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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN
THE UNITED STATES—PART 8
(BUFFALO, N. Y., AREA)

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

—————
OCTOBER 1, 1957
—————

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INCLUDING INDEX



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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¹ See Investigation of Communist Activities in the Buffalo, N. Y., Area—Part 1, October 2, 1957.



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.

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.

* * * * *

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

SYNOPSIS

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES— PART 8, BUFFALO, N. Y., AREA

In a continuation of its investigation of the dissemination of Communist propaganda in the United States, the Committee on Un-American Activities, in public hearings in Buffalo, N. Y., on October 1, 1957, heard Irving Fishman, Deputy Collector of Customs in New York, and Miss Eleanor Suske and Serge Buteneff, administrative assistants in the Restricted Material Division of the United States Customs in New York. They testified that approximately 3,000 pieces of Communist propaganda were being sent to the Buffalo area for distribution per month.

In addition, Mr. Fishman stressed the need for passage of those parts of the committee's omnibus security bill (H. R. 9352) of the 85th Congress, which would strengthen the Foreign Agents Registration Act and impose stricter controls on the dissemination of Communist propaganda in the United States.

Other testimony demonstrated the need for possible additional amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act to control the dissemination of foreign Communist propaganda in the United States which originates from a source outside of the Soviet Union or satellite countries but forms a part of the political and propaganda program of the Kremlin.

The committee interrogated at length two identified Communists, Sidney Turoff and Mortimer Scheer, about the distribution of Communist propaganda in the Buffalo area.

Mortimer Scheer invoked the fifth amendment in response to all questions relating to Communist Party membership and activity. Mr. Turoff readily admitted his own membership and activity in the Communist Party. However, he refused to give the committee the identity of any individuals known to him to have been members of the Communist Party. Mr. Turoff also admitted purchasing printing presses to be used by the Communist Party and its members in the Buffalo area. The evidence demonstrated conclusively that the purchase of this equipment was done in a manner illustrating anew the conspiratorial role of the Communist Party.

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES—PART 8

(Buffalo, N. Y., Area)

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1957

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

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a. m. in room 600, United States Courthouse, Buffalo, N. Y., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman of the subcommittee), presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana, and Gordon H. Scherer, Ohio.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, director; W. Jackson Jones, and George C. Williams, investigators.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will be in order.

This subcommittee, consisting of Hon. Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania, Hon. Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio, seated here, and myself, Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, has been duly appointed by the chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Hon. Francis E. Walter, to conduct hearings here in Buffalo, N. Y. Unfortunately, Mr. Walter is unable to be present because of a physical injury from which he is recuperating. There is, however, a quorum present and the subcommittee will accordingly proceed with its duties.

Let the record at this point include the authorization by the committee (July 10, 1957) for the holding of these hearings in Buffalo, N. Y., which I have designated appendix I.

APPENDIX I

COMMITTEE AUTHORIZATION FOR BUFFALO HEARINGS

A motion was made by Mr. Jackson, seconded by Mr. Doyle and unanimously carried, approving and authorizing the holding of hearings in Buffalo, N. Y., beginning September 17, 1957, or on any other date determined by the chairman of the committee, and the conduct of investigations deemed reasonably necessary by the staff in preparation therefor, relating to the following subjects and having the legislative purposes indicated:

1. Entry and dissemination in the Buffalo area of foreign Communist Party propaganda, the legislative purpose being to determine the necessity for, and advisability of, amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act designed more effectively to counteract the Communist schemes and devices now used in avoiding the prohibitions of the act;

2. Execution by administrative agencies concerned of laws requiring the listing of printing presses and machines capable of being used to produce or publish printed matter, in the possession, custody, ownership or control of the Com-

munist Party or Communist fronts, the legislative purpose being to assist Congress in appraising the administration of title 50, United States Code, section 786 (6), and in developing such amendments to the Internal Security Act of 1950, as it may deem necessary;

3. The extent, character, and objects of Communist infiltration into industrial, civic, and political organizations of the Buffalo area, the legislative purpose being to add to the committee's overall knowledge on the subject so that Congress may be kept informed and thus prepare to enact remedial legislation in the national defense and for internal security, when and if the exigencies of the situation require it;

4. Misuse of passports by subversives and concealment of material facts in applications for passports, the legislative purpose being to enact legislation in the field of un-American activities relating to the misuse of passports, designed to amend and strengthen the provisions of H. R. 5612 now being considered by the Committee on the Judiciary; and

5. All other matters within the jurisdiction of the committee which may be developed in the course of the staff's investigation.

Likewise, let the record reflect at this point the order of appointment of the subcommittee which order I have designated appendix II.

APPENDIX II

APPOINTMENT OF SUBCOMMITTEE FOR BUFFALO HEARINGS

AUGUST 29, 1957.

To Mr. Richard Arens, Director, House Committee on Un-American Activities:

Pursuant to the provisions of law and the rules of this committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Representatives Gordon H. Scherer and Edwin E. Willis, associate members, and myself, Francis E. Walter, as chairman, to conduct hearings in Buffalo, N. Y., on October 1, 2, and 3, 1957, at 10 a. m., on subjects under investigation by the committee and take such testimony on said days or succeeding days, as it may deem necessary.

Please make this action a matter of committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 29th day of August 1957.

FRANCIS E. WALTER,
Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.

Under the provisions of Public Law 601 of the 79th Congress, the Congress has placed upon this committee the duty of investigating 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. Congress has also placed upon this committee the duty of exercising continuous watchfulness over the execution of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of this committee.

For the past 2 years, the committee has engaged in an extensive investigation to ascertain the amount and variety of foreign Communist propaganda disseminated in the United States. The committee has held hearings and taken testimony relating to the three principal ports of entry of this material, namely, New York, San Francisco, and New Orleans. The committee is vitally interested in the type and volume of material entering the United States from the Soviet and satellite countries through all ports of entry of the United States. Ports such as Buffalo do not have regularly constituted officials whose sole and exclusive function is examining this material and confiscating that which enters this country illegally. However, at the request

of the committee, the United States Customs Service has conducted a survey of this and other ports of entry along the Canadian border relating to Communist propaganda entering the country in this area and will give us the benefit of their findings today.

We shall also receive testimony from individuals in this area concerning Communist techniques and tactics of infiltration or attempted infiltration of basic industries.¹ Without this information, it would be impossible for the committee to carry out its legislative duties as required of it by the Congress and the American people. In response to the mandate from the Congress to keep constant surveillance over existing security legislation, the committee is constantly surveying the operation of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Foreign Agents Registration Act, espionage statutes, the Communist Control Act of 1954, and similar laws.

The committee, operating through its staff recently formulated an omnibus security bill, H. R. 9352, which represents the most comprehensive effort ever made to deal with all problems in the field of internal security. This bill combines numerous proposals for empowering the Government to combat the various aspects of the Communist conspiracy which are not dealt with adequately in our present laws.

We hope to obtain here in Buffalo factual information which will help us in refining this omnibus security bill on which we will be working further as soon as the Congress convenes in January.

It is a standing rule of this committee that any person named in the course of committee hearings be given an early opportunity to appear before this committee if he so desires, for the purpose of denying or explaining any testimony adversely affecting him. In the event there are such persons, they should immediately communicate with any member of the staff and make their request known.

I would remind those present that we are here at the direction of the Congress of the United States to discharge an important legislative function. You are here by permission of this committee, and I trust will conduct yourselves as guests of the committee at all times. A disturbance of any kind or audible comment during the course of testimony, whether favorable or unfavorable to any witness, will not be tolerated.

In every hearing, the committee has encouraged witnesses to have counsel with them if they so desire, and has always welcomed the presence of counsel. In fact, the rules of the committee expressly provide that at every hearing, public or executive, every witness shall be accorded the privilege of having counsel of his own choosing.

The participation of counsel during the course of any hearing and while the witness is testifying shall be limited to advising the witness as to his legal rights. Counsel shall not be permitted to engage in oral argument with the committee, but shall confine his activity to the area of legal advice to his client.

I wish to say also, finally, that I admonish those present not to smoke in the courtroom.

Mr. Counsel, please call your first witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that at this time two witnesses be jointly sworn, who will testify in concert. The first

¹ See Investigation of Communist Activities in the Buffalo, N. Y., Area—Parts 1 and 2, October 2, 3, and 4, respectively.

witness is Mr. Irving Fishman, deputy collector of customs, New York, and the second witness, who is accompanying Mr. Fishman, is Miss Eleanor Suske, who is the administrative assistant to the deputy collector of customs of New York.

Mr. WILLIS. Please rise.

Do each and both of 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. FISHMAN. I do.

Miss SUSKE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING FISHMAN, DEPUTY COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS, PORT OF NEW YORK; AND ELEANOR SUSKE, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO DEPUTY COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS, PORT OF NEW YORK

Mr. ARENS. Will you each, beginning with Mr. Fishman, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. FISHMAN. My name is Irving Fishman. I live in New York, and I am deputy collector of customs at the customs port of New York.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been so engaged, Mr. Fishman?

Mr. FISHMAN. For the past 30 years.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word about your duties and responsibilities, please.

Mr. FISHMAN. As deputy collector of customs, I have been assigned by the Treasury Department to take charge of the enforcement of certain provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act on a countrywide basis.

Mr. ARENS. Those provisions deal with the importation into this country of Communist political propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Suske, will you kindly give us a word of identification of yourself, your name, your residence, and a word of your background?

Miss SUSKE. My name is Eleanor Suske. I reside in New York City. I am administrative assistant to Deputy Collector Fishman in the office of the collector of customs in New York City. My duties at the customs port in New York include the supervision of all administrative details which arise in connection with the handling of political propaganda. This includes receiving all reports submitted by our control units, nationwide, of which there are three, and reviewing them. In addition, it is my function to compile such statistics as are required by our agency, the Post Office Department, and other related Government agencies.

Mr. ARENS. Have you, Miss Suske, in the recent past, at the direction of Mr. Fishman, made a study of the situation in the greater Buffalo area with respect to the importation of Communist propaganda?

Miss SUSKE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. I expect to interrogate you on that subject a little later. I just wanted to be sure that the record at this point reflects the fact that you have so made that study officially.

Miss SUSKE. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, will you kindly give us a word about the applicable law which is administered by yourself and others in the Customs Bureau?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes. I am certain that members of this committee are familiar with the interest of the Bureau of Customs in the importation of political Communist propaganda into the United States. The Bureau of Customs, which is a branch of the Treasury Department, in cooperation with the Post Office and Justice Departments, has a joint responsibility under certain Federal statutes to control the importation of political Communist propaganda.

First, under the Tariff Act of 1930, subversive materials which advocate treason or insurrection against the United States.

Second, the sending of political Communist propaganda materials to the United States from the Soviet-bloc countries by the mails or by means other than the mails, unsolicited, and intended for dissemination in the United States, may be in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The Department of Justice has expressed the opinion that propaganda materials arriving in the United States from abroad by means other than the mails may be seized as an importation contrary to law, under section 545 of title 18, United States Code.

It is important to note that the Justice Department has held that persons not within the United States who use interstate or foreign commerce within the United States to disseminate Communist propaganda shall be regarded as acting within the United States, so that they are subject to the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, Mr. Fishman, a thumbnail sketch of the principal provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Mr. FISHMAN. The Government agencies concerned consider the Foreign Agents Registration Act as a disclosure-type statute. It contemplates that those people in the United States who desire to read foreign Communist political propaganda be made aware of the source of the material. The law also provides that a person in the United States who disseminates foreign political propaganda shall register with the Department of Justice and thus keep the United States Government aware of his activity.

Mr. ARENS. Is the theory, in just the language of the street, similar to the theory under our food-and-drug laws, namely, that the recipient of Communist propaganda is entitled to know the nature of the commodity which he consumes? Is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. The law provides a labeling of the Communist propaganda as a prerequisite to its distribution, and also requires that the person who distributes it, if he is an agent of a foreign power, register with the Department of Justice; is that right?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. May I interpose another thought there, Mr. Counsel?

I happened to have been the author of the report on that bill some years ago in Congress. I remind you, also for the record, that there is no substantial difference between the law of Congress which requires lobbyists, people representing industry, to register as such in Washington, so that we can know whom they represent, and the law requiring agents of foreign countries to come forward and register and let us know what they are doing.

Mr. FISHMAN. I think it might be pertinent for the record, Mr. Arens, to note several statements made by the Attorney General in his report to the Congress this last year, in which he refers to the activities of these registered agents. It is completely relevant to some of the information which we hope to give later, on the volume of material which these registered agents disseminate in the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Proceed to do so.

Mr. FISHMAN. "In 1956, 63 new registration statements were filed pursuant to the act, * * * An alphabetical list of the registrants * * * together with the name of the foreign principal and a brief description of the nature of each agency is contained in appendix II, * * *." I will skip through this.

"As in the past, the largest number of new registration statements were filed by persons engaged in publicity, public relations, advertising, or allied activities, on behalf of foreign principals. The second largest class of registrants consists of those engaged in legal and economic consulting services." But more pertinent, "Materials disseminated by official foreign government information and tourist offices and by foreign political parties are the largest sources of political propaganda disseminated in the United States. Such materials aim, in the main, for the promotion of good will, and are designed to present to the American public particular viewpoints on various national and international issues."

"The expenditure of over \$6.8 million * * * by official foreign government information and tourist offices reflect the continued importance of American trade and tourism in the economies of such foreign nations."

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, how long have you been in the Customs Service?

Mr. FISHMAN. Thirty years.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of this 30-year period of time or your service in the Customs Service, have you ever seen a single piece of Communist propaganda sent into the United States from abroad which was labeled as such in accordance with the provisions of the law?

Mr. FISHMAN. I have never seen a piece labeled.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, a brief sketch of the exceptions to the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Mr. FISHMAN. The most significant exception applies to those agents who are registered with the Department of Justice. They may import propaganda materials by the ton and have no restriction other than to report to the Attorney General. The report of the Attorney General refers to the U. S. S. R. in this fashion:

"Unlike most other foreign governments, the Soviet Union does not maintain an official information office in the United States. Printed political propaganda is disseminated through Imported Publications and Products, Inc. and the Four Continent Book Corporation, both of which are registered as agents of the All-Union Soviet Book Combine in Moscow."

Mr. ARENS. In other words, there is no limitation on Communist propaganda that can be imported into this country, is there?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct. There is none.

Mr. ARENS. There is no requirement on labeling or registration of Communist propaganda which comes in in first-class mail?

Mr. FISHMAN. We ordinarily do not examine first-class mail, except under certain situations, in which event we would call upon the addressee to waive the privacy of the seal.

Mr. ARENS. May I just interpose this question at this point: The mails are not self-sustaining, are they, Mr. Fishman? You know that, as a matter of common knowledge?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is a matter of common knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. It is a fact, then, is it not, that part of the cost of distributing Communist propaganda in the United States, which emanates from abroad, irrespective of its volume, which we will get into in a moment, a part of the cost of distributing Communist propaganda in the United States is borne by the United States taxpayers who support the mails; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. You have no idea what the figure is of the subsidy?

Mr. FISHMAN. No, I don't, Congressman. I had heard it a number of times, but it just escapes me right now.

