the Ukrainian Daily News was a Communist publication?

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you deny that she was telling the truth to that committee when she said that, in addition to your duties as the head of the Ukrainian Daily News, you were working with the Russian secret police?

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment. I never worked with the secret police.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you work with anyone who had contact with the Russian secret police—

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. On Communist activities?

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment I invoke.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have knowledge of activities in this country of the Russian secret police?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Miss Bentley told that committee that she worked with you. Did you know Miss Bentley?

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you know Mr. Golos? She said you worked with Mr. Golos.

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you deny that she was telling the truth when she said that you worked with her and Mr. Golos?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. You know that Mr. Golos was part of the Russian secret police; do you not?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Did you work with persons known by you to be espionage agents even though they may not have been Russian espionage agents?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. TKACH. No.

Mr. MOULDER. What do you mean by work? Probably the question should be phrased this way: Did you ever knowingly cooperate with espionage agents?

Mr. TKACH. No.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you cooperate with any agents of the Communist Party?

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment I will invoke.

Mr. SCHERER. Let us get this straight.

Do you deny that you knew Elizabeth Bentley?

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. I think he invoked the fifth.

Mr. SCHERER. I think he did, too.

Mr. TKACH. Yes. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. What about Golos? Isn't it a fact that you did know Golos?

Mr. TKACH. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ever recommend anybody to Mr. Golos and Miss Bentley to help them with their work?

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of Maurice Malkin?

Mr. TKACH. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. He told this committee that he knew you as a charter member of the Communist Party. Was he lying or telling the truth?

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know John Lautner?

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lautner, would you stand up, please?

Look over your left shoulder, please, Mr. Tkach. This man here took an oath before this committee 2 or 3 days ago and swore that he knew you as a member of the Communist conspiracy. Look him in the eye and deny it while you are under oath. Would you please?

Mr. TKACH. Yes. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You were also, were you not, on the general executive board of the International Workers Order?

Mr. TKACH. I invoke fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to display to you a photostatic reproduction of the executive board of the International Workers Order as released by that organization in 1940 in which your name appears as a member from New York City. Please look at that and tell us whether or not you are accurately described.

Mr. TKACH. I invoke fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Tkach Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. You were president of the Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union, were you not?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. TKACH. I invoke fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to lay before you a photograph of yourself and others appearing in the program of the Third American Slav Congress in which you are described as Michael Tkach, president, Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union under date of 1946. Please look at that document and tell us whether or not you are accurately described.

Mr. TKACH. I invoke fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Tkach Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Who was Michael (Michele) Salerno?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Back in 1948 you and a number of other Communist editors joined in a blast against the deportation of Communist agent Michael Salerno; did you not?

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to lay before you now a photostatic reproduction of the Communist Daily Worker of October 12, 1948, in which you are listed as one of a number of editors—19 in total—who joined in this blast against the Government because of its deportation proceedings against Michael Salerno, Communist agent. Please look at that document and tell us whether or not that refreshes your recollection.

Mr. TKACH. I invoke fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Tkach Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now I would like to invite your attention, please, Mr. Tkach, to several editions of the Ukrainian Daily News which you edit. First of all I want to ask if you would be good enough to help this Committee on Un-American Activities and follow in that publication, as we allude to certain of the articles.

The first article I want to invite your attention to is the June 4, 1952, issue, page 4, in which the Ukrainian Daily News attacks the United States Government for allegedly using bacteriological warfare in Korea.

Glance at page 4 of your publication, if you please, and tell this committee if the article, which Mr. Bonora will point out to you, does not, in effect, charge the United States Government with the use of bacteriological warfare in Korea.

Mr. TKACH. I invoke the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Tkach Exhibit No. 5," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I would like to lay before you still another edition, the August 21, 1955, edition of the Ukrainian Daily News, page 4 again, in which the article urges people of Poland to return to their homeland. Look at that article, if you please, on page 4, entitled, "Go Back Home," and tell this committee if it is not true that the essence of that article is an appeal to the Polish nationals of this country to return to Poland.

Mr. TKACH. I invoke fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Tkach Exhibit No. 6," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MOULDER. In what language is that paper published?

Mr. ARENS. Ukrainian.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you speak the Ukrainian language?

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer. In so directing you to answer that question, the committee refuses to accept your reasons for not answering, because certainly it is most unreasonable to assume that you might incriminate yourself and subject yourself to criminal prosecution by answering the question as to whether or not you speak the Ukrainian language. In so directing you, we do it not in a spirit of threat, but to advise you of the possible dangers you might be confronted with by refusing and being in contempt of Congress.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. The question was, Did he read it?

Mr. MOULDER. I asked him the question as to whether or not he could speak the Ukrainian language, and he invokes the fifth amendment.

Mr. TKACH. Yes; I do speak Ukrainian.

Mr. ARENS. And do you read it?

Mr. TKACH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I would like to lay before you still another edition of your paper, Ukrainian Daily News, if you will take hold of it, please, sir, of May 7, 1952, page 4 again. See if this exact language does not appear:

As we know, the United States Government denies any use of the bacteriological weapon in Korea. But this denial does not convince anybody, nor does it guarantee that this terrible weapon will not be used in the future, especially since, along with those denials by the United States, alarming news about preparations for use of this terrible means of destruction were circulated.

Is that the essence of the article on bacteriological warfare in your paper, the Ukrainian Daily News of May 7, 1952, page 4?

Mr. TKACH. From your reading I could not gather it.

(Document marked "Tkach Exhibit No. 7,"⁵ and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Let us try it slowly.

Mr. MOULDER. May I suggest that we can probably expedite the proceedings. You do have a photostatic copy of the document there before you in the Ukrainian language?

Mr. TKACH. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. And you can read Ukrainian and translate it into English?

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. His English obviously is poor. You can see that.

Mr. SCHERER. I do not think it is as poor as he indicates.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. There is no basis for that. The man is having difficulty with the language.

Mr. MOULDER. I am interrogating the witness, and I want to ask him some questions.

Is this document written in English or Ukrainian?

Mr. TKACH. Ukrainian.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you translate it and read it to us in English?

Mr. TKACH. I can't translate it.

Mr. MOULDER. You can't?

Mr. TKACH. I can't.

Mr. MOULDER. How long have you been in the journalist business? In the beginning you said you were a journalist.

Mr. TKACH. Yes.

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. TKACH. I don't know enough English to translate the article from the Ukrainian or from any other language I would know.

Mr. MOULDER. I understand you have been here now—how long in the United States?

Mr. TKACH. Close to 40 years.

Mr. SCHERER. I still say what I said. This man is pretending not to know the English language.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. I think it is unjustified. He is obviously having great difficulty.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, you know you are violating the rules of this committee right now.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. When Mr. Scherer makes a statement reflecting on the character and honesty of my client, I think it deserves a comment.

Mr. MOULDER. You have been approximately 40 years in the United States?

Mr. TKACH. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. How many years did you wait before you applied for citizenship?

Mr. TKACH. About 20.

Mr. MOULDER. About 20 years?

Mr. TKACH. Something like that.

Mr. MOULDER. And can you give us the reasons why you delayed so long seeking citizenship?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. TKACH. I don't know myself why. I couldn't answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed.

Mr. SCHERER. You are the editor of a newspaper. Do you read the local newspapers in order to get information to write in this Ukrainian newspaper?

Mr. TKACH. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Wait a minute. Do you read local newspapers?

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. That was a double question.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, you know your sole duty is to advise your client.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. He has language difficulties and that was a double question. He ought to be asked simple questions.

Mr. ARENS. If you do not restrain yourself I shall request the committee to have you removed from the hearing room.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you read the local press?

Mr. TKACH. I read it. I understand some of it, but not all.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean you only understand some of what you read?

Mr. TKACH. Yes. There might be some things I do not understand thoroughly. I could guess.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you read magazines?

Mr. TKACH. Yes. The same is true with magazines.

Mr. SCHERER. It is a strange world we live in.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to lay before you still another copy of your paper, the Ukrainian Daily News. We have marked in red the article to which I want to direct your attention. It is December 19, 1956. It is entitled, "Normal State Has Been Restored in Hungary." Would you be good enough to follow this as I read it in English and tell the committee whether or not I am giving a true and correct translation?

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Would you indicate where you are going to start? It is a long article.

Mr. ARENS. Let us start with the second paragraph.

We are sure that the reactionaries will be very soon disappointed.

Do you see that Mr. Tkach?

Mr. TKACH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS (reading):

We are sure that the reactionaries will be very soon disappointed. The Hungarian people, the workers and the farmers, will use their experience of the past 2 months. But not only the Hungarian workers and farmers have recognized what was offered to them by the western liberators. Also all those who had some objections against their governments in the countries of people's democracies, have recognized that the course suggested to them by the West, leads them to dead end, toward ruin and destruction.

Then the last paragraph:

Today the Hungarian people owe the fact that they did not fall under the Fascist yoke, to a great degree to the solidarity of the countries of people's democracies, and to the Soviet people in the first place, who do their utmost in order to prevent the restoration of the Fascist danger in those countries which entered upon the road of socialism.

Is that a true and correct translation of the article which I have just laid before you?

Mr. TKACH. As far as the translation is concerned, I think substantially it is correct. Perhaps there is not all the detail, but substantially it is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Don't you feel ashamed, as an American citizen, writing that kind of Communist poison in a publication which is disseminated in a land which gives you protection under the American flag?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. TKACH. I invoke fifth amendment on that question.

(Document marked "Tkach Exhibit No. 8," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now I would like to invite your attention to one more article, an editorial in your paper, Ukrainian Daily News of December 29, 1955, Successes of the Soviet Policy of Peace.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Where are you reading?

Mr. ARENS. Page 4, the editorial, Great Successes—Great Defeats.

Mr. SCHERER. This is an editorial written by this witness?

Mr. ARENS. It is an editorial in the paper of which he is the editor, Successes of the Soviet Policy of Peace.

Do you see that, Mr. Tkach?

Mr. TKACH. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is this a true and correct translation?

(Reading:)

Defeats on the part of the partisans of war and of disturbance of international relations.

Such are the conclusions of the majority of the American press and of nearly all Wall Street economic journals.

The United Nations and the countries of Asia and of the Near East are strategic points of their examinations.

Let us drop down a paragraph or two.

In all political and strategic movements the West is checked by the East. All movements of the West are suffering defeats because they basically depend on military force, and if not on real military force then on talks about it. All movements of the East are accompanied by peace propaganda which appeals to the great majority of the peoples of all countries.

Recent telegrams from Moscow reported that the Government of the Soviet Union proposed a 10-percent decrease of military expenditures as compared with last year's expenses, to the Supreme Soviet. But we talk about the necessity of increasing the expenses for defense and military aid to our allies.

In spite of all the attempts of the "big press" to convince public opinion that the decrease of the expenses for war purposes by the Soviet Government is "not a real decrease," and that the attempts to increase our own expenses for armament is "not a real increase," the masses both in our country and abroad remain under the impression that, while some organize military blocs and arm themselves, others regard peace as the safest means of security. In effect the policy of peace defeats the policy of war.

Peoples want peace.

Mr. SCHERER. There he comments at length very fluently on what the American press talks about these involved matters and then he tells us that he can only understand a part of what he reads.

(Document marked "Tkach Exhibit No. 9," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Where in that editorial does it say he wrote it?

Mr. ARENS. You are in violation of the rules of this committee.

Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that counsel be admonished.

Mr. MOULDER. If counsel for witness repeats these bursts you will be ejected.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Just so I understand my position, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. ARENS. We lay before you another article from the Ukrainian Daily News, your paper. It is the issue of July 2, 1950. The essence of this article, "Who is responsible for the war in Korea?" an editorial, is that the United States Government is responsible for the war in Korea; isn't that correct? Isn't that the essence of this article?

Mr. TKACH. I could not tell offhand.

Mr. ARENS. Let me read, then, certain excerpts from it. It is a rather long editorial. If I vary from the essence of it, you be sure to correct me.