Mr. ARENS. Has the Post Office Department made an estimate of the subsidy we give for handling this Communist propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. I believe one of the Senate committees asked for such a report, and it is now being prepared. But it hasn't been submitted yet.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Fishman, give us, if you please, or Miss Suske, if it is within the domain of your information, the total volume of Communist propaganda coming into the United States within the purview of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

I am excluding propaganda created domestically. I am excluding Communist propaganda that goes through diplomatic pouches. I am excluding Communist propaganda that goes in first-class mail. I am excluding Communist propaganda that is not within the specific purview of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Give us your best statistics on the total volume of foreign Communist propaganda which hits this country every year.

Miss SUSKE. I do have statistics for the year of 1956. On a nationwide basis, including the three control units, there were approximately 3½ million packages.

Mr. ARENS. How many individual items would you estimate are in the 3½ million packages?

Miss SUSKE. There were almost 7 million items included or which made part of these 3½ million packages.

Mr. ARENS. Of these 7 million items that came in to the United States in the course of last year from abroad, Communist political propaganda, has any one in the United States customs service to your knowledge seen a single item that is registered and labeled Communist propaganda in accordance with the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Miss SUSKE. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Could you tell us the statistics on the importation of Communist propaganda in comparable status, which has come in your check period into what we would call the greater Buffalo area?

Miss SUSKE. Yes. I have those figures here.

During a 4-week period, approximately 1,400 parcels of mail during this 4-week period were examined and found to contain Communist

propaganda. These 1,400 parcels contained approximately 3,000 items; pamphlets, publications, newspapers.

Mr. ARENS. That was just over a 4-week period?

Miss SUSKE. That was just over a 4-week period; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Does your information lead you to believe that the importation in this area of Communist propaganda emanating from abroad is increasing or decreasing?

Miss SUSKE. Actually, according to our statistics, the material coming in from abroad is definitely increasing. As a matter of fact, during the 7-month period of 1957, there is a definite show of at least 22 percent increase in the volume of material being sent in.

Mr. WILLIS. May I ask a question there to clarify our arithmetic?

Did you say that 1,400 parcels were examined, or is that the total that came in?

Mr. FISHMAN. I would like to make one thing clear.

As you said, Mr. Chairman, in your opening statement, we do not have a control unit in Buffalo. These statistics reflect the findings at our control units in New York and Chicago, and the findings in Buffalo, so that actually we have found Communist propaganda in 1,400 parcels addressed to this area, and the total number of items of political propaganda, printed items, totaled 3,000.

Mr. ARENS. Did anyone see a single item there of these 3,000 pieces of Communist propaganda in the course of the last few weeks directed to this area, which was labeled in accordance with the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Miss SUSKE. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. FISHMAN. I would like to add in connection with this general subject of increase in mail that the Commissioner of Customs in a recent report had to say, with regard to mail, that foreign mail packages are increasing at the rate of 5 million per year, and total 40 million submitted to the customs in the past 12 months. So generally mail from all countries is increasing.

Mr. ARENS. So the total volume of foreign Communist propaganda which is hitting these shores is increasing?

Miss SUSKE. Statistics show that there is a definite increase.

Mr. ARENS. What would be an appraisal as to the approximate amount of increase or percentage increase?

Miss SUSKE. I started to give you that information before. For the first 7 months of 1957, there has been an increase of approximately 22 percent.

Mr. SCHERER. During that same period, what was the percentage of increase in regular packages of mail coming from foreign countries, other than this Communist propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. This Communist propaganda became very active as a result of that student festival in Moscow, and the country was practically flooded with every kind of propaganda type of material. We had posters, books, invitations to every school and college in the United States. The Soviet and the Communist propaganda mill must have spent millions of dollars on this one festival in Moscow.

Mr. SCHERER. What I am trying to find out is whether the percentage of increase in Communist propaganda exceeds the percentage of increase of regular mail coming from foreign countries.

Mr. FISHMAN. The increase of regular mail was somewhere around 7 percent.

Mr. SCHERER. That is what I wanted.

Mr. FISHMAN. This actually is 22 percent. I merely gave the general statistics to show the distinction. General foreign mail increases between 5 and 7 percent a year over the past few years, but mail from the Communist countries jumps 20 or 25 percent, depending on the issues raised in this country.

Mr. ARENS. Does some of this Communist propaganda which hits our shores from countries abroad emanate from non-Communist foreign countries?

Mr. FISHMAN. Unfortunately, many friendly countries serve as transit shipment points.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, in the course of the last few months, in cooperation with the Committee on Un-American Activities, and at the solicitation of the Committee on Un-American Activities, make a spot check in Europe and elsewhere respecting this very situation, namely, sources in non-Communist countries which are presently developing and sending into the United States Communist propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. I did.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us a summary of your findings there, Mr. Fishman?

Mr. FISHMAN. The interest of the committee, as you will recall, dealt with the need to amend the present law to clarify the issue of establishing agency relationships. One of our greatest problems in enforcing the Foreign Agents Registration Act is the necessity for establishing agency relationship and making an attempt to declare unmailable Communist propaganda which comes from friendly foreign countries.

The Department of Justice has given the opinion that Communist propaganda from a Soviet bloc country may be considered as from the Government itself, and so it automatically comes within the purview of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. That Department, however, has not given that same opinion with regard to Communist propaganda coming from a friendly nation.

In my investigation I found that it was a comparatively simple matter to walk into a Soviet controlled and subsidized bookshop in France, for example, and purchase as much Communist propaganda as one pleased, and arrange to ship it to the United States. That type of material would not be detained by the customs service or the Post Office Department, because in order to declare such material unmailable or subject to seizure, we would have to establish an agency relationship between that bookshop and the Soviet Government, which is almost an impossibility.

Mr. ARENS. May I interpose this question at this point: Is much of this Communist propaganda which comes into this country of a variety or style that a person receiving it and reading it, unless he were alerted, might think it was not Communist propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, is it of the insidious, subtle variety?

Mr. FISHMAN. The trend for the past several years has been to make it as subtle as possible. The figures reflect that about 60 percent of this material is in the English language.

Mr. ARENS. And about 40 percent in foreign language, I take it?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes.

That material which comes in in foreign languages is particularly dangerous because it bears no masthead. Much of it consists of statements of so-called facts on issues which develop here in the United States. A good deal of this regularly issued Communist propaganda—and we have a considerable number of exhibits here for you this morning—follows a routine, and the format remains the same and it is somewhat easy to identify. But much of this material is specifically prepared to cover problems which arise in the United States, either domestic or political problems, and is not so clearly defined. It is pretty difficult to understand just who has issued the statement, whether it is something which is issued in this country, whether it is government inspired or government agency inspired. There is absolutely no way of identifying it or knowing where it was printed.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, may I invite your attention to these mail sacks? We asked you to bring, did we not, at random, some of the mail sacks arriving in the Buffalo area which could be opened here? May I respectfully ask you now if you could step over to where those mail sacks are and pick out a typical sack, and if it is not in violation of your regulations to publicly break the seal and let us see by the hazards of chance here what specimens might be in this particular bundle of material?

Mr. FISHMAN. I would like to make one correction. These mail sacks were turned over to us by the general post office in New York City. The material is destined for this area.

Mr. ARENS. Are you just now breaking the seal for the first time on some of these sacks?

Mr. FISHMAN. This is the first time I have seen any of the contents of these sacks.

Mr. ARENS. Just take out a handful or so, if you please, Mr. Fishman, and then walk back or put it on the table and give us a thumbnail description of the material. You had to pick this material up in New York because there is no control unit in the Buffalo area?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me ask this question: Do these sacks presumably contain all types of mail coming to this area from behind Iron Curtain countries?

Mr. FISHMAN. From behind Iron Curtain countries; yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Containing, presumably, regular and legitimate mail in addition to the propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. The Post Office Department turns over to us all paper mail from the Soviet bloc countries. That may include parcel post, merchandise, printed matter, anything considered by the Post Office Department in the class of paper mail. A magazine or a book, a newspaper, is defined as paper mail.

Mr. SCHERER. Presumably, then, am I correct; out of these sacks come not only Communist propaganda but regular mail from Iron Curtain countries?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Would you give us a thumbnail description of what you found in that typical sack?

Mr. FISHMAN. These are very easily identified. We have seen so much of this that without opening the envelopes or making any at-

tempt to examine it, we know this is the format of the redefection program, the type of material which is sent to citizens of foreign heritage.

Mr. ARENS. Let me be sure the record is clear on this, Mr. Fishman. You have in your hand and from the distance that I am from you it appears to be, a number of letters. You say from the format that you are able to conclude that those letters contain solicitations to people in the United States to return to Communist bloc countries; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. How extensive is this program at the present time?

Mr. FISHMAN. Well, it has been on the increase. Originally a good deal of this material came from the Soviet Union, Poland. It has spread to other languages: Bulgarian, Lithuanian, and so on.

Mr. ARENS. There is no control on this; is there?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. This is first-class mail. The joint post office and customs regulations provide that the addressee may be requested to waive the privacy of the seal. We would examine the contents of this envelope and if it were found to contain political propaganda, we would advise the Post Office Department that it was unmailable. Similar action would be taken with all of this material. I have brought with me, and we have had, many letters from some of the addressees to whom this type of material was delivered. Here is one, and it says:

In case sealed envelopes contain propaganda material sent by the Russian Repatriation Commission, do not forward it to me because I don't want it.

Mr. ARENS. Would that lead you to believe that the individual was a regular recipient of Communist propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is correct. As we pointed out to the committee—and I think the committee did heroic work on this program of acquainting the American people with this whole redefection program—many of these people, until the time that they receive this type of thing, feel that they have come to the United States and are free and clear of any chains they may have had in the Soviet bloc countries. Suddenly they receive one of these letters and they fear they have been identified here and have no idea of what may follow. Many of them are anxious to have this material withheld from them.

Mr. ARENS. How would you characterize the volume of the letters addressed to these persons? I take it they are the foreign language group in the United States.

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. What is the volume?

Mr. FISHMAN. In that 4-week period, when we checked it in New York, Chicago, and some here in Buffalo, we found about a thousand of these were sent into this area.

Mr. ARENS. These would be letters addressed principally to persons who had some tie by background or by some relative in an Iron Curtain country; is that correct?

Mr. FISHMAN. That would be one way of ascertaining these addresses. Another system, of course, is to pick up bulletins of many societies. The American-Polish Congress, I believe, has some 250,000 members. Anyone getting hold of the membership list of that organ-

ization has 250,000 prospective people to write to in this country, people they hope will disseminate a good deal of this material.

Mr. ARENS. May I invite your attention to just the general mass of material which you have taken out of that one mail sack, if you please?

Mr. FISHMAN. Mr. Buteneff, who will testify a little later on, recognizes some of these titles. He has indicated to me on some of these envelopes and wrappers the titles of the publications. In some instances, the title, of course, is on the wrapper. These he has given to me are addressed to this area. People's Tribune, from Poland, that is an official organ of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. This is all material coming from an Iron Curtain bloc? Do you have in that sack material of a Communist variety coming from a friendly or western country?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. I have submitted under separate cover to the committee, as you know, a good deal of that material, which I have personally purchased and which we have subsequently picked up as coming from the friendly countries.

Mr. ARENS. May I just inquire, almost at the expense of being monotonous, do you see on any of that material emanating from Communist countries, any label indicating it to be Communist propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. No; in fact, they are careful not to show the address source, so that if we wanted to return this material we can't.

Mr. WILLIS. And likewise, the addressees, or the persons receiving that material, could not know where it comes from?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. Here is another type of letter received from an addressee in this country:

Please do not let these things pass through. I do not need that smelly stuff. And many of these people are a little crude in their expressions to us:

Lately I have been receiving propaganda from Berlin. I do not know who sent my name in or how they found my address. I sent some packages to relatives in the U. S. S. R. a few months ago which were returned. This may be the manner in which the Communist machine located me. Please return this material. My husband and I do not want trouble with this Government.

I would like to advise you that I do not want any mail sent to me sealed from Berlin. This is a black, dirty Communist Party literature to return us new Americans to our native countries. I am loyal to my new home, the U. S. A., and do not want to hear any of that kind of literature. Please destroy all that.

But we can't do that. A good many of these people would love to have us keep it from them.

Mr. ARENS. And it is paid for in part by the taxpayers of the United States?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, have you concluded your description of the sampling of this mail sack?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes, sir. Much of it is the same. Here is the Hungarian News, from Hungary. We haven't gone into many of these other things, but a good deal of it is redefection material. Here is the Literary Gazette, from Hungary. People's Freedom, the official Communist organ in Hungary.

Mr. SCHERER. You emptied about what, one-third of a sack of mail?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. One-third of a sack of mail, and practically all of that one-third is Communist propaganda?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. There is hardly any general mail in there, is there?

Mr. FISHMAN. Very little. We have asked the Post Office Department to try not to send us too much of the first-class type mail, because we just can't examine it, we have no authority to open it. So in some instances, a preliminary segregation may be made at the general post office or the exchange post office, so we would get more of the paper mail. I think 95 percent of the fourth-class mail or paper mail from the Soviet bloc countries consists of this type of material. That goes for all areas of the United States, not necessarily this particular area.

Mr. ARENS. How about these mail sacks that we see here? I think you have apparently 6 or 8 of them there. From whence did those mail sacks come?

Mr. FISHMAN. Every one of them is from a Soviet bloc country.

Mr. ARENS. Over what course of time did they arrive?

Mr. FISHMAN. This was during this last 4-week period.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, in the course of the last day or so, I believe it was last evening, you were telling me informally about this contest that was sponsored by the Soviet bloc. Would you relate that on this record for a moment, please?

Mr. FISHMAN. The propaganda program, as you know, has many facets. In many instances, it is used as a means of obtaining information. It is done in a very subtle manner. Recently there was sent to the United States, to many radio hams—the names, I suppose, were obtained through some radio journal—a series of questions, and it was a sort of radio quiz. The sender said:

If you will answer these questions, we will award you a prize, if you win, if your answers are pretty much correct.

Mr. ARENS. What was the type of information that was elicited?

Mr. FISHMAN. This is an award made to an individual in this country. It says:

DEAR LISTENER: We wish to inform you of the correct answers to the eight questions in the radio quiz to which you contributed.

Question: In what year and what month did the Soviet Union and the United States enter into diplomatic relations?

Name the Soviet airmen who made the first nonstop flights over the North Pole to the United States?

In what part of the Soviet Union has the greater land area of new land been reclaimed in the past 3 years?

Who was the Soviet athlete who returned from the Melbourne Olympics with two gold medals?

What city used to be the capital of the first Russian state and is now the capital of one of the Soviet Republics and stands on one of the longest rivers in the world?

And so on. The significant thing was that in the answer the contestant was asked to say where he lived, what his call letters were, and give a little more pertinent information about what he did as a ham. It is a little humorous to know that most everybody won second prize.

It says here, "You answered eight questions correctly and won second prize." We must have seen several thousand of these second prizes.

Mr. ARENS. Were there several thousand who participated in this contest?

Mr. FISHMAN. That is right. The prize was a copy of Radio Moscow and another publication in English. It tells the story about one of the stars in Russia.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, I have in my hand what appears to be an award medal, which I understand was sent into the country. Will you tell us about this?

Mr. FISHMAN. The American students who attended the Moscow festival were given that award. It was one more piece of the propaganda that was sent back to the United States.

Mr. ARENS. May I invite your attention to a general characterization and description of the Communist propaganda which I take is typical, which you have displayed here on the table before you.

Mr. FISHMAN. The propaganda machine divides this material. They send what we describe pretty much as material which is similar to Life magazine and Newsweek and so on. This type of material comes in here in great volumes. It is printed, as I have mentioned, in many languages. For example, this copy of Soviet Union, which is a beautifully illustrated publication, is printed in Russian, English, Chinese, Korean, Hindi Urdu, Arabic, Serbo-Croat, French, German, Spanish, and Japanese. We see it in 2 or 3 languages. This is the Russian copy, this is the English, the same issue. Another popular one is Soviet Woman, because considerable effort is made to inculcate American women with the ideas of Soviet propaganda.

Mr. SCHERER. Do any of these magazines that you are showing us contain any advertising?

Mr. FISHMAN. None at all. That is the amazing thing about it. These magazines are printed without any advertising. They must cost upwards of a dollar to print, and yet sell for very little in this country.

Mr. SCHERER. Someone is subsidizing them.

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes. Yet at the same time, the Four Continent Book Shop, which distributes a lot of this material, is reported to have done business amounting to only \$385,000 during 1956. They probably did a lot more in dollar value, except that we have no way of determining how much this magazine cost to print. So whatever they declare to be the value of it, we just have to accept.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, as you know, over the course of about the last year and a half, the staff of the Committee on Un-American Activities, under committee instruction, has been working on development of a bill called the National Security Act, which the chairman of this committee introduced some several weeks ago, H. R. 9352, a bill which contains hundreds of provisions, dealing with a great number of the facets of the Communist operation, including certain provisions bearing upon this problem of foreign Communist propaganda.

Are you familiar in general with those provisions of H. R. 9352?

Mr. FISHMAN. Yes; I am. I have had occasion to examine and study those provisions which affect us in our work.

Mr. ARENS. I know you are not in a position as of the moment to speak authoritatively on behalf of the Department of the Treasury or on behalf of the Bureau of the Customs, but I think at the first opportunity—and this is the first opportunity since the bill was formulated—we should have a comment by yourself in view of your own expert background and experience in this field with respect to the provisions of H. R. 9352.

I should like to invite your attention now to those provisions and solicit from you those observations.

Mr. SCHERER. We understand, Mr. Arens, that he can't give the opinion of his agency or department. Is there anything that prevents him from telling this committee now whether he supports the provisions in this bill personally?

Mr. ARENS. That is what I had in mind, Mr. Scherer, to ask him about the essence of the provisions of the bill which deal with foreign Communist propaganda.

That is with the understanding that you are not speaking officially on behalf of the Department, but only on the basis of your own background and intimate experience over many years of time undertaking to cope with this very serious problem.

Mr. FISHMAN. One of the significant features of the new proposed legislation will be to close the very large gap which now exists in connection with the labeling of this material. There has been much confusion as to when the requirement for labeling applies to this material. There has been some discussion as to whether it applies when the registered agent is about to place it in the United States mails, or in any other transportation facility, interstate commerce, and so on. We, on the other hand, have urged that this provision of law, the need for labeling this material, exists at the time the material arrives in the United States. The proposed legislation clears that question up very directly when it says, and I recall some of the language, that it applies to material at the time of importation into the United States. It is a like requirement to that which applies to food and drug products, for example, or some of the other customs requirements for identifying foreign merchandise.

I think that, to me, because of my experience and the difficulties we have had in getting this material labeled, is one of the most significant parts of the proposed legislation. There are other provisions which close a lot of gaps in identifying foreign agents, for example, or the need for registration, and so on and so forth, which I am familiar with because of some of my past experience, which I think will be helpful. Altogether I think we will find it a much simpler problem to do our work should this legislation become law.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand from your testimony that you personally, with your background and experience, would recommend the passage of this legislation?

Mr. FISHMAN. I definitely would.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fishman, is there anything in this legislation, H. R. 9352, bearing upon foreign Communist propaganda, which smacks of censorship?

Mr. FISHMAN. No. I think the legislation makes very clear that the Congress, for example, has no objection to people reading anything that they want to read, providing they know the source of the material, which is exactly the position of the Government agencies. We see no objection to anybody asking and soliciting this material and having it if they have solicited it.

But what we are trying to cope with are letters like we have read this morning, people who don't want it, or if they do get it, should have an opportunity, which the law specifies as a requirement, to learn from a statement on the envelope just what is contained in it.

Mr. ARENS. Miss Suske or Mr. Fishman, may I ask if there is another item of information that you would like to supply to the committee on any area on which we have not interrogated you this morning?

I think you have testified before this committee elsewhere, in comparable hearings, respecting the foreign Communist propaganda situation in other areas of the country. We do not want to burden the record with unnecessary repetition, but we would like to have you make any comments or supply any information bearing on this subject that you feel the facts warrant.

Miss SUSKE. No, I don't believe there are any additional comments that I wish to make, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you.

Mr. SCHERER. I have a question.

If Congress raises the postal rates, as it should do, would that do away with some of the subsidy for this type of mail?

Mr. FISHMAN. It would help pay for this, but it wouldn't affect it in any way. We would still have to be carrying it half free. You see, the sending government pays a percentage of the cost of transportation on the theory that we are doing the same thing in that country, but actually it is not at all true. We don't ship anywhere near the volume of material to the Soviet bloc countries that they ship to us.

Mr. SCHERER. It would just reduce the cost?

Mr. FISHMAN. It would reduce it in the sense that the American citizens who use the mails would be paying for the cost of transporting these materials. That is all.

Mr. ARENS. We have no further questions of these two witnesses, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Thank you very much, both of you. We appreciate your appearance.

The Chair suggests a 5-minute recess.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will be in order.

Our guests will please be seated.

Counsel may call his next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Buteneff, will you kindly remain standing while the chairman administers an oath?

Mr. WILLIS. 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. BUTENEFF. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SERGE BUTENEFF, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT AND SUPERVISOR, RESTRICTED MERCHANDISE DIVISION, UNITED STATES CUSTOMS, PORT OF NEW YORK

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

Mr. BUTENEFF. My name is Serge Buteneff. I live in New York City. I am administrative assistant and supervisor of the Restricted Merchandise Division in the United States Customs, the Port of New York.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you kindly address yourself to the microphone so we can hear you a little more easily?

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Buteneff, where were you born?

Mr. BUTENEFF. I was born in Vienna, right after the revolution. I am actually of Russian-Polish extraction.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been a citizen and resident of the United States?

Mr. BUTENEFF. I have been a resident since 1940 and a citizen since 1944.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your work in the United States Customs Service; during the course of your activities in a private capacity, have you had contact with nationality groups in the United States?

Mr. BUTENEFF. Yes, I did.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us a word about that experience or experiences, please, and the contacts you have had.

Mr. BUTENEFF. Most of my experience, of course, comes with my very close and friendly relations with the Tolstoy Foundation.

Mr. WILLIS. What foundation?

Mr. BUTENEFF. The Tolstoy Foundation. The Tolstoy Foundation is an organization which deals with bringing the displaced persons to the United States and resettling them over here. Of course, I know all the problems they face, and I have a good knowledge of the type of persons who arrive in the United States. I have talked to them innumerable times. Of course, my work presently with the propaganda which arrives in the United States and which is intended to hit these particular people gives me a very good idea of what is the intent behind sending this propaganda to the United States, particularly the redefection propaganda.

Mr. ARENS. It is precisely for that reason that we invited you to appear today, to give the committee some insight into the impact that this foreign Communist propaganda has on nationality groups in the United States, and the reaction of those nationality groups, particularly those groups that are receiving this flood of redefection material.

I should like now, if you please, Mr. Buteneff, to invite your attention to that matter and ask you to proceed at your own pace to tell the committee what is the situation among the nationality groups who receive this material.

Mr. BUTENEFF. Well, to make it as short as possible, I would like first to state that, in general, propaganda is a very involved and a very deep science, the purpose of which is to demoralize the recipient, particularly when it deals with the redefection program, and with the

minority groups living in the United States. In other words, not truly American people, but those who have arrived here since the last war, or even before the last war, but new citizens. I came to the conclusion that actually propaganda is based on one principle. It is to divide and conquer. Its main objective is to divide. They do everything possible to demoralize the people, to create dissension among groups, let's say people living in one city, like Poles living in Buffalo, or Russians in New York. They try to create disagreement in their political views or in their religious views, and thus weaken the unity of these people, and the unity, of course, by that I mean their unity to fight and to be against communism. In this redefection program, a very great importance is given to that particular matter. They try to first incite great nostalgia and homesickness; then, of course, they try to persuade the people that here, let us say, in the United States, they cannot be understood by Americans as well as they can be understood by their own people in their own country. In other words, that it is better to suffer a little more at home than to suffer in the foreign land.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any incidents to recount of the impact of this redefection program upon particular individuals with whom you have had some contact?

Mr. BUTENEFF. Yes. Well, I know, again through the Tolstoy Foundation, that some of the people who have gone through that foundation have complained to this organization that they have been receiving this particular type of mail.

I know of one instance which may illustrate their reaction, in general, as to the fact that they had been contacted by a Soviet agent.

For instance, there was one worker whom I personally knew. He has a family, a wife and two small children, who settled in a small town, I think in the State of New York, who has been working there in the factory for a few months. His factory friends, on April 1, decided to make a little joke on him, and they told him that a Soviet Embassy car had been parked in front of his house. At that instance, the man became insane. That shows you under what stress and what nervousness these people live, even in the United States, far away from their own country, and separated by a large ocean. They still feel insecurity, and their nerves are really always on edge.

I know of some instances where people have moved as soon as they have received a copy of this newspaper. They have moved and they have changed their names. They tried to completely erase all trace of where they have gone to.

Yet a little later, again they will receive this material.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you, Mr. Buteneff. We wanted this record to reflect a general appraisal of one who is in a position to know the impact of Communist foreign propaganda which is hitting our shores in such volume.

We have no further questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Thank you very much, sir.

(Present: Representatives Willis and Scherer.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, the next witness, if you please, is Mr. W. Jackson Jones.

Mr. WILLIS. 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. JONES. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF W. JACKSON JONES, INVESTIGATOR, COMMITTEE
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**

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

Mr. JONES. I am W. Jackson Jones. I reside in Washington, D. C., and I am an investigator for the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you occupied the post of an investigator with the Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Jones?

Mr. JONES. Since February of 1949.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, in the course of the last few months, receive instructions from myself to go to Canada for the purpose of acquiring information respecting the emanation from that country of Communist propaganda which has been sent into the United States?

Mr. JONES. I did.

Mr. ARENS. Were you instructed that the first thing you were to do was to contact the Canadian police authorities?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And did you so contact the Canadian police authorities and make yourself known as an investigator of the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. JONES. The authorities were contacted, my identity made known, and the purpose of my visit.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make known to the police authorities in Canada that you were seeking information which could be used by you in public testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. JONES. They were advised that the only information I was seeking was that of a public nature, information which could be obtained by any private citizen in the course of inquiry by him in Canada.

Mr. ARENS. Prior to the time that you actually made your trips to Canada, did the committee acquire information from within the United States respecting Communist propaganda which was emanating from Canada?

Mr. JONES. Yes. Just as Mr. Fishman testified, the committee is receiving letters regularly from individuals within the United States, asking us to do something about this Communist propaganda coming into the United States.

One of those letters contained information which was being disseminated by an organization called News-Facts of Toronto, Canada. The address at that time was 753 Bathurst Street, Toronto.

That information, in addition to soliciting orders for information about the U. S. S. R., contained, as a complimentary copy, a little booklet printed in Canada entitled "Trade With the Soviet Union."

I would like to introduce that as an exhibit at this time.

Mr. WILLIS. It will be so received.

(The document referred to was marked "Committee Exhibit No. 1" and received for the information of the committee.)

Mr. JONES. An examination of this document reveals that it was printed by a printing firm authorized to use the printer's bug No. 28, and it was disseminated by, as I said, the organization known as News-Facts, of 753 Bathurst Street, Toronto.

My investigation disclosed that the printer's bug 28 was used by an organization known as the Eveready Printers, Ltd. This is a printing firm in Canada which not only printed this material, but also prints the Canadian Tribune and other literature of the Labor Progressive Party of Canada, the Canadian equivalent of our Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. ARENS. Would you proceed at your own pace to recount the incidents of significance in your trips into Canada?

Mr. JONES. Yes. It was learned that the News-Facts was the official publication of an organization known as the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society, a similar organization to our American-Soviet Friendship Society.

The city directory for Toronto for 1957 carried its address as 753 Bathurst Street, and its president as Dyson Carter.

I would like to introduce this as an exhibit.

(Document referred to marked "Committee Exhibit No. 2" and received for the information of the committee.)

Mr. JONES. The Eveready Printers, Ltd., according to this same directory, had as its president William Sydney and its address as 66-72 Tecumseth, Toronto.

The address of Dyson Carter, who was the president of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society, was listed as 134 Colbeck.

I would like to introduce at this time a picture of 753 Bathurst Street, which was the original point of origin of the information coming into the United States, and at that time the home of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society.

Mr. ARENS. Does that picture reveal any identification of that establishment on the outside as a source for Communist propaganda?

Mr. JONES. No. Obviously, the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society and the other bookstores operating from this address used the second floor, because the first floor is an organization which concerns itself with the manufacture of kitchen cupboards. But there is no identification, no identification on the door or anywhere, to show that this is a place where people can purchase material, and so forth.

(The picture referred to was marked "Committee Exhibit No. 3" and received for the information of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. Will you proceed now?

Mr. JONES. It was learned that as of now the publication News-Facts, is under the supervision and direct charge of an organization which is now called the Northern Neighbors Publishing Association.

Mr. ARENS. And where is that located?

Mr. JONES. It is in Toronto, Canada, at 1334 Bloor Street West.

Mr. ARENS. Did you visit that establishment?

Mr. JONES. Yes; I did.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us what transpired on your visit.

Mr. JONES. If I may, I would like to show the connection between the organizations first.

Mr. ARENS. You may proceed.

Mr. JONES. I would like to introduce into the record at this time a declaration of partnership filed with the city of Toronto, in which a group is requesting the use of the name Northern Neighbors Publishing Association. It is filed on behalf of William Muir Tweedale, Ellet D. MacInness, and Charlotte Carter.

It is interesting to note that the address given is 134 Colbeck Street, the home and residence of Charlotte and Dyson Carter, the president of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society.

(Document referred to marked "Committee Exhibit No. 4" and received for the information of the committee.)

Mr. JONES. Here again, the organization or its place of doing business, shows no indication that this is a bookstore or that this is a publishing firm. It would appear from a casual observation that this is a private residence within a block of other small residences and places of business.

I would like to introduce in evidence a photograph of this place, 1334 Bloor Street West, Toronto.

Mr. WILLIS. It will be received.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Committee Exhibit No. 5" and received for the information of the committee.)

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, if you please, of the events or incidents which transpired when you personally visited this last-named establishment.

Mr. JONES. Having learned that the organization News-Facts was no longer in existence and that it was superseded by the group calling themselves the Northern Neighbors Publishing Association, I went to 1334 Bloor and there purchased some material from two women who were obviously office managers or clerks in this store.

The material purchased there was the new publication: Northern Neighbors, which was a successor to the publication originally referred to as News-Facts.

The April issue of this publication is significant because it says:

By arrangement with the publishers of News-Facts, which stopped publishing in October 1956, all subscribers will receive Northern Neighbors for the full time of their unexpired subscriptions, issue for issue, at no extra charge.

This is a magazine, I think, which will be interesting to the committee, because obviously it is copied from our U. S. News & World Report. It is the same format, the same type of information.

Again, this magazine has no advertising—

Mr. ARENS. When you say "the same type of information," you don't mean to imply—

Mr. JONES. The format, the printing format.