(Reading:)

In other words, the war in Korea is being waged with the American Armed Forces on one side and the armed forces of the Koreans on the other hand. Tales about participation of the Soviets in this war are unfounded, so much so that they begin to disappear even from the pages of the capitalistic press.

Then the very last paragraph I would like to invite to your attention, the same theme throughout the editorial, but I will not take the time of the committee to read it all.

During the past few days we talked about the participation of the Soviets in the Korean war. Even now some of the papers and radio commentators keep repeating this lie. And in reality? At the Korean theater of war on one side fight the armed forces of the Korean people who defend their independence and on the other hand, American Armed Forces aided by reactionary groups of Koreans. Is it, therefore, difficult to determine who is responsible for the war in Korea?

Now, Mr. Tkach, don't you feel ashamed, don't you feel you betrayed your country, by writing that type of material while the boys of this country were out defending you on the battlefields of Korea?

Mr. TKACH. I invoke the fifth amendment to that. There is indication that I wrote this article?

Mr. ARENS. Do you deny that you wrote this article?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. TKACH. I don't know.

(Document marked "Tkach Exhibit No. 10," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you deny that you are editor of the paper in which this editorial appears?

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. That was written during the war.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir; when the boys were being shot in Korea.

Mr. SCHERER. Such an article gives aid and comfort to the enemy in war.

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. "Treason" is defined by the statutes and Constitution of the United States as giving aid and comfort to the enemy during time of war. Then they worry about me hurting the integrity of this man.

I have no further questions.

Mr. ARENS. I have just 1 or 2 other questions, Mr. Chairman, to pose to the witness, if you please.

Have you ever gone abroad since you came to the United States?

Mr. TKACH. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You did go abroad in 1946; did you not?

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You went abroad in 1946 to attend an international Communist conference in Yugoslavia; did you not?

Mr. TKACH. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact that you went with a United States passport to attend an international conference of Communists held in Yugoslavia, and I ask you to affirm or deny that fact.

Mr. TKACH. I invoke fifth amendment.

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

Mr. MOULDER. All of the documents referred to by counsel and submitted to the witness for identification and examination are admitted in evidence as a part of the record by reference.

Mr. Scherer, do you have any additional questions?

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MOULDER. You are excused as a witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Frank Ilchuk.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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. ILCHUK. I do.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK ILCHUK, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ISADORE G. NEEDLEMAN

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

Mr. ILCHUK. Frank Ilchuk, 100 Second Avenue, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation?

Mr. ILCHUK. I decline to answer that question on the protection afforded me by the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. ILCHUK. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. ILCHUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Isadore Needleman, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Ilchuk, who is the man who preceded you on the witness stand?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. ILCHUK. I decline to answer that question for the reason previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. He is the editor of the Ukrainian Daily News, Inc., of which you are the secretary-treasurer: isn't that true?

Mr. ILCHUK. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact and ask you to affirm or deny the fact—

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. The answer was not completed, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. You are secretary-treasurer of the Ukrainian Daily News Inc.?

Mr. ILCHUK. Would you repeat that?

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that you are one of the owners of the Ukrainian Daily News. I ask you to affirm or deny that fact.

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. ILCHUK. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. We lay before you the thermofax reproduction of the statement required by the postal laws filed by the Ukrainian Daily News in which your name appears as one of the owners of the Ukrainian Daily News, Inc. Please look at that document and tell us whether or not that is a true and accurate description of your status with that publication.

(Document previously designated "Tkach Exhibit No. 1"; retained in committee files.)

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. The 2 questions, Mr. Chairman—I mean the answer to the question asked just before these last 2 simply said he declined, and then Mr. Arens went on. I don't want it to appear that he was declining without a reason.

Mr. MOULDER. Very well. At the appropriate place in the record where he declines to answer, you wish to add, do you, that you decline to answer for the reason it might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. ILCHUK. The first and fifth amendments.

Mr. MOULDER. You are invoking the protection of the first and fifth amendments?

Mr. ILCHUK. I decline to answer that for the same reasons.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever traveled abroad?

Mr. ILCHUK. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is so ordered and directed.

Mr. ILCHUK. I still decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. The fact is that in 1947 you did travel abroad as educational director of the Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union; is that not correct?

Mr. ILCHUK. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Were you educational director of the Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union?

Mr. ILCHUK. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. ILCHUK. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Has your paper, the Ukrainian Daily News, ever registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. ILCHUK. I decline to answer on the protection afforded me by the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed? What is the physical location of the establishment by which you are employed?

Mr. ILCHUK. I decline to answer that for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. Are you this moment a Communist?

Mr. ILCHUK. I decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ask the witness where he was born?

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. ILCHUK. I was born in the Ukraine. At that time it was part of Austria-Hungary.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. ILCHUK. 1912.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen?

Mr. ILCHUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. When did you become a citizen?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. ILCHUK. Will you repeat that last question?

Mr. ARENS. When did you become a citizen?

Mr. ILCHUK. 1919. I have derivative citizenship.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to lay before you several exhibits in order to economize on time. We will lay before you about 3 or 4 at a time, showing your identification with each of several organizations. The first exhibit I would like to lay before you is the Slavic American of 1947, in which an article appears and in which your photograph appears as one of those elected to represent the New York Youth Council at the World Youth Festival to be held at that time in Prague.

Look at that one, if you please.

(Document marked "Ilchuk Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Also, would you be good enough to look at the Fraternal Outlook of June-July 1945, in which you are identified as a former director of the Ukrainian Leontovich Chorus and the IWO Ukrainian American Section cultural director.

(Document marked "Ilchuk Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. A copy of the Communist Daily Worker of February 2, 1953, in which you are identified as conductor of the Ukrainian Peoples Chorus.

(Document marked "Ilchuk Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. A copy of the Daily Worker of July 9, 1948, in which you are identified as head of the American-Ukrainian Society, IWO.

(Document marked "Ilchuk Exhibit No 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. A copy of the Daily Worker of August 10, 1949, in which you are identified as one of the leaders of a picket group to picket the trial of the traitors at Foley Square who were convicted here before Judge Medina.

(Document marked "Ilchuk Exhibit No. 5," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Look at each of those exhibits and see if you won't be good enough while you are under oath to tell this committee whether or not you are accurately described in each of those several exhibits.

Mr. ILCHUK. In respect to all of them I refuse to answer the question for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. ARENS. What clubs do you belong to at the present time which are not connected with the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. ILCHUK. I decline to answer that question for reasons previously stated.

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

Mr. MOULDER. All exhibits referred to by counsel and submitted to the witness will be made a part of the record by reference.

The witness is excused.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness would be Mr. Anthony Bimba.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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. BIMBA. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF ANTHONY BIMBA, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
ISADORE G. NEEDLEMAN**

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

Mr. BIMBA. Anthony Bimba, 9523 114th Street, Richmond Hill, N. Y.; occupation, journalist.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. BIMBA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. BIMBA. Yes.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Isadore G. Needleman, 165 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. BIMBA. I invoke the protection of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You are employed, are you not, as editor of a Lithuanian paper called Sviesa, isn't that correct?

Mr. BIMBA. I decline on the same ground.

Mr. ARENS. We lay before you a thermofax reproduction of a statement required under the postal laws filed by this paper, Sviesa, in which you are identified as editor and managing editor of the paper, which is, according to this document, owned and operated by an American Lithuanian Workers Literary Association. Please look at that document and tell this Committee on Un-American Activities whether or not you are accurately described therein.

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. BIMBA. I invoke the protection of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Bimba Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born and when?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. BIMBA. Lithuania.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. BIMBA. 1894.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. BIMBA. 1913.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come for permanent residence?

(No response.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. BIMBA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are you naturalized?

Mr. BIMBA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. When and where were you naturalized?

Mr. BIMBA. 1927.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. BIMBA. Queens, New York.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist conspiracy when you were naturalized?

Mr. BIMBA. I invoke the protection of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Did you take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies foreign and domestic when you were naturalized?

Mr. BIMBA. I decline.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. BIMBA. Yes, I did take an oath.

Mr. ARENS. Did you lie or tell the truth when you took that oath?

Mr. BIMBA. I told the truth.

Mr. ARENS. Were you then a member of a conspiratorial apparatus designed to destroy the Constitution of the United States and overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence?

Mr. BIMBA. I invoke the protection of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a Communist?

Mr. BIMBA. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. You have been a Communist right from the start; have you not?

Mr. BIMBA. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I want to show you one of the exhibits of the Workers Party of America which even antedated the Communist Party in the United States, in which you served as a delegate of the Workers Party many, many years ago out in Chicago.

Look at this document and tell this committee while you are under oath if you are not accurately described there as one of the leaders of the Workers Party which antedated the Communist Party.

(Witness examined document and consulted with counsel.)

Mr. BIMBA. Fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Bimba Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you a Marxist?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. BIMBA. I decline on the same ground.

Mr. ARENS. I want to read you part of an article, and I will show you the whole article written by yourself, in *The Communist*, November 1934, entitled, "Dynamite Against the Working Class, reviewed by Anthony Bimba."

We Marxists have always maintained that in a class society all writers are influenced by the existing class forces—

And so forth.

Look at this article if you please, sir, and tell this committee while you are under oath if it is true that you are the author of that article appearing in the publication then known as *The Communist*.

(Witness examined document and consulted with counsel.)

Mr. BIMBA. Fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Bimba Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a candidate for public office?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. BIMBA. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Back in 1933 you ran for the supreme court of this State on the Communist Party ticket; did you not?

Mr. BIMBA. Decline on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Look at this exhibit, the Communist Daily Worker of September 19, 1933, in which you are listed as one of the candidates—running for the supreme court—along with some of the top-flight Communist agents in this country of the conspiratorial apparatus, and tell this committee whether or not you are accurately described.

(Witness examined document and conferred with counsel.)

Mr. BIMBA. I decline on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Bimba Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Your activities in the Communist Party have been somewhat broader than those in behalf of the United States, have they not?

Mr. BIMBA. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I have a copy of the Communist Daily Worker of January 21, 1936, telling about some of your activities to aid the Communists in Italy. The article is headed, "Communists in U. S. Open Drive to Aid Brother Party in Italy," and tells about the activities of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States in raising funds and assisting the Communist conspirators in Italy. Listed as part of this conspiratorial apparatus which is doing this to destroy the free Christian world is one A. Bimba.

Look at this and tell this committee while under oath whether that accurately describes that nefarious activity.

(Witness examined document and consulted counsel.)

Mr. BIMBA. Decline on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Bimba Exhibit No. 5," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Manning Johnson?

Mr. BIMBA. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. He identified you as one of the principal agents of the conspiratorial apparatus of the Communist Party. Was he lying or telling the truth?

Mr. BIMBA. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. This newspaper of yours, Sviesa, follows the Communist Party line of the Kremlin without deviation; does it not?

Mr. BIMBA. I invoke the protection of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. MOULDER. What is the name of the newspaper?

Mr. ARENS. It is a publication called Sviesa printed in the Lithuanian language.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you ever read that newspaper?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. BIMBA. First and fifth amendments.

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

Mr. MOULDER. All of the documents referred to by counsel and submitted to the witness for identification will be admitted in evidence as a part of the record by reference.

Mr. SCHERER. You were born in, did you say, Russia?

Mr. BIMBA. I was born in Lithuania.

Mr. SCHERER. What city?

Mr. BIMBA. Not a city; a village.

Mr. SCHERER. What was the name of the village?

Mr. BIMBA. Uzsieniai.

Mr. SCHERER. How do you spell that?

Mr. BIMBA. U-z-s-i-e-n-i-a-i.

Mr. SCHERER. When were you naturalized?

Mr. BIMBA. 1927.

Mr. SCHERER. That is all. Mr. Chairman, I move that this committee recommend to the Department of Justice that the citizenship of Michael Tkach, the editor of the Ukrainian Daily News, in whose papers appeared the editorials which amounted to treason, be revoked.

I also move that this committee recommend to the Department of Justice and the Immigration and Naturalization Service that the citizenship of this last witness be revoked.

That is the only effective way we are going to deal with these people who come to this country and gain citizenship and then in time of war do what amounts to treason.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Mr. Chairman, I thought this committee reports to Congress.

Mr. MOULDER. Without objection, it will be so ordered and recommended by this subcommittee. I would suggest, however, that procedure be followed by submitting it to the full committee for the recommendation of the Committee on Un-American Activities, as you suggest. Is that agreeable?

Mr. SCHERER. Surely.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Roy Mizara.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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. MIZARA. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ROY MIZARA, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ISADORE G. NEEDLEMAN

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

Mr. MIZARA. Roy Mizara, journalist.

Mr. ARENS. And your residence?

Mr. MIZARA. 35-38 75th Street, Jackson Heights, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Isadore G. Needleman, 165 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed? I don't believe you told us.

Mr. MIZARA. I refuse to answer by invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You are employed as editor and managing editor of a Communist-controlled paper by the name of Laisve; are you not?

Mr. MIZARA. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to lay before you now the statement of ownership required by the postal laws and a statement which was filed by this publication, in which you are identified as the editor and as the managing editor. Please look at these documents and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are accurately described therein.

Mr. MIZARA. I decline to answer by invoking the first and fifth amendments.

(Documents marked "Mizara Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. Where were you born, Mr. Mizara?

Mr. MIZARA. Lithuania.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. MIZARA. 1913.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Lithuania is part of Russia now?

Mr. MIZARA. It used to be part of Russia at that time.

Mr. SCHERER. Was it part of Russia when you were born, or now?

Mr. MIZARA. When I was born.

Mr. SCHERER. It was part of Russia then?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. And you were born in Mercin, Russia, then?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes, sir. It is a small town.

Mr. SCHERER. You were naturalized when?

Mr. MIZARA. 1927.

Mr. SCHERER. In Brooklyn, N. Y.?

Mr. MIZARA. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist conspiracy when you were naturalized?

Mr. MIZARA. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a Communist this moment?

Mr. MIZARA. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to ask you, Do you read Lithuanian?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly be good enough to follow me here in your paper while I read excerpts from each of several of your articles. The first is an article appearing under date of June 21, 1950.

Mr. MOULDER. What is the name of this paper?

Mr. ARENS. Laisve. What does that mean?

Mr. MIZARA. Liberty.

Mr. ARENS. Your paper stands for liberty; does it?

(No response.)

Mr. ARENS. I am glad to have that translation, that it does stand for liberty, because, according to some of these translations, it stands pretty much for the massacre of liberty and for the Soviet Union. Follow me there.

Mr. MOULDER. Let us get the record clear. The document which you hold before you is a photostatic copy of a newspaper (June 21, 1950), and in what language are the articles printed?

Mr. MIZARA. In Lithuanian.

Mr. MOULDER. And you can read and write Lithuanian; is that correct?

Mr. MIZARA. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. Could you point out there the article in the document which you hold in your hand which you want to be read? Could you read that to us in English?

Mr. MIZARA. I can't; I'm sorry, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. You can't translate from Lithuanian to English by reading it?

Mr. MIZARA. I can read from English into Lithuanian, because that is easier. But it is difficult for me to translate correctly from Lithuanian into English.

Mr. MOULDER. Then Mr. Arens will proceed along the lines he has been proceeding, to read it in English and ask you whether it is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have an article there, entitled; "Voices for Peace Throughout the World"?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I am going to read you 2 or 3 paragraphs from that.

It is a happy event that the solicitation of signatures for the Stockholm petition for peace is being carried out on a large scale. It has already been signed by several hundred thousand Americans. Committees for peace have been organized everywhere. Lithuanians must not remain behind the others.

* * * The solicitation of signatures has met with difficulties in our country. Here the Government, the radio, and the commercial press are unanimously condemning the supporters of peace and urge citizens not to sign the peace petition. It is surprising how many people are treating this question seriously and are signing the peace petition. By this action, they express their deepest desire for peace.

It is not necessary to explain that people in the Soviet Union are signing the peace petitions by the millions. There the situation is completely different: The Government, the radio, and the press are urging the citizens to sign the Stockholm petition.

Is that a substantially correct translation?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you write that?

Mr. MIZARA. The fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. That appeared in your paper; did it not?

Mr. MIZARA. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Don't you have a sense of disgrace writing that line of the international Communist conspiracy for permeation here in this country under whose protection you enjoy the rights of citizenship?
(No response.)

Mr. MOULDER. Do you decline to answer that by invoking the fifth amendment?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes.

(Document marked "Mizara Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MOULDER. How could you possibly be incriminated, or possibly be subjected to criminal prosecution, by promoting peace in the world or by signing a peace petition or by encouraging people to support a peace petition?

Mr. MIZARA. I decline to answer for the previous reason.

Mr. ARENS. I want to read you an article, from your paper of November 8, 1956, on the Hungarian atrocity by the Soviets. This is "Regret and Reality." Follow me please while I read this.

Let every decent person ask himself: Should the Soviet Army stationed there [in Hungary], seeing the horrible rage of the Fascists, the massacres and anarchy, not have interfered?

Mr. MIZARA. I beg your pardon. I can't follow that.

Mr. ARENS. This is the paper of November 8, 1956; the editorial entitled "Regret and Reality." Do you see that one?

Mr. MIZARA. That is the headline.

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Let every decent person ask himself: Should the Soviet Army stationed there [in Hungary], seeing the horrible rage of the Fascists, the massacres and anarchy, not have interfered? If the Soviet Union had not helped, upon the demand of the Hungarian Government, the Soviet Union would have fallen into the disfavor of all the civilized world. * * *

It seems to us that such should be the attitude toward events in Hungary.

Mr. ARENS. Is that a true and correct translation?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly believe that if the Soviet Union had not gone into Hungary and mowed down the innocent women and children fighting for their freedom, the Soviet Union would have fallen into the disfavor of all of the civilized world?

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. MIZARA. Is that a question?

Mr. ARENS. Yes; it is a question. You are a citizen of the United States. You have the protection of this flag. Tell us whether or not you honestly believe that, if the Soviet Union had not marched in there with its troops and mowed down those innocent people, it would have lost favor with the civilized world.

Mr. MIZARA. I don't want to discuss this.

Mr. MOULDER. The first question should be, Did you write the article?

Mr. MIZARA. I decline to answer, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you have any knowledge or information concerning the article that was read by Mr. Arens?

Mr. MIZARA. Same answer.

(Document marked "Mizara Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I want to lay before you several documents. One is an edition of your paper of May 15, 1952. Also, of June 12, 1952, two of them, about the massacre by the American troops of the innocent prisoners of war.

Mr. SCHERER. We were fighting in Korea at that time?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Follow this one: "New Massacre of Prisoners of War." Do you see that?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS (reading):

What happened on the island of Koje, in Korea, last Monday will shock not only America but the whole world. Never in history has such an event taken place. More than 30 prisoners were killed, and about 150 were wounded. * * *

It has been said that our principles and our conscience do not permit forcing the prisoners of war to return to Communist countries against their will; however, the same principles in conscience permits us to wage war against prisoners who are imprisoned, unarmed, and confined.

Is that a true and correct translation of that editorial in your paper?

Mr. MIZARA. I don't follow it exactly.

Mr. ARENS. Let me read the last paragraph to you again very carefully:

It has been said that our principles and our conscience do not permit forcing the prisoners of war to return to the Communist countries against their will; however, the same principles and conscience permits us to wage war against prisoners who are imprisoned, unarmed, and confined.

Is that a true and correct translation of the editorial in your paper?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes.

(Documents marked "Mizara Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MOULDER. According to your testimony you have not admitted that it is your paper, as I understand it.

Mr. MIZARA. Yes.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Mr. Arens has been doing that in every question.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Counsel, don't start tangling with me.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. You keep saying "your" paper when we have not said so.

Mr. MOULDER. Let us proceed.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to invite your attention to one more. It is an editorial appearing in *Laisve* of February 9, 1952, entitled, "War Came to an End." Do you follow me?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS (reading):

A cold war started. In our country a campaign to denounce the Soviet Union, our most powerful ally during the war, began * * *

"Witnesses" with masks were called, and they said that they had seen Communists massacre Poles in the forest of Katyn!

All this "investigation" is nothing but a farce. No decent man believes or will believe it. But for those who want to influence public opinion against the Soviet Union, and favor hangmen and Nazis, the goal justifies the means.

Is that a true and correct translation of that editorial?

Mr. MIZARA. More or less.

Mr. ARENS. Is it substantially correct?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you write it?

Mr. MIZARA. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Mizara Exhibit No. 5," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Another one I would like to invite to your attention—June 12, 1951, in your paper, *Laisve*. "Who is Afraid of Whom?" is the title of this editorial. Do you see it?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS (reading):

George Sokolsky, of the Hearst press, published the following in his column a few days ago:

"The United Nations fears Soviet Russia. It appears from the testimony before the Russell committee that the United States also fears Soviet Russia * * *"

Everybody knows very well that the Soviet Union has not attacked and will not attack the United States. The Soviet Union is anxious for peace, but not for war. The people of the Soviet Union are concerned for, and are devoted to, the cause of peace and the prosperity of their country. Neither the Government of the Soviet Union, nor its press or radio, has ever threatened the United States with atom bombs or war.

Then, why should the American people be afraid of the Soviet Union?

It is true that the Soviet Union should be afraid of the United States because provocateurs in this country are threatening daily through the press and the radio to completely destroy one or another Soviet city with an atom bomb and other weapons.

Is that a substantially correct translation of the editorial appearing in *Laisve*?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you write it?

Mr. MIZARA. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Mizara Exhibit No. 6," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. We have others. We will use only a few more and that will be all, Mr. Chairman, that we want to submit for this record because I think the line is pretty clear here.

This is a translation from *Laisve*. You say *Laisve* stands for liberty?

Mr. MIZARA. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. November 21, 1951. You see "The American Jewish Committee"?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes.

Mr. ARENS (reading):

The American Jewish Committee a few days ago published a statement condemning the Soviet Union for "persecution of Jews" living in the Soviet Republics.

It is evident that the accusations of the Jewish Committee are without any foundation. Anyone with any knowledge knows well that Jews in the Soviet Union have equal rights with other nations; there is no place there for anti-Semitism.

Is that a true and correct translation?

Mr. MIZARA. With the exception that this paragraph was not translated fully.

Mr. ARENS. You complete the translation. That is the only translation we have from the experts in the Library of Congress who translated this for us.

Mr. MIZARA. If I am incorrect, please excuse me, but I will try to translate.

Jewish scientists, Jewish articles, Jewish writers, and Jewish other great people there have equal rights as other nationalities.

Mr. ARENS. That is in the Soviet Union?

Mr. MIZARA. That is the end of the paragraph, sir.

(Document marked "Mizara Exhibit No. 7," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Thank you. I have a copy of the Communist Daily Worker of August 7, 1929, showing you as a candidate of the Communist Party in the election here for State assembly. Please look at that document, as I display it to you, and tell this committee whether or not you are accurately described as one of the candidates of the Communist Party here.

Mr. SCHIERER. What year was that?

Mr. ARENS. 1929, August 7.

Would you kindly tell us whether or not you are accurately described?

Mr. MIZARA. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Mizara Exhibit No. 8," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I would like to display to you another document in which you are shown to be one of the ringleaders of the Workers Party of America, which even antedated the Communist Party and out of which the Communist Party emerged. Please look at this—The Second Year of the Workers Party of America—in which your name appears as one of the delegates: Roy Mizara, of the Polish Federation.

Mr. MOULDER. What year was that?

Mr. BONORA. The 1924 convention of the party.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. MOULDER. What is your response?

Mr. MIZARA. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Mizara Exhibit No. 9," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. We have other documents along this same line here but I realize the press of time today, Mr. Chairman, and I believe we have made the record clear on this witness' background and activities.