Mr. ARENS. The format is the only similarity?

Mr. JONES. The only similarity.

Mr. ARENS. It is clearly Communist propaganda; is it not?

Mr. JONES. It calls itself "Canada's Reliable and Independent Magazine Reporting the U. S. S. R." There is no information in here about anything that is happening in Canada. All of it is about the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any conversations with the clerks who were at this establishment when you visited it?

Mr. JONES. Yes. I engaged the people in conversation. I advised them that I was from the United States and the procedure that I would have to follow to obtain publications from them.

They readily bragged about the fact that they sent books and this magazine of theirs to the United States.

It was interesting to me in light of our investigations of the dissemination of Communist propaganda in the United States that they said

occasionally this material was lost, but that they would be very glad to replace it with a like copy if any of it was lost.

Mr. ARENS. Did they give you any indication as to the volume of this material which was being sent into the United States?

Mr. JONES. No. The only indication is a letterhead from the Northern Neighbors, which was over the signature of Dyson Carter as editor, under date of July 29, 1957. This was a letter which was sent out soliciting subscriptions to this magazine. I quote from the last paragraph:

It gives us an idea of what we've been giving our readers . . . exclusive articles that have won thousands of subscribers all over Canada and the USA.

I can bring to the committee's attention several other articles appearing in Northern Neighbors, which demonstrate conclusively that it is a propaganda vehicle for the Soviet Union or those acting for the Soviet Union.

One article goes into great detail about how—as we would say—“well off” the average worker is in the Soviet Union. It gives a family's average income as around \$10,000 a year equivalent.

Mr. WILLIS. Where?

Mr. JONES. In the Soviet Union. This is supposed to be an exclusive to Northern Neighbors.

Mr. ARENS. Were there other publications in this establishment which you visited, other than the publication to which you have just alluded?

Mr. JONES. Yes. It would appear that this organization, the Northern Neighbors Publishing Association, divides itself into two branches: One is a northern bookstore, which handles the books or publications; the other is its publication, Northern Neighbors. I will file for inclusion in the record a similar certificate of organization of the Northern Book House.

The Northern Book House concerns itself primarily with books, rather than the type of information Mr. Fishman evidenced here this morning. All of their books originate in the Soviet Union, are published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House or the equivalent there. Because it was important in the Buffalo investigation, I purchased a copy from them of a Soviet publication, a three-volume set of books entitled “The Road to Life.” It is a survey by a Russian author of educational conditions within the Soviet Union.

I might say in passing that they did have all of the regular standard literature from the Soviet Union, such as the publications—Soviet Union, New Times, et cetera—but it would appear that their primary concern is with the dissemination of books which originate in the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. Did you receive any information respecting any labeling of this Communist material before it is sent into the United States, pursuant to the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. JONES. As all of this material was purchased directly from the Northern Book House, obviously, it would not bear any registration. However, we may be in a position in the very near future to secure a copy of Northern Neighbors which did come into the United States. At that time we will, of course, examine it for the stamp required under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Mr. ARENS. We have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. I believe the witness who preceded you stated that there were points of transshipment of material coming into the United States from friendly countries. I remember, at hearings in New Orleans, Mexico and certain South and Central American countries were used as points from which material originating in Communist-dominated countries found its way into these friendly countries and then into the United States. The net effect of your testimony, I take it, is that we have a pattern here up in Canada.

Mr. JONES. Obviously, from the title of the publication itself, Northern Neighbors would indicate that it is for dissemination outside of Canada, and the fact that it bears no advertising, which any Canadian publication disseminated within the country would obviously have, to support the cost.

I might say the cost is nominal; it is 15 cents an issue—and I doubt if they sell many of those—or 10 issues for a dollar, which is 10 cents a copy. From reliable sources, I have learned that it would cost three times that to print the material. Therefore, as Mr. Fishman said, it is obviously material that is being subsidized by someone else.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Jones, you have been participating in this investigation of Communist propaganda coming into the United States for quite some time. Let me ask you the same question Mr. Arens asked Mr. Fishman: Have you ever seen any of these publications properly labeled under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. JONES. The only ones I have seen are those which Four Continent Book Corp. files with the United States Government in answer to the Foreign Agents Registration Act. All of the others which we have seen disseminated in the United States, other than those, bear no stamp at all.

Mr. SCHERER. Those that they file with the Government of the United States under the law are the only ones that you have ever seen that have complied with the act?

Mr. JONES. One of the requirements is that they file with the Government in Washington one copy of all this material. That copy is labeled, and I have seen the labels on those. A copy of the same issue filed with the Government I have purchased in bookstores throughout the country, and I have seen copies that have been received by individuals and bore no registration.

Mr. WILLIS. You mean, generally, one issue is deposited in Washington?

Mr. JONES. Yes. If it is a publication, one issue. Say if it is the January 1957 issue, then one copy of that issue is filed with the Department of Justice in Washington. On those I have seen labels, but only on those.

Mr. WILLIS. But not those received by the public?

Mr. JONES. No. Those received by the public or purchased by us have never borne a stamp.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, what you are saying is that the Communists have found a loophole in our law, as they frequently do.

Mr. JONES. It is a loophole or they just disregarded the law.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Mr. Mortimer Scheer.

Mr. WILLIS. Raise your right hand. 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. SCHEER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MORTIMER SCHEER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
ROBERT B. FLEMING

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

Mr. SCHEER. My name is Mortimer Scheer. I live at 519 Fourth Street, and I work for Lehigh Portland Cement.

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

Mr. SCHEER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. SCHEER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. FLEMING. Robert B. Fleming, 77 West Eagle Street.

Mr. WILLIS. Buffalo?

Mr. FLEMING. Buffalo 2, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Scheer, will you kindly give us just a thumbnail sketch of your personal history? First of all, where and when were you born?

Mr. SCHEER. Brooklyn, N. Y., July 29, 1924.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be convenient for you, Mr. Scheer, to keep your voice up a little bit? It is a little difficult to hear you. And a word about your education, please.

Mr. SCHEER. I would care to decline to answer that question, sir, upon the grounds of the first amendment and the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee where you were educated, you would be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. SCHEER. Well, in my mind it might tend to do that, sir.

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

Mr. WILLIS. Before doing that, is there any part of your earliest education that you mean you cannot talk about—as to where you went in the first grade? Do you think that would incriminate you? I want to give you a chance to straighten this out. Can't you give us some—

Mr. SCHEER. I would prefer to decline to answer that, because I think, in my mind, referring to my educational background might tend to incriminate me in some way.

Mr. SCHERER. Let's ask: Were you educated in this country?

Mr. SCHEER. Well, sir, I would rather not go into my educational background because something in my educational background might tend to incriminate me, and, therefore, I think it would be better for me not to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to pursue this theme, if the committee please, of the education, by presenting to the witness certain exhibits.

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute. We have not had a direction to answer the question yet.

Mr. ARENS. I believe he has answered the question.

I should like to invite your attention to a letter dated September 5, 1957, received by this staff in response to a query we sent to Queens

College in Flushing, N. Y. According to this letter, and I should like to read it to you:

This is to verify that Mortimer Scheer attended Queens College from Sept. 1946 to February 1949. He graduated with a bachelor of arts degree.

It is signed "George E. Oettinger, assistant registrar."

Kindly look at that letter as it is displayed to you, and tell this committee whether or not Mr. Oettinger was telling us the facts when he advised that you are a college graduate.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. SCHEER. I have seen the letter, sir, but I would prefer to decline to discuss my educational background because I think in discussing my educational background there might be something in there to incriminate me. I would prefer not to answer under the fifth amendment to the Bill of Rights.

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

Mr. ARENS. I understand. Mr. Scheer, we want to display to you a photostatic copy of your application for employment with the Lehigh Portland Cement Co., which was made subsequent to your graduation from college. This application for employment, signed by yourself, lists your education only as a high-school graduate.

First of all, look at this photostatic application for employment and tell this committee whether or not that is a true and correct representation of the application you made for employment, and whether or not you filled out that form and listed your education as only that of a high-school graduate.

(Document handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHEER. I would like to decline to answer that question, sir, under the same ground as before.

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

Mr. ARENS. Where are you employed, again, please, sir?

Mr. SCHEER. Lehigh Portland Cement.

Mr. ARENS. And in what capacity?

Mr. SCHEER. Right now I am an electrician helper.

Mr. ARENS. And how long have you been engaged in that capacity?

Mr. SCHEER. As an electrician helper?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. SCHEER. A few weeks.

Mr. ARENS. And what was your employment immediately prior to your present employment as an electrician helper?

Mr. SCHEER. A laboratory helper.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you engaged in that capacity?

Mr. SCHEER. Approximately 4 years.

Mr. ARENS. What was your employment immediately prior to that employment?

Mr. SCHEER. I would prefer to decline to answer going into my employment history, sir, on the same grounds as before.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel that if you told this committee truthfully what your employment was immediately prior to the em-

ployment which you have recited, you would be supplying facts which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. SCHEER. It might, going into my job history might, tend to incriminate me in some way.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly feel that if you told us the job held immediately prior to the time that you had this assignment with Lehigh Portland, you would be supplying facts which could be used—might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

If you honestly feel so, tell us. If you do not, you are not entitled to invoke the rights of the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHEER. I think there might be something that may tend to incriminate me, and I would prefer not to go into, you know, my job history.

Mr. ARENS. I want to make it absolutely clear that just the standpoint of your personal preference is not decisive. The thing that is decisive is whether or not you honestly apprehend that if you gave us that information you would be giving us facts which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding. Do you understand that?

Mr. SCHEER. Yes. It might. It might do that.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you, sir.

Now, during the course of your employment at the Lehigh Portland Cement Co., have you been under the discipline at any time of the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHEER. Well, I will have to respectfully decline to answer that question, sir, under the grounds of the first amendment to the Constitution and the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Have you been engaging in Communist Party functionary work while you have been employed in a menial capacity at the Lehigh Portland Cement Co.?

Mr. SCHEER. A menial capacity? I did not understand that, sir.

Mr. ARENS. In the capacity of a high-school graduate rather than in the capacity of a college graduate.

Mr. SCHEER. What was the whole question?

Mr. ARENS. Have you been engaging in Communist Party activities within the Lehigh Portland Cement plant?

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to decline to answer that question under previous statement.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us what the term "colonization" means in any activity of your life?

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to decline to answer that—I will have to decline to answer that under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact and ask you to affirm or deny the fact that you are now a "colonizer" of the Communist Party within the Lehigh Portland Cement plant. If it is not true, deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. SCHEER. I would like to decline to answer that statement, sir.

Mr. SCHEER. There was no reason given for the declination. On what basis do you decline to answer that question?

Mr. SCHEER. Under the first and fifth amendments to the Bill of Rights, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Could you help this committee in its attempt to develop facts to preserve the internal security of this country by telling us

why you would indicate after you were a college graduate, to the Portland Cement Co., that you were only a high-school graduate? Could you help us on that?

Mr. SCHEER. I think I answered that question before, sir, when I said I declined to answer, you know, questions relating to that area, because I think it might tend to incriminate me, and I don't want to do that.

Mr. ARENS. When did you conclude your formal education, Mr. Scheer?

Mr. SCHEER. Well, I think that is a repetition of the same question.

Mr. ARENS. No. I am asking you the year you concluded your formal education.

Mr. SCHEER. I would like to decline to answer that, because I believe that if I go into my educational background something in there might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. ARENS. Then let me ask you this question so we can close the gap in your life and make this record absolutely clear. Is there any occupation in which you were engaged from the time you completed your formal college education until you assumed your position with the Lehigh Portland Cement Co., concerning which you can tell this committee without revealing facts which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Do you understand the question?

Mr. SCHEER. I am not fully clear on the question.

Mr. ARENS. Let me repeat it, then.

Is there any period of time in your life, from the time you completed your formal education, until you assumed this job with the Lehigh Portland Cement Co., when you were engaged in an occupation concerning which you could tell this committee without revealing facts that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHEER. In other words, did I ever work any place else besides the Portland Cement plant? Is that the question?

Mr. ARENS. We will start with that. If you can answer that, we will start with that. Yes, we will be glad to have that information as of the moment.

Did you ever work anywhere other than with Lehigh Portland?

Mr. SCHEER. Well, I would rather not go into my full job history—

Mr. ARENS. We want you to stop at any point where you feel that if you gave us facts, and if you are honest in your apprehension, that you would be giving facts that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding. Do you understand that?

Mr. SCHEER. Yes. You see, the thing is that I do feel that if I do go into my job history, there might be something in that job history that might tend to incriminate me, and that is why I hesitate to go into my job history.

Mr. ARENS. So we are clear on the record, where did you work prior to the time you worked at Lehigh Portland?

Mr. SCHEER. Where did I work part of the time?

Mr. ARENS. Prior to the time you worked at Lehigh Portland, please, sir.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. I think he said he was a laboratory helper.

Mr. ARENS. That was with Lehigh Portland Cement, I believe, Mr. Chairman.

Is that correct, Mr. Scheer?

Mr. SCHEER. Yes, sir.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHEER. I, you know, have to decline because there may be something in my job history that might tend to incriminate me and, therefore, I would prefer not to go into it.

Mr. ARENS. Your answer is not satisfactory, Mr. Scheer, unless you feel that the job which you occupied or your activity within that job which you occupied was such that, if you told us about it, you would be supplying information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding.

Mr. SCHEER. Well, in my mind, it might very well tend to be used, could be used.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir, you are entitled to invoke the privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHEER. That is why I declined.

Mr. ARENS. Now tell us about the job that preceded that job.

Mr. SCHEER. I would have to give you the same answer.

Mr. ARENS. Answer the principal question: Is there any job which you held from the time you completed your formal education until the present moment, except the Lehigh Portland job, that you can tell us about without giving information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHEER. While I was out on strike, sir, I worked at Vernor's Ginger Ale Co.

Mr. ARENS. When was that?

Mr. SCHEER. That was this year.

Mr. ARENS. You were on strike at Portland?

Mr. SCHEER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any job you have held since you completed your formal education until you went with Lehigh Portland Cement, pursuant to this application which we have displayed to you, any job you have held that you can tell us about, without giving us information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHEER. I would have to decline to answer that question, because I do feel that going into my job history in that way might tend to incriminate me, and I think I will invoke my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this minute, a Communist?

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to decline to answer that under the first amendment and the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now, this minute, under discipline of an organization controlled by a foreign power designed to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence?

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to decline to answer that under the first amendment and under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us, Mr. Scheer, whether or not you have had any connection with the Labor Youth League?

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to also decline to answer that question, sir, under the first amendment to the Constitution and the fifth amendment to the Constitution, for the similar reasons that I gave you before.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist when you were receiving your formal education?

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to cite the same statement as before. Should I repeat it?

I respectfully decline to answer that question, because it might tend to incriminate me, and also under the first amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. This Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Scheer, is developing facts, respecting the operation within this country of the conspiracy designed to overthrow this country, under whose flag you and I receive protection. Do you now, this moment, have information respecting that conspiracy and its operations within the United States?

Mr. SCHEER. I am sorry, but I will have to decline to answer that, sir, because of the first amendment to the Constitution and the fifth amendment, that it might tend to incriminate me in some way.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Scheer, we have here a photostatic application for a post-office box for the Buffalo Labor Youth League. It is signed Mortimer Scheer, and the character of the business of this organization is listed as educational.

Kindly look at this photostatic copy of the application for the post-office box, and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are that Mortimer Scheer; whether or not that is a true and correct copy of an application you made for the post-office box.