Mr. MOULDER. All of the documents referred to by counsel and submitted to the witness for examination, together with the translations read by counsel, will be admitted in evidence as a part of the record by reference.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Mizara, in your newspaper, as has been read to us, you approve the action of Russia in Hungary; then I assume that you have not severed your connections with the Communist Party since the atrocity by the Communists in Hungary, is that right?

Mr. MIZARA. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. The fact is that you are still a member of the party today, is it not?

Mr. MIZARA. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. And that your newspaper, as has been demonstrated to us here today, is daily promoting the Russian and Communist line in regard to all of these matters.

Mr. MIZARA. I decline to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have any connections today with any people in Russia?

Mr. MIZARA. I decline to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you been abroad in the last 10 years?

Mr. MIZARA. I decline to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever been back to Russia?

Mr. MIZARA. I decline to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. MOULDER. Are you married?

Mr. MIZARA. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you have a family?

Mr. MIZARA. No.

Mr. MOULDER. I was going to ask if any members of your family were in the armed services in the last war.

You are excused as a witness.

The committee will stand in recess for a period of 5 minutes.

(Thereupon, a brief recess was taken.)

(Committee members present after the recess were: Representatives Moulder and Scherer.)

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. David Krinkin.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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. KRINKIN. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF DAVID Z. KRINKIN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
ISADORE G. NEEDLEMAN**

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

Mr. KRINKIN. David Krinkin is my name. Occupation, journalist.

Mr. ARENS. Where do you live?

Mr. KRINKIN. 84 Horatio Street, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. KRINKIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. KRINKIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel kindly identify yourself.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Isadore G. Needleman, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. KRINKIN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MOULDER. Let us clarify the record. Do I understand you correctly when you say, in response, you invoke the privileges under the fifth amendment in declining to answer? Is that your response now to his question?

Mr. KRINKIN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You are employed and you are the editor of Russky Golos; are you not?

Mr. KRINKIN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. MOULDER. To clarify the record, you are claiming the privilege under the fifth amendment. You decline to answer for the same reasons you might say to expedite the hearings.

Mr. KRINKIN. The same reason.

Mr. ARENS. I have here, and I will display to you in just an instant, a copy of the statement of ownership required by the postal laws and filed by the Russky Golos Publishing Corp. under date of October 1, 1956, in which David Z. Krinkin is identified as editor of the Russky Golos. Please look at that statement and tell us whether or not you are accurately described in that document.

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. KRINKIN. Decline on the first amendment and fifth.

(Document marked "Krinkin Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. KRINKIN. Where I was born? Russia.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. KRINKIN. 1890.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. KRINKIN. 1914.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen?

Mr. KRINKIN. I am; naturalized.

Mr. ARENS. When were you naturalized?

Mr. KRINKIN. In 1920.

Mr. ARENS. Where?

Mr. KRINKIN. Bronx Supreme Court.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist when you were naturalized?

Mr. KRINKIN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you read Russian?

Mr. KRINKIN. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Would you be good enough to follow me here in this paper, *Russky Golos*, this editorial I am going to read, of December 16, 1956, about the Hungarian Revolution, as reported in your paper.

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask a question?

You hold in your hands a photostatic copy of a document?

Mr. KRINKIN. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. In what language is it printed?

Mr. KRINKIN. What language? That is Russian.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you read the Russian language and translate it into English at the time you are reading it?

Mr. KRINKIN. Could I read the Russian language as well as the English?

Mr. MOULDER. Can you read that article to us that counsel refers to you, in English?

Mr. KRINKIN. You want me to read that article?

Mr. MOULDER. In English, if you can.

Mr. KRINKIN. I could.

Mr. ARENS. Then would you be good enough to translate it for us? Do you see the article about, *The Plans of Reactionary Forces*?

Mr. KRINKIN. This article is called *The Plan of Reaction*.

Mr. ARENS. Read it loud, please.

Mr. KRINKIN. In Russian?

Mr. ARENS. No, in English.

Mr. KRINKIN. That would take some time. It would not be as quickly.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Let me read it in English and you follow in Russian.

* * * The events in Hungary throw a clear light on how American organizers of subversive work operate. American agents intensified their subversive work just at the time that the Hungarian Government undertook a new policy and began to undo previously committed errors. If it had not been for American intervention in Hungary, changes would have been made which would have corresponded to the interests and demands of the Hungarian people. Hungary could have taken the same road as Poland, avoiding catastrophic shocks, but the experience of Hungary clearly shows that in their drive to weaken the might of the Soviet Union and the whole Socialist camp, the rulers in Washington are ready to use all means at their command, without concern for the results in the countries to which they are supposedly bringing "liberation." * * *

Is that a true and correct translation?

Mr. KRINKIN. The translation is true.

Mr. ARENS. Did you write this?

Mr. KRINKIN. No.

Mr. ARENS. Who wrote it?

Mr. KRINKIN. This I decline to answer on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Was it written under your supervision?

Mr. KRINKIN. I decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Was it written in Moscow and then put in your paper here?

Mr. KRINKIN. I decline to answer this on the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Krinkin Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. What does Russky Golos mean? How do you translate that title?

Mr. KRINKIN. Russky Golos means Russian Voice.

Mr. SCHERER. It certainly is.

Mr. KRINKIN. Russian Voice.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you tell us approximately how many people there are in this country who were born in Russia?

Mr. KRINKIN. I was born in Russia.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you tell us about how many people there are in this country who were born in Russia?

Mr. KRINKIN. I have no idea.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you give us approximately how many people in this country can read the Russian language?

Mr. KRINKIN. I have no idea.

Mr. SCHERER. What is the circulation of that paper of yours?

Mr. KRINKIN. Fifth amendment. I invoke my fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you understand my question?

Mr. KRINKIN. I do understand your question.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question as to the circulation of this paper. How could that incriminate him?

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer.

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. KRINKIN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. MOULDER. We want to make it clear to you that the committee does not accept your reasons for refusing to answer, and you are directed to answer because of the possible dangers of being guilty of contempt of Congress.

Mr. KRINKIN. I still insist upon the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know the circulation of the paper?

Mr. KRINKIN. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. It is obvious to me that this witness is in contempt. How could that possibly incriminate you to say whether or not you know the circulation of this paper? What did you say the name of the paper was?

Mr. KRINKIN. The name of the paper that I read here is Russky Golos.

Mr. MOULDER. You may proceed.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to lay before you another copy of your paper, the Russky Golos, of September 16, 1951, page 4, and invite your attention to the editorial, or the article entitled "The United States and the Hopes of the People of Japan."

Do you see that article, or editorial?

Mr. KRINKIN. I see it here; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is that an editorial or article? I cannot tell from the translation.

Mr. KRINKIN. Do you mind if you read the translation as I follow it?

Mr. ARENS. I will do that. I want to know whether it is an editorial or an article. What is it? You have it there in Russian. You can read Russian and I can't.

Mr. KRINKIN. That seems to be an article.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to read it to you and you follow.

Mr. KRINKIN. O. K.

Mr. ARENS. If you please, sir.

In the treaty just concluded between the United States and Japan, there is a special provision which should cause particular alarm for the people of America.

The United States is undertaking the task of crushing popular movements within Japan.

Such a circumstance not only violates all the principles of noninterference in the internal affairs of another nation, but tramples upon the traditions of the United States itself, traditions which were born in the storm of a people's liberation movement, and makes the country an international policeman.

One cannot say that such a situation is entirely new for the United States. Since the announcement of the "Truman Doctrine," the United States has more than once undertaken to assist reactionaries against the people. It was thus in Greece, then in China, Indonesia, and in Vietnam. But as far back as the creation of the Atlantic Alliance, a similar "police provision" was shamefully hidden and masked by many provisions. And at the start of the Korean war, President Truman started to call the military operation a "police action," but soon preferred to hide under the shameful mask of carrying out an international decision of the United Nations.

For the first time, in the treaty with Japan, the United States of America openly undertakes without any international pretexts the function of the subverter of people's movements against their national oppressors. * * *

Is that a true and correct translation?

Mr. KRINKIN. I think it is.

Mr. ARENS. Did you write it?

Mr. KRINKIN. No.

Mr. ARENS. Was it published in your paper?

Mr. KRINKIN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know who wrote it?

Mr. KRINKIN. Fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Krinkin Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I want to display to you certain documents.

The first is a document, by its face issued by the New York State Committee of the Communist Party in September 1939, telling all about the Communist Party, and calling upon the people to join. It has the hammer and sickle here. Listing a number of people on behalf of the Communist Party who are issuing this statement, including one D. Krinkin.

Look at that document and tell us whether or not you are accurately described there.

(Witness examined document and consulted counsel.)

Mr. KRINKIN. Fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Krinkin Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now I want to display to you 2 or 3 other documents.

The first is a photostatic reproduction of the Communist Daily Worker of June 7, 1949, in which you are listed, among others, in protesting the jailing of the traitors who were convicted in Foley Square.

The next one is an article of the Communist Daily Worker of October 12, 1948, in which you are listed as editor of Russky Golos, joining with a number of other Communist editors in attacking deportation of a Communist agent.

Mr. KRINKIN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Wait, he will give them all to you.

Mr. ARENS. The last that I will display to you now is a photostatic reproduction of—

Mr. KRINKIN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS (continuing). An article which states you were addressing a group on behalf of the Rosenbergs; (Daily Worker, October 27, 1952, p. 8) Dr. David Krinkin, editor of the Russian newspaper, Russky Golos.

Please look at those exhibits and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are accurately described therein.

Mr. KRINKIN. Fifth amendment.

(Documents marked "Krinkin Exhibits Nos. 5, 6, and 7," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Is your paper in truth and in fact an arm of the international propaganda machine of the Kremlin?

Mr. KRINKIN. Fifth amendment.

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

Mr. MOULDER. All the documents referred to by counsel and submitted to the witness for examination are admitted in evidence as a part of the record by reference.

Are there any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. No.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness is Samuel Nikolauk.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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. NIKOLAUK. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL J. NIKOLAUK, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ISADORE G. NEEDLEMAN

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. NIKOLAUK. Samuel J. Nikolauk, 2117 24th Avenue, Astoria.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. A newspaperman.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the man who just left the stand?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel kindly identify yourself.

Mr. NEEDLEMAN. Isadore G. Needleman, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. Who was the man who just left the stand? I don't believe you told us.

Mr. NIKOLAUK. I invoked the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. ARENS. He is the editor of the paper, Russky Golos, of which you are one of the officials; is he not?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. Fifth amendment to that.

Mr. ARENS. He is the editor of Russky Golos, of which you are one of the officials; is he not?

papers in which the Russky Golos corporation makes certain adjustment in the stock structure of the company, which you signed as secretary of the Russky Golos Publishing Corp. Please look at this document and, if you will be good enough, identify your own signature there as secretary of the Russky Golos Publishing Corp., which publishes the newspaper, Russky Golos.

Mr. NIKOLAUK. Fifth amendment.

(Document previously identified as "Bayer Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Where was this witness born?

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. In Russia.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. 1895.

Mr. SCHERER. How many witnesses have we had here who were born in Russia, Lithuania, or part of Russia; five or six?

Mr. ARENS. I would say at least that number.

When did you come to the United States?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. 1912.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of this country?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. By naturalization?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you naturalized?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. 1919, January 14, in Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist conspiracy when you were naturalized?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. Fifth amendment to that.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. Fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to display to you two or three documents, Mr. Nikolauk.

The first is a publication of the Fraternal Outlook, published by the International Workers Order, "Brother Sam Nikolauk," identified here as president of the National Committee of the American Russian Fraternal Society, IWO.

Please look at this and tell the committee while you are under oath whether or not you are accurately described there as president of the National Committee of the American Russian Fraternal Society, IWO.

(Witness examined document and conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NIKOLAUK. I invoke the fifth amendment to that.

(Document marked "Nikolauk Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. You are also one of the leaders of the American Slav Congress?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Look at this document, if you please, the Communist Daily Worker (May 18, 1950, p. 2) in which you are so identified in 1950, as one of the leaders of the American Slav Congress.