(Document handed to the witness.)

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly answer this question, Mr. Scheer?

Mr. SCHEER. Sir, I am sorry, but I will have to decline to answer that question under the first amendment and the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. WILLIS. You do not have to.

Mr. ARENS. You are under no compulsion to, you understand.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment?

Mr. SCHEER. Yes, sir.

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

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Scheer, Mr. Jones, one of the investigators for this committee, testified this morning respecting certain publications which he bought in Canada at a certain establishment, including a set of the publication entitled "The Road to Life."

Look at the publication and tell this committee whether or not you have ever seen this publication before.

(Documents handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHEER. I am sorry, sir, but I will have to decline to answer.

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

Mr. ARENS. The fact is, Mr. Scheer, you had a set of this publication at the plant, the Portland plant, about a year ago; did you not?

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to decline to answer that question, sir.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Have you been a disseminator here, in the Buffalo area, of Communist propaganda?

Mr. SCHEER. Would you repeat that question?

Mr. ARENS. Have you disseminated Communist propaganda in this area?

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to decline to answer that question, sir, under the first amendment and the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact that you have been one of the principal disseminators of Communist propaganda among youth in the Buffalo area in the course of the last few years. If that is not true, please deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to decline to answer that question under the first amendment and the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Scheer, we want to be sure here that there is no faceless informer charge leveled against this committee. Although we are accused of everything under the sun we try to be absolutely fair. We would like to have you just remain here a moment, and we want you to be in the presence of a man who is going to submit himself to an oath.

We do not want the charge made, Mr. Scheer—the faceless informer sort of charge.

Mr. Charles Regan, would you kindly come forward?

Please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Mr. WILLIS. 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. REGAN. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Regan, I expect to interrogate you at length later in the course of our proceedings while we are in Buffalo.¹ I only propose now to ask you one or two questions, and then we will proceed later with your testimony.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES V. REGAN

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Regan?

Mr. REGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the behest of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. REGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What was the period of your service in the Communist Party at the behest of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. REGAN. From the spring of 1943 to 1953.

¹ See Investigation of Communist Activities in the Buffalo, N. Y., Area—Part 1, October 2, 1957.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your membership in the Communist Party at the behest of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, did you know, as a Communist, a man by the name of Mortimer Scheer?

Mr. REGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you see that person whom you knew as a Communist in this courtroom in Buffalo today?

Mr. REGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly look him in the face and let him look in your face, so there will be no "faceless informers," and tell this committee whether or not you now see the person you knew as a Communist?

Mr. REGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Would you point him out?

Mr. REGAN. He is sitting right here.

TESTIMONY OF MORTIMER SCHEER—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Scheer, you heard the testimony of Mr. Regan. We want to give you an opportunity now while you are under oath to deny his testimony respecting you. Do you care to avail yourself of that opportunity?

Mr. SCHEER. I decline to answer that question under the first amendment to the Constitution and also the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. You heard the testimony of Mr. Regan; did you not?

Mr. SCHEER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Was Mr. Regan telling the truth or was he in error when he identified you as a person known by him to have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHEER. I will decline to answer that question, sir, because I believe in the first amendment and the fifth amendment to the Constitution and I want to invoke both of those.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that Mr. Regan now be temporarily excused.

Mr. WILLIS. You will be temporarily excused, Mr. Regan.

(Witness temporarily excused.)

Mr. SCHEER. Could I request no further pictures being taken because it disrupts my ability to testify.

Mr. ARENS. Certainly.

Mr. SCHEER. Thank you.

Mr. WILLIS. You have not given us much testimony up to now.

Mr. SCHEER. Well, it is disconcerting.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Scheer, have you ever been in the military service of this Government?

Mr. SCHEER. In the United States Army, sir?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. SCHEER. Yes, sir; I was in the United States Army.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time were you in the United States Army?

Mr. SCHEER. I believe August 1943 to April 1946.

Mr. SCHERER. He lists in his application for employment with the Lehigh Portland Cement Co. the fact that he had been in the Army between those dates.

Mr. ARENS. And where did you serve?

Mr. SCHEER. I served with the 75th Division in Europe in the Battle of the Bulge.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have a commission?

Mr. SCHEER. No, sir; I was just a doughboy, a pfc.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, as a prerequisite to your service in the United States Army, take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic?

Mr. SCHEER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. During the period of your service in the United States Army, were you a Communist?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHEER. I would have to decline to answer that question, sir, under the first amendment and the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. WILLIS. I would like to ask you a couple of questions, Mr. Scheer. Our counsel asked you whether you knew what "colonization" meant. We have received evidence before this committee over the year, from throughout the country, that part of the Communist technique and operations and machinations of the conspiracy in the United States is to have as members young men with high education who would be placed in basic industry and other facets of our economy and assigned jobs way below their educational abilities in order to do on the side the special work for the Communist conspiracy. That is what colonization is. I think counsel asked you, were you now a colonizer or were you colonizing the Lehigh Portland Cement plant?

Did you ask him that, Counsel?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. With that knowledge of what colonization is, I ask you if you will reflect on that and tell us whether you are engaged in that kind of work. I know it is obvious that you have a high education, and you have talked only about menial positions and jobs. Are you a colonizer?

Mr. SCHEER. Well, sir, I would have to decline to answer that under the first amendment and particularly the fifth amendment to the Constitution, I believe.

Mr. WILLIS. If you honestly fear that it would incriminate you, you have a right to invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHEER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. In keeping, Mr. Chairman, with some of the questions you have just propounded to the witness, I would like to ask a few questions.

You went to work for the Lehigh Portland Cement Co., according to your application, on April 28, 1953; is that right?

Mr. SCHEER. I believe so, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. At that time you were living at 901 Perry Boulevard?

Mr. SCHEER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. And your wife's name was Phyllis and your son's name was Ben. Is that right?

Mr. SCHEER. Yes, sir. I have another son now.

Mr. SCHERER. And you went to work in the mill department of Lehigh Portland Cement Co. as a day laborer?

Mr. SCHEER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. And you did, in that application for employment with the Lehigh Portland Cement Co., list your previous occupations, or previous employment, did you not?

Mr. SCHEER. I believe I did, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. One of the occupations you list is the one you have already given us, when you were in the United States Army. You list your last job, which you refused to tell us about, the one prior to your position with the Lehigh Portland Cement Co., as the Markel Electric Co., at 145 Seneca Street, and the position you held with that company was freight-elevator operator. Is that correct?

Mr. SCHEER. Sir, I was asked that question before, and I had to decline to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Then, your second-to-the-last job you list as the New York Carwheel Co. at Forest and Niagara, and the type of work being yard work and truckdriver. Did you perform that type of work when you were employed by the New York Carwheel Co.?

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to decline to answer that question, sir, under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Then the third-last employment which you list in your application with the Lehigh Portland Cement Co. was with the Meridel Co. at Flatbush Avenue, and there you were a stock packer. Is that right?

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to decline to answer that, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Your fourth-last employment was with, if I can read it, the Quality Grove Products Co. Is that correct?

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to decline to answer that one, too, sir, on the grounds of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. SCHERER. There you list your employment as having been a packer in the factory; is that right?

Mr. SCHEER. Sir, I will have to decline to answer that question under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. During your periods of employment, did you have any compensation other than the money you received from these jobs?

Mr. SCHEER. Was I working someplace else, sir; is that what you mean?

Mr. SCHERER. Well, yes.

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to decline to answer that question, sir, under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. SCHERER. Frankly, let us put the question this way: I ask you to affirm or deny the fact that you had your income supplemented by compensation either directly or indirectly from the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to decline to answer that question under the first amendment and fifth amendment to the Bill of Rights.

Mr. SCHERER. How much were you making at the Lehigh Portland Cement Co. when you started work?

Mr. SCHEER. I don't recall. It was an hourly rate—\$1.45 or something. I don't recall exactly the amount, but it was around a dollar and a half. I forget.

Mr. SCHERER. You were working for less than \$2,000 a year, were you not, when you started with the Portland Cement Co.—

Mr. SCHEER. Less than \$2,000 a year?

Mr. SCHERER. What?

Mr. SCHEER. Less than \$2,000 a year, you said, sir?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Mr. SCHEER. I think I was earning around a dollar and a half an hour. I think that comes to more than \$2,000 a year, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Your rate of pay started at \$1.38 an hour.

Mr. SCHEER. \$1.38, was it?

Mr. SCHERER. \$1.38 an hour. You made \$2,000 a year, if you worked all the time.

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. That is what your application shows.

Mr. SCHEER. Well, I know it is a low-paying place.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you answer my question whether or not you ever received any compensation from the Communist Party either directly or indirectly?

Mr. SCHEER. I will have to decline to answer that, sir, because it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever been abroad?

Mr. SCHEER. Under the armed services, I was in Europe.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that the only time?

Mr. SCHEER. To the best of my knowledge, that is the only time I was abroad; yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WILLIS. That is all.

Mr. SCHEER. Am I excused?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes. You are excused. Is that correct, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. ARENS. Yes. That will conclude the interrogation of witnesses for this morning, if you please, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. The committee will stand in recess until 1:30.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p. m., a recess was taken to reconvene at 1:30 p. m., the same day.)

(Mr. Willis and Mr. Scherer were present at the time of the recess.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1957

(The hearing was resumed at 1:30 p. m., pursuant to the recess. Mr. Willis and Mr. Scherer were present.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will be in order.

Counsel will call our next witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Alan Dietch, kindly come forward.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand. 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. DIETCH. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ALAN DIETCH

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

Mr. DIETCH. My name is Alan Dietch. I am a manufacturer's representative and machinery dealer, of Rochester, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Dietch, we know, as does the world, that during the trial in this community of John Francis Noto, in 1956, under the provisions of the Smith Act, you testified at that time respecting your onetime membership in the Communist Party and your identification of Mr. Noto and other information germane to that particular trial, so I do not propose today to have you repeat any of those facts.

The purpose of your appearance here today is to invite your attention to a specific instance, and then we will proceed from there, if you please, sir.

Did you, in the course of the last several years, have occasion to sell to persons in the Communist Party apparatus, certain printing or reproducing equipment to be used in the Communist Party underground?

Mr. DIETCH. Yes; I did.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us in your own words the circumstances surrounding that particular incident?

Mr. DIETCH. In the spring of 1951, John Noto came to me at my home, and asked me if I would sell some duplicating equipment to the Communist Party, and I told him I would.

Upon receiving this information, he told me that he would arrange an appointment for me to meet a young man whom I would know as "Jack."

He set up an appointment for me. I came here to Buffalo and met this person whom I knew only as "Jack" in one of the Waldorf restaurants here.

After that, I had a number of meetings, all of them in Rochester, with this person. In the course of the contact I had with him, I sold him two duplicating machines.

Mr. ARENS. We are going to display to you reproductions of certain duplicating equipment and ask if you could kindly identify that equipment.

(Document handed to the witness.)

DIETCH EXHIBIT No. 1

PAGE NO. 36

Multigraph

(MULTILITH PROCESS)

MODEL 40

ITEM NO. 54-M-28300 (6)

This compact, electrically operated Multigraph, using the exclusive Multilith Process, will reproduce typewriting, handwriting, line drawings, ruled forms, and text matter in any face of type.

The subject matter to be duplicated is written or drawn on a Multilith Master with typewriter, pen, pencil, crayon or any writing machine; the Master is placed on the Multigraph and as many copies as needed are run off quickly and easily. All styles of Multilith Masters, including those with photographic images on them, can be used.

The Multigraph Model 40, as illustrated, is equipped with automatic paper feeder, set back sheet counter, automatic Repelex fountain, automatic inking mechanism, paper receiver, storage cabinet stand with disappearing door and convenient shelf for storing operating supplies.

All major controls are conveniently located on one side of the machine, this feature simplifies operation and greatly speeds production. The new finish is attractive, blends well with office furnishings and is easy to keep clean.

**SPECIFICATIONS**

PAPER SIZES: The maximum sheet size is 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide by 14 inches long (24.76 x 35.56 cm); minimum sheet size is 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches long (8.26 x 13.97 cm). Paper stocks ranging from 16 pounds (7.25 kg) substance to standard postcard stock in a wide variety of surface finishes can be automatically fed.

DUPLICATING AREA: The maximum form size is 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide by 13 inches long (24.13 x 33.02 cm).

FEATURES: The simple automatic paper feeder has a capacity of 500 sheets of 20 pound (9.07 kg) bond paper. A four-roll inking mechanism with controlled ink flow insures even distribution and provides for shutting off the ink when paper is not passing through

the machine. Both ink and Repelex mechanisms are automatic. One control lever starts the duplicating of copies and the large hand wheel makes it easy to change position of master cylinder.

SPEED: Operating speed is 4250 revolutions per hour. A three-speed device providing 2600, 3600 or 4400 machine revolutions per hour is available as auxiliary equipment.

MOTOR: 1.6 horsepower electric motor of standard voltage.

FLOOR SPACE: Operating, 20 inches by 34 inches (50.80 x 86.36 cm).

WEIGHT: Machine weight is 165 pounds (74.84 kg). Domestic shipping weight, 220 pounds (99.79 kg); packed for export, 275 pounds (124.74 kg).

CERTIFIED PRODUCT OF ADDRESSOGRAPH-MULTIGRAPH CORPORATION

For Prices see Page No. 43

Multigraph

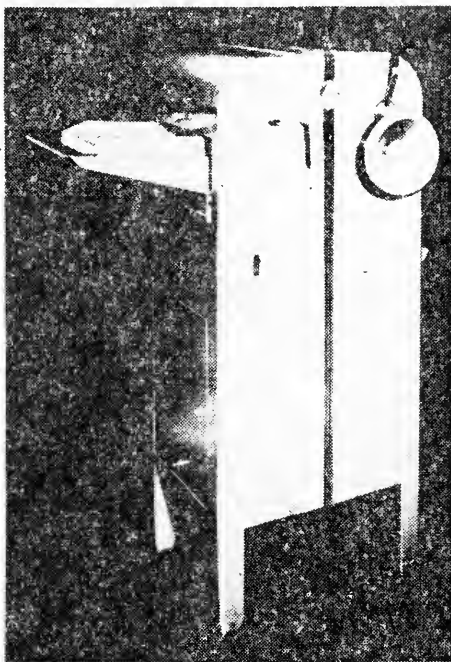
(MULTILITH PROCESS)

MODEL 50

ITEM NO. 54-M-28300 (11)

Electrically operated Multigraph using exclusive Multilith process. Particularly suited for short run and systems duplicating. Uses all styles of Multilith masters.

Multigraph Model 50 is simple to operate. Only two levers control all mechanical operations necessary to convert blank paper into finished records. Standard equipment consists of STANDARD CLAMP for duplicating masters; HAND FEED PAPER TABLE with quick-adjustable right and left side margin guides; AUTOMATIC IMPRESSION ROLLER RELEASE AND RESET which brings impression roller and rubber blanket in contact only when paper is passing through machine; AUTOMATICALLY CONTROLLED INK FOUNTAIN ROLLER which provides uniform ink coverage on all copies; AUTOMATIC REPELEX MECHANISM which applies controlled moisture to the duplicating master; CABINET BASE with disappearing door and convenient shelf for storing ink, solutions, and paper; ELECTRIC MOTOR of standard voltage; STREAM LINED DESIGN to harmonize with modern office surroundings. Hammered metalite finish in rich taupe with matching dark brown trim. Surface is smooth, easy to clean.