Mr. NIKOLAUK. I invoke the fifth amendment to that.

(Document marked "Nikolauk Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Who is Theodore Bayer?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. I invoke the fifth amendment to that.

Mr. ARENS. He is president of Russky Golos; is he not?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. Fifth amendment to that.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of John Lautner?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. I never met him.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lautner, would you stand? Would you look over your left shoulder and see if you recognize this man?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. I do not recognize him.

Mr. ARENS. You do not recognize him?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. No.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever seen him before?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lautner, would you step forward?

TESTIMONY OF JOHN LAUTNER—Resumed

You have been sworn on this record. Tell this committee what knowledge or information you have respecting the man who is occupying the witness chair.

Mr. LAUTNER. In 1941 and in 1942, I attended meetings with Nikolauk, top-level party leaders meeting in the IWO, particularly in 1942 when I was also national secretary of the Hungarian section of the IWO. Nikolauk was the secretary of the Russian section of the IWO.

Mr. ARENS. Those top level meetings you are describing were meetings to which only members of the Communist Party were admissible?

Mr. LAUTNER. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Do you here and now identify the man seated in the witness chair as a person known by you to a certainty to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAUTNER. That is correct.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL J. NIKOLAUK—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Nikolauk, you have just heard the testimony of Mr. Lautner.

Mr. NIKOLAUK. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. You heard the testimony?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Was Mr. Lautner lying or telling the truth, under oath? Was he lying or telling the truth when he identified you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NIKOLAUK. Fifth amendment to that.

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

Mr. MOULDER. All the documents referred to by counsel and submitted to the witness for identification will be admitted in evidence as a part of the record by reference.

Do you have any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. No.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will stand in recess until 1 p. m.

(Thereupon, at 12 noon, the committee recessed, to reconvene at 1 p. m., the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1957

(Committee members present: Representatives Moulder and Scherer.)

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will be in order.

Call your first witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Paul Novick, kindly come forward.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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. NOVICK. I do.

TESTIMONY OF PAUL NOVICK, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HARRY SACHER

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

Mr. NOVICK. Paul Novick, 1639 Monroe Avenue, the Bronx, newspaperman.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. NOVICK. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. NOVICK. That is right.

Mr. SACHER. Harry Sacher, 342 Madison Avenue, New York 17.

Mr. NOVICK. Mr. Chairman, may I be permitted to read a statement before questioning starts?

Mr. MOULDER. How long is the statement?

Mr. NOVICK. It is one and a half pages, double-spaced.

Mr. MOULDER. You can offer your statement and file it with the proceedings. However, the rules of the committee prohibit the reading or the making of a statement by a witness.

Mr. NOVICK. Will you permit me, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. MOULDER. You may file the statement with the committee.

Mr. NOVICK. Thank you. I appreciate that. I think if I read the statement—

Mr. MOULDER. You can give copies of it to the press.

(Statement filed with the records of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. Please tell us where and when you were born.

Mr. NOVICK. I was born in Poland.

Mr. ARENS. When?

Mr. NOVICK. September 7, 1891.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. NOVICK. 1920.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a naturalized citizen?

Mr. NOVICK. That's correct.

Mr. ARENS. When and where were you naturalized?

Mr. NOVICK. January 26, 1927, Bronx.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. NOVICK. Mr. Chairman, I would like to state my reasons why I am going to claim the amendments in order not to answer these questions.

Mr. MOULDER. You are going to decline to answer questions and state your reasons for declining?

Mr. NOVICK. If you will permit me, I will state my reasons.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you decline?

Mr. NOVICK. Yes, I do decline and I give my reasons: I decline first on the basis of the first amendment. I think these hearings are a violation of the freedom of the press. I was brought here because I am a newsman and for no other reason.

Mr. SCHERER. No, not because you are a newspaperman, but because you are a Communist.

Mr. SACHER. May the witness be permitted to state his grounds without interruption?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Sacher, you know the rules of the committee?

Mr. SACHER. I do. I think the Congressman should remember.

Mr. SCHERER. I will talk any time I wish.

Mr. ARENS. You know the rules of this committee. You are in violation of the rules of this committee.

Mr. SACHER. I am not.

Mr. NOVICK. Mr. Sacher is here to protect me from Mr. Scherer or anybody else.

Mr. SCHERER. You do not need any protection from me.

Mr. NOVICK. It seems I do. I was called here to these hearings because I am a newspaperman and no other reason. That is why I consider these hearings, and this calling me here, is a violation of the freedom of the press, a violation of the first amendment. I wish to state that the freedom of the press is just as sacred as the freedom of Mr. Scherer or any Congressman. For this reason I claim the first amendment and will not answer questions. I will not identify any documents.

I am also claiming the fifth amendment for the following reason:

* * * * *

The line of questioning is to legalistically trap witnesses with the assistance of stool pigeons. For this reason I am claiming the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Where did you say you were born?

Mr. NOVICK. Poland.

Mr. SCHERER. When were you naturalized?

Mr. NOVICK. 1927.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you were naturalized?

Mr. NOVICK. I decline on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Are you a member of the Communist Party today?

Mr. NOVICK. I decline to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. That is the reason you were brought here, because of your Communist Party activities and no other reason.

Mr. NOVICK. I gave my answer.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of John Lautner?

Mr. NOVICK. I decline to answer under the protection of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. A couple of days ago, Mr. Lautner took an oath before this committee and swore that he knew you as a member of the Communist Party. Was he lying or was he telling the truth?

Mr. NOVICK. I decline to answer on the basis of the two amendments.

Mr. ARENS. We are going to display to you a copy of the statement required by the postal laws to be filed, a statement which was filed by the Morning Freiheit, listing you as the editor of the Morning Freiheit.

Kindly look at that exhibit and tell this committee, while you are under oath, whether or not you are accurately described as the editor of the Morning Freiheit.

Mr. NOVICK. Mr. Chairman, as I stated before, I will not identify any of these documents because they pertain to the activities of the press. This is a violation of the freedom of the press.

Mr. MOULDER. You are claiming the privilege under the fifth amendment—

Mr. NOVICK. The first and fifth.

Mr. MOULDER (continuing). In declining to answer that question?

Mr. NOVICK. That's right.

(Document marked "Novick Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been identified in any capacity with the International Workers Order?

Mr. NOVICK. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. ARENS. You were one of the original incorporators of it, were you not?

Mr. NOVICK. I decline for the same reason.

Mr. ARENS. Please look at this petition in which you are listed as one of the incorporators of that organization.

Mr. NOVICK. I decline to identify and to answer for the same reason.

(Document marked "Novick Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, I would like to ask you, first of all, do you read Yiddish?

Mr. NOVICK. I certainly do.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly follow me. Here is a copy of your paper, the Morning Freiheit, of August 28, 1952.

Mr. NOVICK. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. This editorial is entitled, "Why Do They Shoot at War Prisoners in Korea?"

Would you kindly follow me while I read the editorial and tell me whether or not it is a true and correct copy?

Mr. NOVICK. I deny the right of a counsel and of the committee to delve into the contents of editorials or articles in the press. This is a violation of the freedom of the press. I will not follow.

Mr. MOULDER. He has not asked you a question. He has handed you a document to examine.

Mr. NOVICK. Yes, I have examined it. As I stated before——

Mr. MOULDER. In what language is it written?

Mr. NOVICK. In Yiddish. For this reason I will not follow, and I will not identify it.

Mr. MOULDER. To make the record clear, he is not asking you a question.

Mr. ARENS. Editorial, "Why Do They Shoot at War Prisoners in Korea?"

Mr. NOVICK. Pardon, me, Mr. Chairman——

Mr. MOULDER. Wait until he completes a question.

Mr. NOVICK. I cannot follow because I would have to sit down and compare minutely every word whether it is translated right or wrong and I can't do it offhand. That is why, if Mr. Arens wants to make his speeches, he can do so.

(Document marked "Novick Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully request that in the presence of this witness, Mr. Bonora be sworn to identify these documents, and read them into the record. Then we will interrogate the witness.

TESTIMONY OF FRANK BONORA

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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. BONORA. I do.

Mr. ARENS. You are Frank Bonora, an investigator for the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. BONORA. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And you, at my request, caused to be translated by the expert translators of the Library of Congress, several articles and editorials appearing in the Morning Freiheit; is that correct?

Mr. BONORA. Yes, sir. It was an official request.

Mr. ARENS. Do we have here today the official translations of each of those several articles?

Mr. BONORA. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Would you please, Mr. Bonora, read the editorial in the Morning Freiheit, August 28, 1952, the original of which I have laid before Mr. Novick.

Mr. BONORA. The editorial is from the August 28, 1952, edition of the Morning Freiheit, page 4:

WHY DO THEY SHOOT AT WAR PRISONERS IN KOREA?

At Koje Island in South Korea, where North Korean and Chinese war prisoners are interned under American guards, there is continuous shooting. The latest official reports tell of 52 newly wounded prisoners of war and 1 killed, whom military guards attacked with tear bombs and later shot at because their singing had gotten on the nerves of their guards.

We must admit that, try hard as we may, it would be difficult to comprehend the actual crime committed by the prisoners of war through their singing in their prison camps. According to what law should the death penalty be applied for singing? It is especially incomprehensible when one remembers that the war in Korea is endlessly dragging on and is being brutally prosecuted (or strength-

ened) in the name of so-called American humanitarianism, regarding the prisoners of war who may perhaps never be released or returned to their homes. In order to safeguard the rights of such anti-Communist prisoners of war to remain in the prison camps, for nobody wants them and nobody needs them, bloody fighting is carried on daily and terrible air attacks against the North Korean civilian population. But this same humanitarianism is not opposed to firing at, wounding, and murdering locked-up prisoners of war who dare to sing in their camps.

This is a translation from the Library of Congress.

TESTIMONY OF PAUL NOVICK—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Did you publish that editorial which Mr. Bonora just read from that edition of the *Morning Freiheit*?

Mr. NOVICK. I was going to ask for the name of the translator.

Mr. SCHERER. It wouldn't make any difference. If you had the name you would still take the fifth amendment. You refused to read it.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. NOVICK. I do; on the basis of the first and fifth amendments. I would like to know by what right this committee is delving into editorials of the press.

Mr. ARENS. Now would you please—

Mr. SACHER. May the record show that there is complete silence in response to the witness' request.

Mr. SCHERER. I will answer. Because the Congress is investigating un-American propaganda activities.

Mr. NOVICK. Together with many Americans I question the right of this committee to delve into the freedom of the press.

Mr. SCHERER. I answered your question.

Mr. MOULDER. You heard the statement read by Mr. Bonora?

Mr. NOVICK. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. Without asking you a question as to whether or not you wrote it or where it was published or anything else, do you consider what he read to be un-American?

Mr. NOVICK. Mr. Chairman, you understand I would like to get into a discussion and have the same rights as the counsel has before a thousand or a number of people.

Mr. MOULDER. It is a very simple—

Mr. SACHER. Why don't you let the man talk? He has been asked a question by the chairman.

Mr. ARENS. You are in violation of the rules of this committee.

Mr. SACHER. You don't let a witness answer a question when you put it to him.

Mr. SCHERER. Brother Sacher—

Mr. SACHER. You and I are not brothers. Let us not get into that.

Mr. SCHERER. I am happy we are not.

Mr. SACHER. Believe me, it is just as pleasant for me.

Mr. SCHERER. I don't see how they continue to allow you to practice.

Mr. SACHER. You are ready to condemn anybody. I don't see how you are in Congress.

Mr. NOVICK. I need protection from Mr. Scherer. I don't think he knows how to behave in a subcommittee hearing.

Mr. MOULDER. I just asked you if you believe that the freedom of the press should extend to the point where subversive and un-American activities would be permitted to be published.

Mr. NOVICK. Mr. Chairman, it is a pertinent question. I say there are laws of the country, and we can say anything or write anything against the laws of the country and we can be prosecuted for that. But a committee of Congress has no right to call an editor of any newspaper and hold him to account for the editorials and articles of that paper. This is the freedom of the press.

Mr. MOULDER. It is your position that if they have violated a criminal law, they should be criminally prosecuted?

Mr. NOVICK. That is correct.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. NOVICK. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I suggest he be ordered and directed to answer that question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NOVICK. May I hear the question again?

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. NOVICK. I decline on the same grounds most vehemently.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee refuses to accept your response to the question, and you are ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. NOVICK. I respectfully decline.

Mr. SACHER. On the same grounds.

Mr. NOVICK. On the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to invite your attention to another editorial of your paper. Mr. Bonora will read it. It is from the August 7, 1952, edition of the Morning Freiheit, page 4. Kindly read that, would you please, Mr. Bonora?

Mr. BONORA. August 7, 1952, page 4. There is no title.

A shudder must seize everyone who heard the announcement recently made in the name of the U. N.—

Mr. SACHER. Did you say there is a title or not?

Mr. BONORA. There is no title. It is on page 4. It starts out "A shudder must seize."

A shudder must seize everyone who heard the announcement recently made in the name of the U. N. by the American General Glenn Barnes, commander of the 8th Air Squadron.

Mr. ARENS. Do you read Yiddish?

Mr. SACHER. Yes; I do. You bet I do. I am reading.

Mr. SCHERER. You are not the witness.

Mr. SACHER. That is all right. I am reading it.

Mr. SCHERER. I don't think we have to accommodate counsel.

Mr. SACHER. You mean you are incapable of elemental courtesy, Congressman?

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that the counsel be admonished to restrain himself or be removed. He has attacked a member of this committee unjustly, vehemently, and is in violation of the rules of this committee, repeatedly.

Mr. MOULDER. Any additional statements by counsel which would be vexatious or insulting or personal attacks will not be tolerated.

What I am coming to, though, is this: You handed a document to the witness. I understand that you have refused to examine the document.

Mr. NOVICK. To identify it.

Mr. MOULDER. While Mr. Bonora reads the translation from the document; is that correct?

Mr. NOVICK. That is right. I refuse to identify these documents on the same basis.

Mr. MOULDER. The point I am making is this: You refuse to take the document and examine it so you might be qualified to answer the questions which might be asked you about it. You are directed and requested by the committee to hold the document in your hand and examine it and look at it.

Mr. NOVICK. Mr. Chairman, this is a fair request, of course.

Mr. MOULDER. Otherwise you could not even consider the questions which might be propounded to you.

Mr. NOVICK. Being that I am questioning the rights of the committee to delve into the editorials of any newspaper and of this newspaper—

Mr. MOULDER. You base your refusal on the same grounds, the first amendment?

Mr. NOVICK. Exactly. For this reason I am not identifying these documents.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed.

Mr. BONORA (reading):

The announcement says, in essence, that 78 cities in North Korea will be destroyed through air attacks. This is a repetition of the blitz in which Hitler's Luftwaffe specialized during the Second World War, and which was so sharply condemned everywhere in the civilized world.

The translation is from the same section of the Library of Congress.

Mr. NOVICK. May I ask a question here?

Mr. ARENS. Did you write that editorial just read to you by Mr. Bonora?

Mr. NOVICK. May I say a few words?

Mr. MOULDER. The question is pending.

Mr. NOVICK. I decline to answer on the same grounds. I would like to ask, Mr. Chairman, most Americans fought for peace in Korea. Our President went to Korea for peace.

(Document marked "Novick Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SCHERER. I object to any speeches on the part of the witness. He refuses to answer any question. Why should he have the right to ask us questions or make a speech?

Mr. NOVICK. I heard Mr. Arens make quite a few speeches yesterday.

Mr. SCHERER. We will let you make a speech if you will answer one of the questions.

Mr. MOULDER. The editorial or the writing speaks for itself. Let us proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us what does Morning Freiheit mean?

Mr. NOVICK. Morning Freedom.

Mr. ARENS. We want to display to you the reproduction of several articles in your paper—Mr. Bonora will just allude to them—announcing meetings of the Communist Party to be held in 1952 at various places over the community.

Mr. BONORA. September 1, 1952, page 2, Morning Freiheit.

Mr. ARENS. I suggest you not take the time to read the entire article, but allude to it. If he wants to follow the translation he can do so.

Mr. BONORA (reading): Elections Meeting of Communist Party, September 5, 1952.

ELECTION MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN NEW YORK

The national office of the Communist Party announced yesterday that the Communist Party will officially open its 1952 election campaign at a mass meeting in Rockland Palace ballroom * * *

and announces a conference of delegates.

September 4, 1952, page 4:

Tomorrow, Friday, September 5, a large election meeting arranged by the Communist Party will be held in Rockland Palace, 155th Street and 8th Avenue. At this meeting the issues in the current election campaign will be discussed* * * The speakers will include Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Pettis Perry, and Simon Gerson * * *

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Novick, are those articles alluded to by Mr. Bonora in these translations true and correct?

Mr. NOVICK. I decline to identify and answer on the same grounds, the first and fifth amendments.

(Documents marked "Novick Exhibit No. 5," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I want to display to you the document which is the nominating petition of the Communist Party of November 1940 in which you are listed as one of the electors for the Communist Party, at large in New York City. Please look at that document and tell us whether or not you are accurately described.

(Witness examined document.)

Mr. NOVICK. I decline to identify and to answer the question on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Novick Exhibit No. 6," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, I want to display to you a document, a Communist magazine entitled "The Communist," in which you have an article entitled "A Solution for Palestine," by Paul Novick. Please look at that document and tell us whether or not you are the author of that article.

Mr. NOVICK. I decline to identify and to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed and ordered to at least cooperate to the extent of looking at and examining the document that is handed to the witness by counsel.

Mr. SACHER. Let the record show that he did look at it.

Mr. NOVICK. Yes; I did look at it. But I refuse to identify it.

(Document marked "Novick Exhibit No. 7," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Now we have two other articles in The Communist written by Paul Novick. The first is Palestine—Land of Anti-Impe-

rialist Struggle. The other is Zionism and Imperialist War, by Paul Novick. Please look at those articles and tell us whether or not you would be good enough to identify them.

(Witness examined documents.)

Mr. NOVICK. I respectfully decline to identify and to answer on the same grounds, both amendments, first and fifth.

(Documents marked "Novick Exhibit No. 8," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. In 1944 you were one of the national committee members of the Communist Political Association, were you not?

Mr. NOVICK. I respectfully decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker, May 23, 1944, page 2, in which you are so identified.

Mr. NOVICK. Same answer, Mr. Chairman.

(Document marked "Novick Exhibit No. 9," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. You have also been on the editorial board of another publication, Jewish Life, have you not?

Mr. NOVICK. I decline to answer on the same grounds, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. We lay before you, if you please, a thermofax reproduction of two issues of the publication, Jewish Life, November 1948, and April 1950, on which your name appears as a member of the editorial board. Please look at those and tell us whether or not you are accurately described.

Mr. NOVICK. Some more delving into the press, and I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

(Documents marked "Novick Exhibit No. 10," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. In 1936 you wrote an article which we have, in the Communist Daily Worker, November 7, page 2, entitled "All Moscow Festive on Eve of 19th Soviet Anniversary," in which you hail the Soviet system and in which you tell all about how wonderful it is in Moscow. You are writing from Moscow. Please look at this article and tell us if you are accurately described therein.

Mr. NOVICK. There are quite a few correspondents writing in Moscow. You see every day cables from Moscow in the New York Times and other newspapers. This is delving into the press. I decline on the same grounds, both amendments.

(Document marked "Novick Exhibit No. 11," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Were you in Moscow in 1936?

Mr. NOVICK. I respectfully decline.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do in Moscow in 1936, completely divorced from any activities from the press?

Mr. NOVICK. I respectfully decline on the same grounds, both amendments.

Mr. ARENS. How many times have you been in Moscow since you came to the United States and obtained American citizenship?

Mr. NOVICK. I respectfully decline, Mr. Chairman, on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. You have also in addition to your journalistic career been active as a professor, have you not?

(No response.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you been active also as an instructor or professor?

Mr. NOVICK. You said professor. This is news to me. I am not a professor.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been an instructor or lecturer?

Mr. NOVICK. I respectfully decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. NOVICK. On both grounds, the first and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to display to you a bulletin of the Workers School in which Mr. Earl Browder was celebrated and in which your name—

Mr. SACHER. Celebrated as what?

Mr. ARENS (continuing). And in which your name is listed as one of the instructors and lecturers at the Workers School in New York, along with a number of other leading Communist conspirators.

Please look at that document and tell us, if you would be good enough, whether or not you are accurately identified.

Mr. NOVICK. I decline to identify and answer on the same grounds, Mr. Chairman.

(Document marked "Novick Exhibit No. 12," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. We are going to lay before you several documents in which you are identified by the Communist Daily Worker and by various bulletins issued by certain organizations in your capacity as editor of the Morning Freiheit, as instructor in the School of Jewish Studies, in various public activities.

Please look at those documents and be good enough to tell us if they truly and accurately reflect the facts.

Mr. NOVICK. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully decline to identify and answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MOULDER. As to each and every one of the documents submitted to you, is that right?

Mr. NOVICK. That is right; yes.

Mr. ARENS. The fact is that the Morning Freiheit is only one more tentacle of the international Communist propaganda apparatus in the United States, isn't that true?

Mr. NOVICK. Mr. Chairman, this is McCarthy talk.

Mr. ARENS. Deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. NOVICK. I decline on the same grounds. This is not parliamentary language. This is inciting language; McCarthy talk.

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

Mr. SCHERER. I have no questions.

Mr. MOULDER. May I make our position clear? In the beginning of these hearings we made it clear and emphasized that it certainly is not the intention on the part of this committee or members of the staff to interfere in any manner whatsoever with freedom of the press. We respect it, we have the highest regard for it, and we think it is one of the fundamental liberties which we enjoy in this country.

However, we do feel it to be our duty to expose publications of a seditious nature or which carry, with them the spirit of sedition or treasonable writings which are un-American and probably subversive. And to expose it so that the people might know the origin from whence come such publications.

If such publications are Communist controlled and the officers and editors are controlled by the Communist conspiracy, then that fact should be revealed and the public should be advised and informed of it.

The witness is excused.

Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Irving Freed, please come forward. Kindly remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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. FREED. I do.

Mr. SCHERER. In view of what has been said, I think I should read into the record the powers and duties of the committee as fixed by law.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States; 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 all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

Mr. MOULDER. That is Public Law 601.

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. And we are dutybound and directed by the Congress of the United States to go into this subject and this investigation.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING FREED, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HARRY SACHER

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

Mr. FREED. Irving Freed, 2725 Barker Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.; writer.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Un-American Activities Committee?

Mr. FREED. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. FREED. That is right.

Mr. SACHER. Harry Sacher, still at 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. What is the name of the man who preceded you to the witness stand?

Mr. FREED. I respectfully decline on the basis of first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. He is editor of the Morning Freiheit, is he not?

Mr. FREED. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Where and when were you born?

Mr. FREED. October 24, 1908, in the town called Bershad, in Russian Ukraine.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. FREED. November 1921.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen?

Mr. FREED. I am, sir.

Mr. ARENS. By naturalization?

Mr. FREED. Derivative citizenship.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. FREED. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. You are the managing editor of the Morning Freiheit, are you not?

Mr. FREED. I respectfully decline on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to display to you two documents at this time.

The first is a statement filed with the postal authorities by the Morning Freiheit in which you are identified as the managing editor of the Morning Freiheit.

(Document previously identified as "Novick Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. The second is a certificate filed by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc., pursuant to the membership corporation law with the State of New York in which you are likewise so identified and on which you signed your name as one of the directors of that corporation.

(Document marked "Freed Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Please look at those two documents and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are accurately described therein.

(Witness examined documents and conferred with counsel.)

Mr. FREED. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of John Lautner?