SPECIFICATIONS

PAPER SIZES: The maximum sheet size is 9½ inches wide by 14 inches long (24.76 x 35.56 cm). Minimum sheet size, 3 inches by 3½ inches long (7.62 x 8.89 cm) can be fed to either side guide. Paper stacks ranging from 16 pounds (7.25 kg) substance to standard pascard stock in a wide variety of surface finishes can be hand fed.

DUPLICATING AREA: The maximum form size is 9½ inches wide by 13 inches long (24.13 x 33.02 cm).

INK MECHANISM: A four-roller inking mechanism with controlled ink flow. Ink is taken from fountain only when paper is passing through machine.

REPELEX MECHANISM: A three-roller moistening mechanism which controls Repelex flow.

CONTROLS: All operating controls on right side; large hand wheel for easy movement of master cylinder.

SPEED: The normal operating speed is 70 machine revolutions per minute.

MOTOR: 1 6 horsepower electric motor.

FLOOR SPACE: Ready for operating, 20 inches by 34 inches (50.80 x 86.36 cm).

WEIGHT: Machine weight is 165 pounds (74.84 kg). Domestic shipping weight is 220 pounds (99.79 kg); packed for export, 275 pounds (124.74 kg).

FINISH: Hammered metalite in rich taupe; dark brown trim.

CERTIFIED PRODUCT OF ADDRESSOGRAPH-MULTIGRAPH CORPORATION

For Prices see Page No. 44

Mr. ARENS. While he is doing so, Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask, if it meets with your pleasure, to have a general order on this record that all documents introduced be appropriately marked and either incorporated in the record directly or by reference, as the case may be. It will save us a little time as we proceed in the next few days.

Mr. WILLIS. I will officially so order.

Mr. ARENS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. DIETCH. These are photographs of each of the two machines which I sold to this person known to me as "Jack." One of these is a Model 40 Multilith, a machine with a friction feeder. The other is a Model 50 Multilith, a similar machine but hand fed.

Mr. ARENS. Was there a cloak of secrecy involved in the transaction, Mr. Dietch?

Mr. DIETCH. There was, to this extent: While I knew this person as "Jack," I also knew that it wasn't his name, and I felt his name was of no concern to me, so I never asked him his name. He paid for the equipment in cash rather than by check. Also, we never shipped the machines to him. He came and got them himself. I never knew except on very short notice when he would come to see me. He would phone and say either that he was in town or that he would be in in a day or so.

The thing was, generally speaking, kept under a mantle of secrecy.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, in the presence of this witness, I respectfully suggest that another witness be called, and that an oath be administered to him.

Mr. Sidney Turoff, would you kindly come forward?

Mr. Dietch, would you move over here, please?

Mr. WILLIS. Raise your right hand.

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. TUROFF. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF SIDNEY TUROFF (ALIAS MICHAEL NAPOLI),
ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, RICHARD LIPSITZ**

Mr. ARENS. Will you identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation?

Mr. TUROFF. Sidney Turoff, 115 Warren Avenue, Kenmore, N. Y. Occupation, general factory worker, I imagine would be the only classification for it.

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

Mr. TUROFF. Yes; I am, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. LIPSITZ. Richard Lipsitz, 35 Court Street, Buffalo, N. Y.

TESTIMONY OF ALAN DIETCH—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Dietch, do you see in the courtroom today the person to whom you sold this printing equipment to be used in the Communist Party underground, and who was identified to you as "Jack"?

Mr. DIETCH. Yes; I do.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly identify him now?

Mr. DIETCH. Mr. Turoff is the person whom I knew as "Jack."

Mr. ARENS. We have no further questions at this time of Mr. Dietch.

TESTIMONY OF SIDNEY TUROFF—Resumed

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Turoff, you just heard the testimony of Mr. Dietch identifying you as the person known by him as "Jack" to whom he sold certain printing equipment to be used in the Communist Party underground. Do you care to avail yourself of the opportunity to deny that allegation?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. No; I do not, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Was Mr. Dietch telling the truth or was he in error when he just now, while he was under oath, identified you as the person to whom he sold printing equipment to be used in the Communist Party underground?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I am the person Mr. Dietch is referring to. There is no doubt about that. There is a difference, however; the equipment was not sold to me. It was purchased at my request.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist when you bought the equipment?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a Communist?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I do not at this time consider myself a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a Communist at any time in the course of the last year?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. ARENS. And when did you disassociate yourself from the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. I couldn't give the exact date. It was the day after the State convention of the Communist Party. It was either April 1 or April 2.

Mr. SCHERER. I did not get your answer.

Mr. TUROFF. Either April 1 or April 2 of this year.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand that. But what did you say it was—the day after what?

Mr. TUROFF. The State convention, the New York State Convention of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Are you presently under Communist Party discipline?

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir, I am not.

Mr. ARENS. Now, will you kindly tell us, then, Mr. Turoff, where and when you joined the Communist Party?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. New York City, in April 1947.

Mr. ARENS. And where were you engaged at that time? What line of work?

Mr. TUROFF. I have a problem of memory.

Mr. WILLIS. What is the pending question? I am sorry.

Mr. ARENS. Where he was employed at the time.

Mr. TUROFF. I don't recall whether I had just stopped working in order to go to college, or whether I was still working. In fact, I believe I was still working at the time at a mortgage and title company, the exact name of which I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us the circumstances of your joining the Communist Party?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I don't believe I understand the meaning of the question.

Mr. ARENS. What caused you to join the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. It was my feeling at the time that I joined the Communist Party that the Communist Party in America was that organization which had an approach to the solution of certain very important problems, such as economic insecurity, the question of discrimination, which I felt very deeply as a Jewish person, and which I was very concerned with in regard to the Negro people, the Puerto Rican people in New York City, and also the question of war and peace. I felt that at that time they had an answer which suited my purposes, or that I felt would be helpful.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly tell us, if you please, sir, the unit of the Communist Party to which you were first allied.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. What is the purpose, sir, if I may ask, as to identification of a particular unit that I joined?

Mr. ARENS. I would be very happy to make that explanation to you. You are asking, I take it, the pertinency of the question, is that correct?

Mr. TUROFF. I guess.

Mr. ARENS. I see you have been in consultation with your counsel, and it is perfectly proper that you should be, and it is perfectly proper that you should ask that question.

This Committee on Un-American Activities is under a mandate from the United States Congress to develop certain facts so that the Congress can legislate intelligently on the subject of communism. As you know, undoubtedly, as we will call you now, a onetime member of the Communist Party, the Communist Party is a conspiratorial apparatus operating in the United States as part of a worldwide web of 25 million people, with target U. S. A., to destroy this country.

There is pending before this Committee on Un-American Activities at the present time, a bill, H. R. 9352, which has numerous provisions, each of which is designed to cope with some particular facet of the Communist operation.

The Communist Party, as you know as a onetime member of the Communist Party, is constantly changing its strategy, its tactics, its techniques, constantly demanding Congressional surveillance of its operations in this land in which you and I live.

This Committee on Un-American Activities is trying to develop as much factual material as it can upon the operation of the Communist Party over the course of the last several years, comparing that operation with the operation today, its techniques, its designs, its purposes, and the like, all with the overall objective of being able to recommend to the Congress amendments to existing law, modifications of existing

law, new law, new regulations, and the like, so that the Congress of the United States can legislate continuously in undertaking to cope with this conspiratorial apparatus of an atheistic, godless, criminally directed force, which today encompasses approximately one-third of this globe, and has enmeshed approximately one-fourth of humanity.

Now, sir, would you kindly answer the question and tell this committee while you are under oath the name of the unit to which you were first attached when you joined the Communist Party in 1947?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Let me supplement that. I understand from your testimony that you withdrew from the Communist Party—in April of this year, did you say?

Mr. TUROFF. That is correct, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, obviously, as of that time, and I am not going to press it, you belonged to some unit. Some go, some come. That is fairly recently. It is fairly important to us to bring to date old units, changed units, units under new names, so that we can follow those patterns. That is what makes it important, pertinent, for our inquiry, to carry out the objectives and purposes of the Congress in establishing this committee, which is not an easy job—it is no particular pleasure for us to travel around and conduct these hearings. We have to make a report to Congress every year, and they reinstate the committee. This year we were reinstated, as every year, without any dissenting vote. I do not think there was one vote in the whole Congress against it on the appropriations for the committee; I am talking about—for operations. Obviously that is a widespread and bipartisan and universal feeling that the job must go on, and we are designated to do it. However distasteful it may be, that is it.

I suspect that if we should fold up overnight, in that proportion the Communists would mushroom. We have to do it. So we have to do it. So don't you see, the deadly importance of this inquiry to check up on the continuous operation, and machinations and change of operations and techniques and so on? That is the importance and pertinency of these questions to you.

I think you could be of considerable help to us. Up to now you have been very helpful. For instance, I did not know you were going to admit your participation in the past. Up to this extent, up to now, I congratulate you. And I hope you will continue answering the questions.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. I might make this further observation as to pertinency. Mr. Arens, isn't it the 1954 Communist Control Act which provides for the registration of printing equipment used in connection with the printing of Communist propaganda?

Mr. ARENS. Yes. It was an act approved July 29, 1954.

Mr. SCHERER. And we are considering—particularly since some of the recent Supreme Court decisions—considering the amending of that act?

Mr. ARENS. That is under advisement at the present time; yes, sir.

Mr. TUROFF. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. ARENS. The outstanding question is, sir, please tell us the name, identification, and any description you can give us of the first unit to which you were attached in the Communist Party.

Mr. TUROFF. It would have been a community club in Queens County, N. Y. As for a name, I don't know of any particular name that it did bear.

Mr. ARENS. How many members were there in the unit? Could you help us on that, please?

Mr. TUROFF. There, again, I don't think I would have the least idea. I never functioned with that unit. I was assigned to it.

Mr. ARENS. All right. What is the next unit to which you were assigned?

Mr. TUROFF. At New York University, it was a club, a unit, that existed at the school itself.

Mr. ARENS. And that was in what year, please? Was it 1948?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. No, it would have been, as—as I recall, I started school in September of 1947, I believe.

Mr. SCHERER. When did you finish?

Mr. TUROFF. I did not finish. I left.

Mr. ARENS. When did you leave?

Mr. TUROFF. Left NYU?

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon?

Mr. TUROFF. Left New York University?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. TUROFF. It would be before the end of the spring term of 1949, the spring semester of 1949.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you continue your higher education at any other institution after you left there?

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now, just take for a while, please, Mr. Turoff, this period when you were in New York University from 1947 to 1949. You surely have information to give this committee which will help us on what happened in the Communist group to which you were attached.

What did you do? What went on? What were the techniques? What did they do? How many members were there and the like? Can't you help us on that, please sir?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I find it quite difficult to answer a question of that nature, mostly because it is a long time ago.

Mr. ARENS. I understand how a person's memory might not be too clear. Let's do this: Let's go the other way, the other direction. You told us a little while ago you left the Communist Party last year, is that correct?

Mr. TUROFF. That is correct. This year.

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon. April of this year. That has just been a few months ago.

Mr. TUROFF. About six.

Mr. ARENS. About 6 months ago. Now, let's just go backward. What unit were you in when you left the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. In the Steel Section of the Communist Party of Erie County.

Mr. SCHERER. In the Steel Section?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Was there at that time more than one section, more than one Steel Section?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. To the best of my knowledge, there were two.

Mr. ARENS. How many persons were in your section?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. We know that for quite a number of years the cells are becoming smaller and smaller and smaller because the Communists do not want to expose themselves, and they have to have their own security measures. Sometimes a man in one cell has no idea what is going on in the other cell or who belongs to it.

We know there are numerous cells, but you could help out with the cells you know about.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Could I ask just what is meant by how many persons were in the unit, in the section to which I belonged?

Mr. ARENS. On the basis of our knowledge we know of section levels and we know of clubs below the section levels. We would like to have you tell us how many people—

Mr. WILLIS. Would you explain the three general terms? I guess he knows them.

Mr. ARENS. Your section level was your highest level within the conspiratorial apparatus within steel, isn't that correct, in April of 1957?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I would answer that question on the basis that it was the highest level in the organization in the steel industry. I would not accept your definition which included the conspiratorial—

Mr. ARENS. That is what I mean, within the steel industry.

Mr. TUROFF. But definitely without accepting the question of conspiratorial. I mean for my purposes, my answer does not include that aspect of your statement.

Mr. ARENS. I understand what you are saying. How many persons were in the Steel Section to which you were attached of the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. Again—

Mr. ARENS. That is in April of 1957.

Mr. TUROFF. Again, I find myself unable to answer that question, unless I get some kind of definition about what is meant by people who were in, by what is meant by membership.

Mr. ARENS. How many operated within the section, the Steel Section, to which you were attached?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I still find myself in a very difficult position for answering that question.

Mr. ARENS. Well, do the best you can. You know what we are driving at. Now help us, please.

Mr. TUROFF. Please don't push because I get nervous and then I wouldn't be able to help at all.

Mr. ARENS. We don't want you to get nervous. We want you to keep calm.

Mr. TUROFF. The number varied tremendously. I don't know what is meant by the question, really. Is it meant dues-paying members?

Mr. ARENS. Let's start with dues-paying members.

Mr. TUROFF. Dues-paying members, very few people.

Mr. ARENS. How many?

Mr. TUROFF. Four or five.

Mr. ARENS. That would be in the Steel Section to which you were attached?

Mr. TUROFF. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that section operating?

Mr. TUROFF. In Buffalo, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. Were there also 4 or 5 dues-paying members in the alternate section, in April of 1957?

Mr. TUROFF. I could give no figure at all for April of 1957 of that section.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a figure at any time on the other section?

Mr. TUROFF. To the best of my knowledge, it would be between 5 and 8.

Mr. ARENS. Now, below each of these two sections, were there clubs, in April of 1957, the steel clubs of the Communist Party, steel fractions, or steel units, or steel cells?

Mr. TUROFF. In the section to which I was working with, with which I was working, there were no functioning clubs.

Mr. ARENS. In April of 1957?

Mr. TUROFF. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Were there, at any time in the course of your attachment to this section, clubs?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, there were.

Mr. ARENS. When were they in existence?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Over a period of several years, you would have one club that would disintegrate and another one would come. I really couldn't give any precise picture of how many there were at any one time. I really don't know. I can't recall.

Mr. ARENS. Then let's move over to the other section, the alternate section, of the Steel Section, in the Buffalo area. Were there clubs in April of 1957 allied with the Steel Section, the alternate Steel Section?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I am not sure whether there were or were not.

Mr. ARENS. Did the party have what they call a cut-out system, whereby people in one section were not apprised of the identity of people in another section?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes; I would say that was so.

Mr. ARENS. What was the duration of your affiliation with the one Steel Section of the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. Which one?

Mr. ARENS. The one to which you were attached, that you have been talking about.

Mr. WILLIS. The one that we started with in April of this year going back.

Mr. ARENS. How long were you with that one?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. In the neighborhood of 2 years, give or take.

Mr. ARENS. Was that the only entity of the Communist Party to which you were attached from 1957 going backward to, say, 1955?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. No.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. No; I was attached to another group.

Mr. ARENS. During that period?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us what group that was.

Mr. TUROFF. The county committee or the county board, I don't know which was the correct name, of the Erie County Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. And what post did you have in the County Committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. No post in the committee itself. I was there as a representative from the Steel Section.

Mr. ARENS. And over what period of time did you occupy that post?