Mr. FREED. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lautner 2 or 3 days ago took an oath and identified you as a member of the Communist Party. Was he lying or telling the truth?

Mr. FREED. I respectfully decline on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What is Jewish Life, do you know?

Mr. FREED. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. That is a publication published by the Morning Freiheit Association; isn't that correct?

Mr. FREED. I decline on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to display to you now, if you please, an article by yourself, a guest editorial, appearing in Jewish Life (September 1947), by Irving Freed. Please look at this article in which you are identified as managing editor of the Morning Freiheit, daily Yiddish, anti-Fascist newspaper, and tell us whether or not you are accurately and truthfully identified there.

(Witness examined document.)

Mr. FREED. I decline on the same grounds.

(Document marked "Freed Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Do you know whether or not the man who preceded you to the witness stand, Paul Novick, is a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. FREED. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. We have 2 or 3 exhibits here in which your activities are described in the Communist Daily Worker. I should like to have you examine them, if you would please be good enough. One, the Communist Daily Worker of November 13, 1950, identifies you as one of the persons who sought to visit the Communist leader, Alexander Bittelman. Please look at that and tell us whether or not you are accurately identified.

(Witness examined document.)

Mr. FREED. I respectfully decline on the same grounds.

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

(Documents marked "Freed Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is excused.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Gerhard Hagelberg.

(No response.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that we take a 5-minute recess. Mr. Hagelberg agreed to be here at 2 o'clock and it is just a little before 2 o'clock.

Mr. MOULDER. The committee will stand in recess for a few minutes.

(Thereupon a brief recess was taken.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Hagelberg, do you want to come forward, please?

Mr. MOULDER. Do you solemnly 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. HAGELBERG. I do.

TESTIMONY OF GERHARD HAGELBERG ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, F. J. DONNER

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

Mr. HAGELBERG. Gerhard Hagelberg, 127 West 82d Street, New York City 24; researcher.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today, Mr. Hagelberg, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. HAGELBERG. That is right; by a marshal.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. HAGELBERG. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, would you kindly identify yourself?

Mr. DONNER. F. J. Donner, 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Hagelberg, have you ever been known by any name other than Gerhard Hagelberg?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel that if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you have been known by any name other than the name, Gerhard Hagelberg, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Mr. Arens, I cited the first and fifth amendments to the previous question.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that last question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the question. I want to advise and inform you that the committee does not accept your response to the question as being a legitimate cause for refusing to answer. I further advise you of the possible dangers of being guilty of contempt of Congress for your refusal to answer.

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. HAGELBERG. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully decline on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Mr. Arens, I think the question upon which you are entering now, due to the nature of my work, opens up an area which I must respectfully decline to answer for this reason: I am a legal researcher and I think questions of the precise nature of my employment would violate confidential relationships. For that reason, Mr. Arens, I respectfully decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. MOULDER. Just a moment, please. Again the committee refuses to accept your reasons for refusal to answer and you are ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. HAGELBERG. In light of the fact that my previous objection has not been upheld by you, I must take the provisions of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed?

Mr. HAGELBERG. The same two answers that I just gave. That is the same question.

Mr. ARENS. In what city are you employed?

Mr. HAGELBERG. In New York City.

Mr. ARENS. What is the physical location of the place where you are employed?

Mr. HAGELBERG. To that question I must give the same two answers that I just gave to your immediate preceding question.

Mr. MOULDER. Do I understand you decline to answer for the same reasons previously given?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Both on the grounds of violation of confidential relationships and on the first and fifth amendments, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently managing editor of The German-American, published by The German-American, Inc.?

Mr. HAGELBERG. That question I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments, violation of the freedom of the press. I think it goes beyond the scope of this committee. I think it is a violation of due process. It would tend to enter into an area in which self-incrimination lies.

Mr. ARENS. We should like to lay before you now a thermofax reproduction of the statement filed pursuant to the postal laws by The German-American, New York, N. Y., on which you are designated or indicated as the managing editor of The German-American.

Please look at that document and tell this committee whether or not you are accurately described.

(Witness examined document.)

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments, Mr. Arens.

(Document marked "Hagelberg Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Where were you born, and when?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I was born in Berlin, Germany, on September 7, 1925.

Mr. ARENS. When did you come to the United States for permanent residence?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I came to the United States in 1943.

Mr. ARENS. Did you come under the quotas?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I should think so; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Let me finish my answer, Mr. Arens.

I have no precise recollection, but I know it was a regular entry and that sort of thing.

Mr. ARENS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. By naturalization?

Mr. HAGELBERG. By naturalization.

Mr. ARENS. When and where were you naturalized?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I was naturalized in the United States Army, in Camp Lee, Va., in 1944.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you were naturalized?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Mr. Arens, that is a little silly question. I was 18 years old at the time I was in the Army. I had been in this country less than a year. So it is a frivolous question.

Mr. ARENS. Deny it if it is not true.

Mr. HAGELBERG. Excuse me, Mr. Arens, I am speaking. You asked me a question. In view of the area upon which you have entered I will decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Now give us a brief résumé of your employment after you arrived in the United States. I believe you said in 1925.

Mr. HAGELBERG. I was born in 1925.

Mr. ARENS. 1943. I beg your pardon. 1943 until the present.

Mr. HAGELBERG. Shortly after coming here I began to work on a spinach farm. Then I went into the Army. With minor small interruptions after coming out of the Army, I clerked for awhile. I was unemployed for awhile. I clerked some more and I finally became a researcher.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know or have you known a person by the name of Enuga S. Reedy employed by United Nations?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Have you engaged in espionage?

Mr. HAGELBERG. No, Mr. Arens, I have not.

Mr. ARENS. Have you knowledge of espionage?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I have not finished. I have never engaged in espionage, Mr. Arens, and I doubt whether the FBI would need your help to either find out about any espionage or lead to my conviction if I had done any espionage.

Mr. ARENS. Have you any knowledge of any espionage against this Government?

Mr. HAGELBERG. If I had knowledge about any espionage against this Government, I would certainly bring it to the attention of the proper authorities, Mr. Arens, without your encouragement.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you know Enuga S. Reedy, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I stand by my previous answer.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Harold Leventhal?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Isadore Needleman?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Kumar Goshal?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Prasauta, first name, and last name, Mahalanohis?

Mr. HAGELBERG. How do you pronounce that?

Mr. ARENS. I don't know. M-a-h-a-l-a-n-o-h-i-s. Do you know such a person?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. What contact have you had in the course of the last year with persons who are representatives in the United States of foreign governments?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments and I think it is completely beyond the scope of this committee and this particular inquiry.

Mr. ARENS. Did you on April 25, 1956, attend a meeting in New York City in the apartment of Harold Leventhal?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Who is Milton Friedman?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I don't understand that question.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Milton Friedman?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Could you identify the Milton Friedman to whom you refer a little more?

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a person by the name of Milton Friedman?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I think, Mr. Arens, we are again treading on the area of confidential relationships to my work as a legal researcher to which I must respectfully decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Does this legal research keep you in touch with the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. You are staff consultant for the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; are you not?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated, the first and fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever used the name Charles Wisley?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. The fact is that you have used the name Charles Wisley in some of your writings; have you not?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I want to lay before you the Communist publication, *Masses and Mainstream*, bearing an article by Charles Wisley, attacking United States imperialism, and ask you if it is not a fact that you are the Charles Wisley who wrote the article in *Masses and Mainstream*.

(Witness examined document and consulted with counsel.)

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Hagelberg Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. We have two other articles under which the name of Charles Wisley appears, August 12, 1947, and July 1, 1947, in *New Masses*. Look at those two articles and tell this committee if it is true that you wrote those articles under the name Charles Wisley.

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments and I think it is completely beyond the scope of this committee.

(Documents marked "Hagelberg Exhibit No. 3" and retained in the committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever used the name Jerry Kramer?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. What was the name under which you enlisted in the United States Army?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I didn't enlist.

Mr. ARENS. Under which you served in the United States Army; I beg your pardon.

Mr. HAGELBERG. My name, Gerhard Hagelberg. I have two middle initials.

Mr. ARENS. When did you use the name Jerry Kramer?

Mr. HAGELBERG. You as a lawyer know you can't ask a question like that. You are making an assumption; aren't you?

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact and ask you to affirm or deny the fact that you have used the name of Jerry Kramer. Deny it while you are under oath if you please, sir.

Mr. HAGELBERG. I take the privileges accorded to me and any other American citizen under the first and fifth amendments to that question in whatever form you put that.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee truthfully whether or not you have ever used the name Jerry Kramer, you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is so ordered to answer the question.

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. HAGELBERG. Mr. Chairman, I must respectfully give the same answer, the privileges of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. What is your present home address?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I am in the telephone book, Mr. Arens. My home address is 127 West 82d Street.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you lived there?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I am trying to think.

Mr. ARENS. Approximately.

Mr. HAGELBERG. For about 2 to 2½ years.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you live immediately prior to the time you moved to your present address?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Prior to that time I lived on 73d Street.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you live there?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Probably about 2 years. Don't hold me to that exactly.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you live immediately prior to the time that you lived on 73d Street?

Mr. HAGELBERG. On East 12th Street.

Mr. ARENS. What is the address on East 12th Street?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I think 520. It is all the way over anyway.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you live there?

Mr. HAGELBERG. A couple of years, approximately.

Mr. ARENS. And where did you live prior to that time?

Mr. HAGELBERG. In Brooklyn Heights, I think, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. And what was the address there?

Mr. HAGELBERG. That was on Hicks Street.

Mr. ARENS. Was that 154 Hicks Street?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I am not quite sure.

Mr. ARENS. Or was it 156 Hicks Street?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I am afraid I could not say that definitely one way or another.

Mr. MOULDER. Was it on that street?

Mr. HAGELBERG. It was Hicks Street; yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. What group did you belong to when you lived on Hicks Street in Brooklyn?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I think that question is so vague, Mr. Arens that you cannot expect me to answer it.

Mr. ARENS. Were you one of the ringleaders of the Boro Hall Section of the Communist Party on Hicks Street in Brooklyn in 1948?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Apart from the vagueness of the term "ringleader" in view of the area of the question I decline to answer it on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. What has been your connection with the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a thermofax reproduction of the letterhead of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy on which you are listed as one of the consultants to that organization.

Please look at that letterhead and tell us while you are under oath whether or not you are accurately described.

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Hagelberg Exhibit No. 4," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. What has been your connection with the Far East Spotlight?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to display to you now a bulletin of the Far East Spotlight (June 1949) in which your name appears as one of the consultants to that publication. Please look at this bulletin and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are accurately described.

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Hagelberg Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. You have authored articles for the Spotlight on the Far East published by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Are you testifying, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is so ordered.

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a thermofax reproduction of an article in Spotlight of August-September 1947, under authorship by your real name, Gerhard Hagelberg, entitled, "Indonesia at the U. N." Please look at that document and tell us whether or not you are accurately described.

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Hagelberg Exhibit No. 6," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you two other articles which you have authored under the name of Gerhard Hagelberg in the Far East Spotlight (September 1948 and March 1949). Please look at those and see if you would be good enough to help the Committee on Un-American Activities by identifying those articles.

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer the question concerning these two purported documents on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

(Documents marked "Hagelberg Exhibit No 7," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. What have you done toward revealing to the world the so-called spy operations, intelligence operations of the United States? Can you help us on that? What have you done to enlighten the world on the spy operations of the Government under whose flag you have protection?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Would you mind enlightening me, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Yes; I would like to lay before you right now rather than to quibble, the Daily Worker of March 17, 1953, page 8. The article states, "A detailed account of United States intelligence operations in the Socialist countries, documented by copious citations wholly drawn from commercial press sources, is the subject of an extended article by Gerhard Hagelberg in the March issue of the progressive monthly, *Jewish Life*."

Please look at this article in the Communist Daily Worker of March 1953 and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are accurately described as the author of the article detailing the so-called intelligence operations of the United States Government behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. HAGELBERG. Will you enlighten me? Are you conducting a large inquiry into the American press?