Mr. WILLIS. Would it be during those 2 years when you were connected with the steel section?

Mr. TUROFF. It would be during those 2 years, but not the full 2 years.

Mr. ARENS. Where were you employed in 1957, April of 1957?

Mr. TUROFF. At my present place of employment, which is the Tube Manifold, North Tonawanda.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed at Tube Manifold?

Mr. TUROFF. Approximately 2½ years.

Mr. ARENS. And in what capacity?

Mr. TUROFF. General factory workman.

Mr. ARENS. Did you do any Communist Party work on the plant?

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir, let's keep going backward, if you please—

Mr. SCHERER. Before we go backward any further, Mr. Chairman, I would like to know the circumstances under which he left the Communist Party in April of this year.

Mr. WILLIS. Before you inquire into the period of time prior to 1957, Mr. Arens, he might have belonged to some other units besides being in the Steel Section and affiliated with the county committee.

Mr. ARENS. I propose to ask him along that line, Mr. Chairman, as the very next item.

During the period that we are now considering, between 1955 and 1957, did you have a connection, an affiliation with any other unit or entity of the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. I don't follow. Didn't we just go through that?

Mr. ARENS. You told us of two. I wondered if there might be a third.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I would say from about the middle of 1956, and again I am not sure of the dates, I was appointed as a member of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. In what capacity?

Mr. TUROFF. None. None at all. Just a member.

Mr. WILLIS. You were a member of the New York State committee?

Mr. TUROFF. That is right, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. I misunderstood him. I thought he said he was employed.

Mr. ARENS. We are still in the period between 1955 and 1957. Is there any other entity of the Communist Party during that period with which you were allied, affiliated, or identified?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. No; I don't believe I was a member of anything else.

Mr. ARENS. Let's take another year or two backward. Let's get back to 1954. That is agreeable to you now? Your memory is following us? What was your identification, affiliation, or connection with the Communist Party or an entity of the Communist Party in 1954?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Do you mean by that what group I was affiliated with?

Mr. ARENS. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, prior to your connection with this Steel Section.

Mr. ARENS. You have told us of 3 connections, 1 of the 2 Steel Sections; you have told us of your connection with the County Committee of the Communist Party here in Erie County; and you have told us of your connection with the State committee of the Communist Party, all within the last 2 years.

Now, I am going back in the chronology of your career in the Communist Party and asking you in 1954 what were your connections or affiliations in the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. I was at that time affiliated with the other Steel Section of the Communist Party in Erie County.

Mr. ARENS. And how long was your affiliation with that other Steel Section?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I don't remember for sure. It might have been in the neighborhood of 3 years.

Mr. ARENS. And where were you employed at that time?

Mr. TUROFF. Various places; a number of places.

Mr. ARENS. Give us the principal places, would you please, sir?

Mr. TUROFF. Republic Steel, Worthington, J. H. Williams. I would say those were the principal ones.

Mr. ARENS. They are all located in the Buffalo area?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you do any recruiting of other persons into the Communist Party any time from 1952 to 1957, this period we are now covering?

Mr. TUROFF. Would you repeat that, please?

Mr. ARENS. Did you do any recruiting of other persons into the Communist Party at any time from 1952 to 1957?

Mr. TUROFF. In the Steel Section?

Mr. ARENS. In any section, any entity of the party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I can't remember whether anyone was recruited in that period or not. Occasionally I would see a new face, but I had no idea of knowing when they became members of the party or not, and in some cases whether they even were members.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir. Now, let's move backwards in the chronology of the party. You told us a few moments ago you were in the alternate or other Steel Section of the Communist Party between 1952, approximately, and 1954.

During that period of time were you connected with any other entity of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I don't know if it is considered an entity of the party or not. There was a kind of council of these alternate sections that did meet and I was a member of that. It didn't have any particular name, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. ARENS. Where did it meet?

Mr. TUROFF. Nor was it an official function—you know, an official part of the organizational setup of the party.

Mr. ARENS. It has been suggested to us from confidential sources, Mr. Turoff, that you were in the Communist Party underground about this period. Can you tell us about that?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. What is meant by underground, sir?

Mr. ARENS. I think you know. You are an adult and you have been in the Communist Party and you have been reading the papers.

Mr. TUROFF. Frankly, sir, I don't mean to be impolite, but I don't know. I would appreciate—

Mr. ARENS. Let's try it this way: Were you in secret Communist Party activity about this time?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. The question is a difficult one to answer. Obviously, it wasn't too big a secret as you have the information there. We did try not to be too openly known because of the Smith Act and the implications of it, and no one being particularly anxious to be charged with the Smith Act.

Mr. ARENS. What other entity of the Communist Party did you ally yourself with or were you allied with, from 1952 to 1954, other than the alternate Steel Section and this little informal group you were telling us about a few moments ago?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I can't recall belonging to any other entity, as you have termed it.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir. Now, may we leave that area? We are going to come back to all of this in a little while.

We have a number of questions to ask. But I want to get the pattern. We will go back another year or so. We are now in 1952. Let us go back, say, to 1951.

With what group were you connected in the Communist apparatus in 1951?

Mr. TUROFF. I was at that time not working with any particular group. I was just an individual along with several other individuals.

Mr. ARENS. In the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. In the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. And how long did that situation prevail in reverse chronological order in 1951? Was the same situation prevailing in 1950?

Mr. TUROFF. The end of 1950, the latter part.

Mr. ARENS. We will group here, for the purpose on this little pad I am writing on, 1950 and 1951 together. Part of 1950 and all of 1951—

Mr. TUROFF. I don't know if it is all of 1951.

Mr. ARENS. Your best recollection is the approximate time. We appreciate the difficulty of recollecting precisely.

In this period, I am going to make a notation here. Would you call it open party membership or just general party membership?

Mr. TUROFF. It was not open party membership.

Mr. ARENS. Well, we will call it general party secret membership; is that correct? Well, let's back up then, beyond 1950. Let's start in with 1949. What was your connection with the Communist Party in 1949?

I appreciate we are moving in a little bit into 1950 there, too.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. From the end of 1949 up until the latter part of 1950, I believe, if I recollect correctly, that I was connected with the Steel Section.

Mr. ARENS. Was that the first Steel Section or the second one?

Mr. TUROFF. I guess it would be the first one that we talked about.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir.

Mr. TUROFF. With no particular function in that.

Mr. ARENS. You just had a connection?

Mr. TUROFF. Just had a connection.

Mr. ARENS. Before I forget about it, we are going to ask you a number of other questions that I have been asking about here.

When did the party quit using cards?

Mr. TUROFF. I don't know the answer to that question.

Mr. ARENS. When did you last have a card?

Mr. TUROFF. I am not even sure I had one. I may have had one the first year I came in. I am not sure.

Mr. ARENS. You were in in 1947?

Mr. TUROFF. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. And although you have been a Communist, up until, according to your sworn testimony, April of 1957, you at no time had a card, is that correct?

Mr. TUROFF. No, I didn't say that. I said I may have had one the first year I was a member. I am positive not after that.

Mr. ARENS. I did not mean to misquote you. At least from 1948 on you have not had a card, is that correct?

Mr. TUROFF. I don't believe so.

Mr. WILLIS. Isn't that just about the evidence before us heretofore?

Mr. ARENS. That confirms, Mr. Chairman, the evidence we have had. Since about 1948 we began work on the Internal Security Act and the party disbanded the use of cards, membership records, and the like.

To your knowledge has there been a membership record entry of your membership in the Communist Party of any kind since, say, 1948 on?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I would not know whether such records were kept or not.

Mr. ARENS. You have just used various aliases in the Communist Party, have you not?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I used one other name. I lived with one other name other than my own, for a period of years, which I suppose could be—it is an alias.

As to the rest, for a particular meeting, for a particular get-together, I might have been called Jack or Joe or Jim or something of the sort.

Mr. ARENS. What was your alias, would you tell us?

Mr. TUROFF. Michael Napoli.

Mr. ARENS. N-a-p-o-l-i?

Mr. TUROFF. Correct.

Mr. ARENS. Let's now, before we lose track of the chronology, the skeleton of your operations within the Communist Party, please, Mr. Turoff, go on back into 1948. What entity were you connected with in the Communist Party in 1948?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I believe that is the same question as before. I was a student at New York University and I was connected with——

Mr. ARENS. I see. Now have we traced your entire career in the Communist Party from the standpoint of chronology?

Mr. TUROFF. Pretty close, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Have you, without equivocation, broken from the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. What do you mean by "without equivocation"?

Mr. ARENS. Well, there again I thought that was rather commonly understood terminology. Have you finally, decisively, completely, severed your relationship, membership connection, allegiance to the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. The answer to that would have to be that I did sever all allegiance, all organizational relationship with the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Are you under Communist Party discipline now?

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir, I am not.

Mr. ARENS. What caused you to sever your connections with the Communist Party? I take it that was April of 1957; is that right?

Mr. TUROFF. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. What caused you to take that step?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. The reason for leaving cannot be too briefly stated because it goes back over a year to the time when Khrushchev made his report to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Union in which he made certain disclosures of crimes that had been committed there which came as quite a shock to myself and many thousands of other Communists at the time.

The reason for leaving concretely is that the American party would not adopt such a policy which would condemn this lack of democracy in the Soviet Union, condemn the crimes of the Soviet Union and probably most particularly, the question of no position on the intervention in Hungary and the question of no position on the question of existing anti-Semitism within the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. Are you still a Marxist?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Might I ask, sir, what is the purpose of that question?

Mr. ARENS. If you would rather not answer it, you are not obliged to answer it. It is just to be helpful to us. We not only develop information for legislation, but we develop information which is disseminated in the form of reports and the like on what makes a Communist, why does a person want to get himself enmeshed in this materialistic, ruthless, barbaric force, and why would he sever his connection with it.

And if he does sever his connection with it, does he do it only because he has been disillusioned with the promises of Marxism, or has he generally had a change of heart and the like.

I would earnestly solicit you to answer, but you are under no compulsion to answer it. You would be helpful to this committee and helpful to this Government if you would care to answer it.

Mr. SCHERER. I think he gave a pretty cogent reason as to why he got out of the party.

Mr. TUROFF. No, I would decline to answer that. I don't think I could do justice to my beliefs and thinking in just a few minutes without adequate preparation.

Mr. ARENS. Have you gone to the Federal Bureau of Investigation at any time since you broke with the Communist Party and told them all about this operation in which you, for a decade, were enmeshed?

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Have you come to any congressional committee that is seeking facts by which they could legislate on this subject and revealed to them voluntarily the facts respecting this operation in which you were enmeshed?

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now, kindly tell us, sir, who were the members of the Steel Section of the Communist Party to which you were attached as of the time you disassociated yourself from the Communist Party in April of 1957?

Mr. TUROFF. May I ask, sir, what is the purpose of that question?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. The purpose of that question is this, that if you tell us the names of the people who were members of the Steel Section of the Communist Party in April of 1957 this committee will, if we have not already done so, forthwith cause to be issued for their appearance before this committee subpoenas, so that we can undertake to elicit from them, as we have from you today, such information as we are able to procure from them respecting the operation of the Communist Party in this industrial area for the purpose of enabling the Congress of the United States to better enact legislation or amendments to existing legislation undertaking to cope with this existing situation.

The Internal Security Act of 1950, as amended by the Communist Control Act of 1954, undertakes in many particulars to deal right with this problem of Communist penetration of heavy industry.

This committee is under a mandate to maintain a surveillance over the operation and administration of that legislation. I now repeat: Would you kindly tell this committee the names of the persons who, in April of 1957, just some few months ago, were known to a certainty by you to be members of the Steel Section of the Communist Party in this heavy industrial area of Buffalo?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, up to this point I think this witness has answered frankly the questions asked by our counsel. Before he is required to answer questions with reference to his associates, I think we should give him time to consider the question and talk to his attorney. Maybe at a later date he might be willing to give to our staff the information that we need.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Suppose we let the witness choose whether he decides to answer or not answer or avail himself of the suggestion of Mr. Scherer.

Mr. TUROFF. I appreciate the offer of additional time. I feel, however, that I would prefer to have the questions now and have the answers as I see fit now.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly answer the question, then, please, sir.

Mr. TUROFF. I still fail to see any purpose for the question based on your explanation. I further feel that it violates my constitutional rights of association under the first amendment and I do sincerely feel that it is beyond the scope of this committee to ask questions of that nature.

I, therefore, decline to answer.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest this record now reflect an order and direction to this witness to answer the last outstanding principal question, namely, the names of those persons known to a certainty by him to have been a member of the Steel Section of the Communist Party in the Buffalo area, to which he, the witness, was attached in April of 1957.

Mr. WILLIS. I order and direct you to answer the question. Personally, there has been a very kind suggestion made by Mr. Scherer, whether you would like to reflect over it. But, in support of our job, in support of the mandate of Congress, we must have the information. I direct you to answer the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. In response to the direction, I must repeat the same answer: The first amendment, for the reasons I gave.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Turoff, I do not want at this time to unnecessarily burden the record with a series of questions and declinations. Will you now give to the committee the names of persons who, to a certainty, were known by you while a member of each of these several entities of this Communist Party which you have described?

Mr. SCHERER. I think you could make it more specific, and who were members at the time he left the party as recently as April of 1957.

Mr. TUROFF. Is that part of the question?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. That is part of the question, as amended by the Congressman, but I want to come back and be sure that we have every entity encompassed in here at any time.

Mr. TUROFF. I must decline to answer that question on the same ground as before.

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

Mr. WILLIS. For the same reasons, you are directed to answer the question.

Mr. TUROFF. And, without seeming cute or anything, for the same reasons, I must decline, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Let the record also reflect, if you please, Mr. Chairman, an explanation to this witness that it is pertinent to the inquiry of this committee, pertinent to the jurisdiction of this committee, pertinent to the duty of this committee, for this committee to know the names of persons who, at least in the course of the last few years,

were members of the Communist Party, so that this committee can undertake to solicit from them information respecting the operation of the Communist Party.

With that explanation, Mr. Witness, I should like to ask you this question: Will you give us the name of any person in the course of the history of your association, affiliation, identification in the Communist Party, at any time, who was known by you to a certainty to be a Communist or a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Again, I invoke the first, for the same reasons stated before.

Mr. ARENS. Now, Mr. Chairman, so that this record is abundantly clear, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed now to answer the query which was just posed to him, to please give us the name of some person or persons who at any time was known by him to be a member of the Communist Party.

Is the record clear that you have been directed to answer that last question?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, so that we can be abundantly clear, I now respectfully suggest that the record reflect an abundantly clear direction and order to answer these questions.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer the questions.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. In respect to the general direction to answer that, I still do not understand the purpose or the pertinency; I still feel that it is a violation of my rights under the first amendment to be directed to answer this question, and I fail very honestly to see a question of this type within the scope of this committee's investigation, and I, therefore, decline.

Mr. ARENS. Since the time that you have disassociated yourself from the Communist Party here in April of 1957, have you entertained in your home a person or persons in the leadership echelons of the Communist Party of this community?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I am not certain here today who is and who is not a member of the Communist Party at all. People whom I have known as Communists in the past have been to my house since my resignation from the party.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Witness, you questioned the pertinency of this committee asking you about persons who were members of the Communist Party as late as April of this year. I think you can see that that is extremely pertinent. We are not asking you about people who were in the party 3, 5, 10 years ago and who may have gotten out. We are asking you about people who remained in the party after you got out, as late as April of 1957. You said, as I remember, that you got out of the party because Khrushchev made certain revelations about the Communist Party in Russia.