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed and ordered to answer that question.

Mr. HAGELBERG. Would you repeat the question? I am sorry.

Mr. ARENS. Please read the question to him, Mr. Reporter.

(Question read by the reporter.)

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Hagelberg Exhibit No. 8," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you obtain any information for that article from a restricted or confidential source?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Since that question assumes a fact not in evidence, I cannot answer it. As far as—apart from the particular area, my obtaining any material from confidential or restricted sources—I assume you mean by the United States Government, the answer to that—

Mr. SCHERER. Or from any Russian agent.

Mr. HAGELBERG. Mr. Scherer, one question at a time, please.

Mr. SCHERER. I just wanted to help you out.

Mr. HAGELBERG. No; thank you, sir.

To the extent that that aspect of the United States is covered, is covered by my previous answer to your previous question.

Mr. SCHERER. Let us quit the doubletalk.

Mr. HAGELBERG. I beg your pardon.

Mr. SCHERER. Let us quit this doubletalk. Did you get any of this information that you published in this article from confidential sources?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Of what nature, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. As I asked, from a Russian agent or material that is classified.

Mr. HAGELBERG. Since you assume, Mr. Scherer, that I published the article—

Mr. SCHERER. Is there any question about it?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I don't think there is—

Mr. SCHERER. Let me ask you this question.

Mr. HAGELBERG. Mr. Scherer, have you ever heard of the case of *Burdick v. United States* (236 U. S. 79)?

Mr. SCHERER. You answer this question. Is my assumption that you published that article incorrect? I want you to tell these people whether I have assumed incorrectly.

Mr. HAGELBERG. I am trying to tell you, Mr. Scherer, that no assumption can be drawn from my taking the first and fifth amendments with regard to the previous question as to this purported document.

Mr. SCHERER. Let us forget the previous question. Is my assumption that you published this article incorrect?

Mr. HAGELBERG. The answer to that is again the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. I thought so.

Mr. ARENS. We would like to invite to your attention an article entitled, "The Conspiracy Against Southeast Asia," by Gerhard Hagelberg, appearing in the Far East Spotlight (November 1948). Please be good enough to tell this committee while you are under oath if you are the author of that article.

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer this question on the grounds that it is an invasion of the freedom of the press as guaranteed by the first amendment or the privileges accruing to me under the fifth amendment.

(Document marked "Hagelberg Exhibit No. 9" are retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. I would like to read you excerpts from this next article by yourself, Gerhard Hagelberg, appearing in April 17, 1949, issue of the Communist Daily Worker. I will read only excerpts:

The Chinese people's victory is the most significant event since the October revolution because, like the founding of the Soviet Union, the emergence of China's new democracy will influence every move in both the reactionary and democratic camps in the world. The passing of China into the democratic camp means the addition of vast forces and vital lessons to the arsenal of the side fighting imperialism. From a base for an imperialistic war, China has been turned into stronghold of peace. China's lesson of the necessity of unity of all anti-imperialists, as well as the unity of the people with its army and the unity of the people with its Communist Party, has already been applied with success in Greece and Vietnam, and it is equally valid for Israel or Mexico.

The Chinese people have proved that even American imperialism, which is today the leader of the world imperialist camp and the main prop of the colonial system, is in reality only a "paper tiger, terrible to look at, but melting when the rains come." They have done so by defeating American imperialism on a battleground of its own choice, for nowhere in the world have the American imperialists expended so much money and material in so many different ways as in China.

With the victory in China, two paths have been opened to the people still suffering from imperialism. One is the path followed by the leaders of India and the Philippines, by Pandit Nehru and General Romulo—the jackals of Anglo-American imperialism. This is the path of compromise with imperialism, hidden by anti-imperialistic verbiage. It is followed by those who do not trust the people and who do not recognize the leadership of the Soviet Union.

The other path is the path of Mao Tse-tung. This is the path of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin applied to the concrete situation and needs of a country dominated by imperialism.

It is the path of resolute opposition to reaction, and it entails the leadership of the Communist Party, the alliance of workers and peasants, as well as the organization of the entire people in the conscious cooperation with all the progressive forces in the world in the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship. This is the path of success.

Look at that masterpiece of Communist propaganda and tell this committee whether or not you are the author of it.

Mr. HAGELBERG. Is this inquiry within the scope of the committee?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question at his peril.

Mr. SCHERER. If it isn't, then nothing is.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

Mr. SCHERER. This is a glaring example of subversive activities. Where would you have a more glaring example?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I decline to answer this question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Hagelberg Exhibit No. 10," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MOULDER. May I interrogate the witness in this respect? Could you explain to us how and why your denial or admission of being the author of this article interferes with the freedom of the press?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Mr. Moulder, it seems to me that the inquiry is an attempt to stifle the freedom of the press.

Mr. MOULDER. No interference has apparently prevented the publication of that article nor the author, whoever wrote it, from publishing it. I can't understand your reasoning that there would be any interference with the freedom of the press by your admission or your denial of being the author of it.

Mr. HAGELBERG. Mr. Moulder, aren't you trying to intimidate precisely by this sort of inquiry the future freedom of the press as well as past and future?

Mr. SCHERER. You will go out and write something real bad about this committee.

Mr. HAGELBERG. We are discussing this now, I presume.

Mr. SCHERER. I want to show you that you are not intimidated.

Mr. HAGELBERG. Quite in the abstract.

Mr. SCHERER. We want to show the people, the type of people who write this thing, that they are Communist agents. That is all.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed with the questioning.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I don't know what that question means.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness is directed to answer the question.

Mr. HAGELBERG. How can I answer a question that I don't know the meaning of?

Mr. MOULDER. You mean you deny having any knowledge or information, or of knowing what the Communist conspiracy is?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I merely said I don't understand the meaning of the question.

Mr. ARENS. Let us change the question and be facetious. Are you a patriotic Communist?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I don't know the meaning of that question either.

Mr. ARENS. Or are you just a plain Communist?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I will decline to answer the question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that this concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. SCHERER. He has the right to write those articles and tomorrow write another one perhaps more violent and false than that one.

Nothing interferes with his writing. You can go ahead and do it. But nothing interferes with this Congress' right to point out to the American people just who writes that kind of propaganda. They should have the advantage when they read that kind of stuff of knowing who the author is, knowing that he is a representative of the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. HAGELBERG. You seem to be under the misapprehension that there has been any admission here of anything whatsoever. There has not been.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you deny that you are a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HAGELBERG. I claim the protection of the United States Constitution, Mr. Scherer. From that there is no assumption, no inference.

Mr. SCHERER. I am inferring it.

Mr. HAGELBERG. That is your privilege.

Mr. SCHERER. Is my assumption incorrect?

Mr. HAGELBERG. It is your privilege to make any assumptions.

Mr. SCHERER. I am assuming that you are a dedicated Communist, one of the most dangerous people in the United States to this Government. Is that assumption incorrect?

Mr. HAGELBERG. Mr. Scherer, to the question of what your assumptions are, I must also respectfully decline to answer and I cannot possibly enter into the workings of your mind, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. MOULDER. Are there any other questions?

The witness is excused.

Do you have any statement to make, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes. I have been asked, and properly so, by a representative of the press to point out that *Jewish Life*, published at 22 East 17th Street, is not to be confused with the *Orthodox Jewish Life* published at 305 Broadway. The committee is happy to comply with that request.

Mr. Chairman. I have just a few comments in relation to the hearings that have taken place here in New York.

During the hearings this week there have appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities numerous owners, editors, and managers of various foreign-language newspapers published in the United States. The great majority of those who appeared are foreign born, who have been given citizenship in the United States. Now let us see how they used that citizenship.

Most of these publications carry vigorous, false, pro-Russian, communistic propaganda. Some even bitterly attacked the United States during the Korean war with charges that have given aid and comfort to the enemy. This constitutes treason under the laws and the Constitution of the United States. All who were called are, or have been, dedicated Communists. These newspapers are read by thousands of people in the United States, many of whom cannot read English; and they must, therefore, rely on these newspapers for their political information. These are publications carrying the Communist line and cleverly and subtly working toward the ultimate objective of the Communist conspiracy; namely, the internal subversion and destruction of the Government of the United States, as indicated by the testimony involving the last witness.

They are the fifth column, more dangerous to our safety and security than 10,000 enemy troops poised on the other side of the Iron Curtain. They are doing the work of the Kremlin here in this country. They have violated in every way the citizenship which has been given to them. In fact, they are hiding behind their citizenship.

The law provides for the denaturalization of active Communists, people like these. In view of the overwhelming evidence adduced at these hearings here in New York, it is the duty of this subcommittee to recommend that the House Committee on Un-American Activities urge the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization and the Department of Justice to take such steps in accordance with law to bring about the denaturalization and eventual deportation of these people.

Nothing I have said should be construed as indicating that all foreign-language newspapers are Communist dominated and Communist controlled, because this is simply not true. As has been demonstrated, however, this week, and we have only scratched the surface, there are enough of these foreign-language newspapers so controlled as to warrant continued hearings.

Furthermore, nothing which I have said should be construed, as the Daily Worker is planning to do, as an attack upon foreign-born citizens of this country. The vast majority, by far, of these people are fine, loyal, law-abiding citizens. They are being exploited and misinformed by these Communists who are using the very freedom of the press in this country to promote the aims of the Russian conspiracy in this cold war.

That is all I have to say.

Mr. MOULDER. Thank you, Mr. Scherer.

First I want to reemphasize the statement we made in the beginning of the hearings. It is not the purpose nor intention of this committee to interfere with the freedom of the press in any manner whatsoever, except only as an agency of the Congress under Public Law 601 to investigate subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic nature.

In concluding this series of hearings in New York, I should like to make a few observations respecting certain concrete accomplishments which I feel have resulted from the evidence we have adduced.

In the first place we have heard testimony and seen numerous exhibits respecting the flood of Communist propaganda which is entering the port of New York from Communist countries and from Communist sources in non-Communist countries. This testimony and these exhibits are important in confirming similar evidence which we have received at other ports of entry. It helps complete the picture of the nationwide problem which confronts us. We have received, moreover, several concrete suggestions for amendments to various laws dealing with the labeling and processing of this foreign Communist propaganda. These suggestions we will take back to Congress in Washington and consider carefully in connection with the legislative phases of our committee work.

I should like to point out here that most of the internal security legislation of the Congress in the course of the last several years has been processed through the Committee on Un-American Activities. This legislation includes the Internal Security Act, the Communist

Control Act, the Immunity Act, and numerous amendments to the Criminal Code.

These hearings here in New York City have also developed important facts respecting the source and nature of Communist propaganda which is formulated here in the United States.

One significant phase of these hearings has been the testimony respecting the attempts of the Communist conspiracy to subvert and control certain segments of the foreign-language press and thereby influence nationality groups in this country to the Communist cause. In this period of cold war in which the Kremlin and the free world are competing for the minds of men, it is vital for the free world to know as much as possible about those who serve the cause of international communism and the ideological propaganda weapons which they use.

We have also received in this series of hearings an indirect confirmation of the fraud which the National Convention of the Communist Party tried to perpetrate by proclaiming its innocence of conspiratorial connections with Moscow. Time after time, witness after witness who had been identified as a Communist leader refused to reveal to us the facts respecting this so-called new look of the Communist Party. In spite of the searching questions which we posed to them, they evaded or refused to answer because they knew that they were under oath and could be proceeded against for perjury if they lied to this committee, as they are lying to the American public, respecting their true nature and designs. We, and I am sure the great majority of the American people, prefer to accept the statements of J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, when he recently warned that the so-called new look of the Communist Party is a fraud and a ruse.

Before closing the hearings, I should like to express our deep appreciation to the many who have cooperated with the committee, including the United States marshal; the representatives of the press, radio, and television; and the authorities having jurisdiction over this hearing room.

The committee will be adjourned.

(Thereupon, at 2:45 p. m., Friday, March 15, 1957, the hearing was adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.)

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