Mr. TUROFF. No; may I correct you?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Mr. TUROFF. Because the American party would not condemn these revelations or the continuance of such policies, not because they were

permitted there. I don't feel I have any control over any other country or organization or anything else.

Mr. SCHERER. Your reason is even stronger than the one I was going to advance for you, because the American party would not even condemn the so-called crimes of Stalin; is that not right, as revealed by Khrushchev? That was one reason. The second reason, I think you said, that caused you to get out of the party was because they would not take any action on the anti-Semitism in Russia; is that right?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. What was the third reason you gave? Oh, yes; because they would not take any position on condemning the Russians for the intervention in Hungary. Those are the three reasons, are they not?

Mr. TUROFF. Generally, yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you not think it is very important for us, then, to know what individuals remained in the party after those three events took place, as late as April 1957?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. No; I am afraid I don't. I don't see where it makes any difference who the individuals are.

Mr. ARENS. Have you entertained in your home Al Lutsky, in the course of the period of time since you disassociated yourself from the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I must respectfully decline to name the names of any people whom I have entertained in my home as guests.

Mr. SCHERER. Let me give you this as an example: Suppose, just for the purpose of an argument, you had been identified with a narcotics ring up until April of 1957, and you had broken from it, and you admitted you broke away from it. Do you think it would be pertinent to a proper committee investigating laws dealing with narcotics to ask you who the persons were with you in that conspiracy at the time you broke in April?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. Is there any difference? Is not the Communist conspiracy more dangerous to the safety and security of this Nation than any narcotics ring?

Mr. TUROFF. I don't like to appear backward in any sense, but I do not see them as the same thing. No; I do not see them as the same thing, and I still don't understand the purpose or the necessity for indicating who has visited my home as a guest.

Mr. ARENS. We were going to pursue that a little further, with, after he got there as a guest, what did he do? What happened, and what information could you give us about what he was, and what he did that would be of interest to your Government. I should like to ask you now to whom did you deliver this printing equipment which was delivered to you by Mr. Alan Dietch?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Again, sir, I fail to understand the purpose of that question, and decline to answer it on the same grounds stated before.

Mr. ARENS. The purpose is very clear. I don't mean to appear impatient with you here, Mr. Turoff. We have here, and I have in

my hand, a copy of the law of the United States Congress, and an amendment to this law is presently under consideration.

It is an act of July 1954, dealing with the registration of printing equipment which will be or has been in the custody or control of a Communist-action or a Communist-front organization.

This committee, believe me, is seriously developing facts so that we can, if possible, amend this act to compel registration of Communist printing equipment, underground printing equipment, and the like. Now, I am asking you again, please, sir, tell this committee while you are under oath to whom did you deliver that printing equipment?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. We certainly have a right to know where that equipment is now and who is operating it.

Mr. TUROFF. To the best of my recollection, I kept that equipment myself for some time, I don't remember how long. I decline for the same reasons as stated before to indicate to whom it was given.

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask one question? You said you declined to reveal to us the identity of the person to whom it was given. Let me ask you this question: Without revealing his identity, was the person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness, Mr. Chairman, to name that individual.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes; I think that is pertinent.

I direct you to name that individual, since he was known to you to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TUROFF. I still answer with the same explanation. I don't understand the purpose for it. I do think it is a violation of the constitutional right under the first, and I do feel it is beyond the scope of this committee's jurisdiction.

Mr. ARENS. So there can be no possible question on this record, I want to again invite your attention to the law presently under scrutiny by this committee relating to printing equipment.

If you can tell us the name of the person to whom you delivered this printing equipment, which was used by you as a Communist, we understand, we will then, by our investigative sources, try to find that individual, try to find that printing equipment, try to find information about its use and operation so that this committee and the Congress might, with those facts, better appraise the existing law, better appraise and devise legislation to cope with the very situation which we are presently confronted with, the use of printing equipment by the Communist Party.

With that explanation, Mr. Chairman. I again respectfully suggest that the witness be directed and ordered to answer the question as to whom he delivered the printing equipment.

Mr. WILLIS. I order and direct you to answer the question.

Mr. TUROFF. I must, sir, respectfully repeat the same answer as to the prior question.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do with the equipment while you had it?
(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. To the best of my knowledge, it was never used, if I recollect correctly. I think it just sat in the closet and took up room.

Mr. ARENS. It was never used by you?

Mr. TUROFF. Well, in the time that I had it.

Mr. ARENS. Where is the equipment now?

Mr. TUROFF. I wouldn't have the least idea.

Mr. ARENS. Where was it the last time that you knew where it was?

Mr. TUROFF. One piece was in my house. One piece was in my house the last time I knew where it was. After that I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. You delivered it to someone?

Mr. TUROFF. One piece.

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. TUROFF. One piece I delivered to someone.

Mr. ARENS. And where was that one piece going?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. He said to a party known to him to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TUROFF. To someone in the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Where was he going to use it, in his home, in his basement, or in a store? Could you tell us on that?

Mr. TUROFF. I wouldn't know.

Mr. ARENS. What caused you to turn the printing equipment over to this individual? How did you happen to do that?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. One piece was given away at the request of the party leadership in the area some time ago. The other piece was given away—

Mr. SCHERER. Was that after you withdrew from the party that this last piece of equipment was transferred to someone else?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. About the same time; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you fear reprisals from the Communist Party if you should tell this committee the names of the people who, to a certainty, were known by you to be Communists?

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir; I don't.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do under this alias, Napoli, that you told us about? What was your activity as Napoli?

Mr. TUROFF. Just what do you mean by that, sir? Activity in the Communist Party?

Mr. ARENS. Any place, as Napoli. You told us you used an alias of Napoli. Kindly tell us what did you do as Napoli?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I worked and raised a family.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you assume this alias as Napoli?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Approximately 5 years.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me ask you this: Was that name assumed by you for general purposes and all other purposes, or just the purposes of the Communist activities?

Mr. TUROFF. No; it was a name that I used for all purposes.

Mr. ARENS. What name did you use in the party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Could you be more specific?

Mr. ARENS. What name did you use in the Communist Party? Did you use your own name or did you use an alias?

Mr. TUROFF. Well, before I assumed the name Napoli, I used my own name.

Mr. ARENS. And then after you discarded the name of Napoli, did you again assume your own name in the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, generally, though there was a hangover. Some people called me one thing and some people another.

Mr. ARENS. Who told you to go get this printing equipment from Mr. Dietch?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Again I must decline to identify the name of the person for the same reasons stated before.

Mr. ARENS. How much education have you had?

Mr. TUROFF. I had—I guess I got credit for a year and a half of college, which I attended on the GI bill. I left school at the age of 16 and finished high school at the age of 26, after getting out of the service.

Mr. ARENS. When you applied at Tube Manifold, did you tell them about your college education?

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. ARENS. Why not?

Mr. TUROFF. Because it is very often difficult to get a job and because of the information you have elicited from me I certainly could not give them that kind of background, and I did need a job.

Mr. ARENS. Was your employment at the tube company where you are presently engaged suggested to you by any person or persons known by you to be Communists?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir. I went around and made a tour of a number of plants. I didn't even know the name of the place, in fact, when I went into it.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever applied for a United States passport?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. When was that?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I believe it was in the spring of 1949.

Mr. ARENS. And was the passport issued to you?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, sir; it was.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you say you were going to go on this passport when you made your application?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I don't remember for sure. I think it listed about 4 or 5 countries.

Mr. ARENS. And where did you go?

Mr. TUROFF. To 4 or 5 countries, or possibly more.

Mr. ARENS. What 4 or 5 countries did you go to? Can you tell us?

Mr. TUROFF. I will try. Holland, Belgium, France, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and I believe the return was through various of those countries again.

Mr. ARENS. Did you get into Czechoslovakia?

Mr. TUROFF. I am sorry. And Canada.

Mr. ARENS. Did you get into Czechoslovakia?

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Hungary had been taken over by the Communists at that time, 1949, had it not?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I frankly don't remember whether they had the popular front government or—

Mr. ARENS. Did you intend to go to Hungary as of the time you made your application for the passport?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I had a pretty good idea that we would go there. I will put it that way. There was some reservation as to the certainty of it, but I thought I would go.

Mr. ARENS. What was your idea as to what you thought you were going to do when you got into Hungary?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. There was a youth festival, as described earlier, in Budapest at the time. I didn't have any idea what we would do, not having any idea of what these things were like or about.

Mr. ARENS. Did you intend to go to the youth festival at the time you filed your application for your passport?

Mr. TUROFF. If I went to Hungary, I intended to go to the youth festival.

Mr. ARENS. Let's get the question absolutely clear. Did you intend to go to Hungary, to the youth festival, as of the time in 1949 that you filed your application for a passport?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. It is sort of obvious, is it not, Mr. Arens?

Mr. TUROFF. The answer would be much as it was before. I thought I might go. I made certain plans to go, but it was uncertain. I did not know for absolutely sure whether I would go or not.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Witness, was that not your real purpose of going there, to attend this festival?

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir; that was not. The real purpose was a very personal family problem, which I would certainly not discuss here.

Mr. ARENS. You did not on your application for a passport, when they asked you for the purpose of your proposed trip, make any reference to the possibility of going to Hungary; did you?

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. ARENS. Why not?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I wanted to make that trip to Europe for the reasons which I have indicated, which were not all going down there and I felt that if I put "planning to go to Hungary" down, my passport would be refused.

Mr. ARENS. Now, on this trip to Europe that you made with a falsified passport, procured by fraud, did you contact, or were you in communication with, any Communists?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I could not answer the question on the basis of fraudulent and—I don't remember the words you used, fraud and so on.

Mr. ARENS. A fraudulently procured passport, yes, sir, where you misrepresented to the State Department on your application.

Mr. TUROFF. I don't accept that. I will answer the other part of the question, that I did see people who were Communists from other countries.

Mr. ARENS. You attended the youth festival there?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you attend as a delegate from any group in this country?

Mr. TUROFF. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any difficulty getting into Hungary?

Mr. TUROFF. No.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you get your visa to get into Hungary?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I believe it was in Austria.

Mr. ARENS. You did not make application for your visa before you left the United States; is that correct?

Mr. TUROFF. I can't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Was your visa to get into Hungary procured for you by any person known by you to be a Communist?

Mr. TUROFF. I procured it myself in Austria.

Mr. ARENS. Why didn't you make application for that visa before you left the United States?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I may have. I just don't remember whether I did or did not. I may have.

Mr. SCHERER. You just said a minute ago you didn't because you did not know if they would give you the passport if you showed that. Now, why do you say you may have or may not have?

Mr. TUROFF. No. We are talking about different things, sir. I am not talking about the passport. The counsel asked about the entrance visa to get into Hungary, and I plain don't just remember where I applied for it.

Mr. SCHERER. You would not have applied for it in the United States, would you?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I am not sure whether you can or can't. Would you have to go to Washington for it, to apply for it?

If so, then I definitely did not apply here. I just don't remember where I applied for it.

Mr. ARENS. You applied for a visa to get to England; didn't you?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I can't remember.

Mr. ARENS. You applied for a visa to get into France; didn't you?

Mr. TUROFF. No; as a matter of fact, I don't think you needed a visa for any of these countries. The Marshall Plan countries, I think, you could cross without visas. If I remember correctly, I don't think you needed any prior authorization if you carried an American passport.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you work with the Imco Manufacturing Co.?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I never worked there.

Mr. ARENS. Well, I have here an application signed Sidney Turoff for employment, an application for employment at this tube company where you are presently employed, and I see on the back "Previous employment: 5 years at Imco Manufacturing Co."

Could you look at this application and see if that refreshes your recollection and see if that is your signature? If so, perhaps you can help us on why that Imco Manufacturing 5 years' employment appears on that application.

(A document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. It looks like the one I filled out.

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

Mr. ARENS. Can you help us? How does that Imco Manufacturing Co., 5 years' employment—

Mr. WILLIS. What period of time is that?

Mr. ARENS. 1950 to 1955 or thereabouts.

Can you help us on that? How did that happen to appear on your application?

Mr. SCHERER. It appears on his application as a previous employment by the applicant?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I wanted a job and I didn't want to divulge that I had lived under another name. Consequently, I made up that work reference.

Mr. WILLIS. Was it because of your use of another name during that period of time. Is that it?

Mr. TUROFF. I don't follow you.

Mr. WILLIS. You stated that the reason for it was connected with your use of an alias at that time. I did not quite catch that.

Mr. TUROFF. Well, that is right. It covers the period, approximately, when I was living under the name of Michael Napoli.

Mr. WILLIS. That is what I understood.

Mr. TUROFF. I could not give those references, which were all in Buffalo, and which could be checked.

Mr. ARENS. Did you at any time work at the Spar Metal Products Co.?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes; I did.

Mr. ARENS. How long did you work there?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. It must have been in the neighborhood of a year.

Mr. ARENS. On your application you told them you had been there about 4 or 5 years, did you not?

Mr. TUROFF. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. At any time, did you ever use a false social-security number?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Would you explain what you mean by a false social-security number?

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever falsified your application for a social-security card?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I decline to answer that question on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. So this record may be abundantly clear, may I say to you, sir, that this bill, H. R. 9352, and other legislation which is pending in the Congress of the United States, is directed directly at that proposition, because we have had innumerable instances in the course of a number of hearings by this committee, or subcommittees of this committee, to the effect that Communists, and those under Communist discipline, have used false applications for social-security cards. They have used false cards.

Mr. WILLIS. And false passports.

Mr. ARENS. And false passports. Now, with that explanation, I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, the witness now be ordered and directed to answer the principal question outstanding.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. I order you to answer that question for the obvious reasons stated, that if reasons for it were connected with your Communist activities, we want to pick up that pattern and justify passing such a law.

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

Mr. ARENS. If you gave us a truthful answer to this last outstanding principal question, would you, in your judgment, be supplying information which might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. TUROFF. I repeat, sir, on this question, the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer the last outstanding question, namely, whether or not he truly apprehends possible criminal prosecution if he gives us a truthful answer to the preceding principal question.

Mr. WILLIS. That is the test of the justification for invoking the privilege of the fifth amendment. I can see where you might have justification, frankly, if you fear that it would involve you in a criminal prosecution. But you cannot invoke the fifth amendment unless you honestly feel it might get you into trouble.

Mr. TUROFF. I honestly feel there is an element of danger in answering that question any other way.

Mr. ARENS. Now, kindly tell us what you did while you were a Communist, what you did to further the work of the Communist Party, what assignments you had, and the like.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. In general, I was the section organizer of the Steel Section.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do as section organizer of the Steel Section of the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. Coordinated the activities of the members of that section.

Mr. ARENS. How many members did you coordinate?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I refer to my previous answer around that question of how many members. It varied, it fluctuated. I think we established that if it meant people who paid dues, there is a very small number.

Mr. ARENS. What did it mean by others, who were under discipline but did not pay dues?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I don't know of people who were under discipline who did not pay dues.

Mr. ARENS. What is the other category? Category 1 is the one you just alluded to. What is the other category?

Mr. TUROFF. As far as I am concerned, that is the basic category.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do to coordinate their efforts?

Mr. TUROFF. I would meet with them, find out what is happening at the various places of work.

Mr. ARENS. What places of work were they engaged in in April of 1957?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. At Bethlehem Steel.

Mr. ARENS. How many were there in April of 1957?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. That is, that you knew as Communists.

Mr. TUROFF. On the basis of the definition I used before in my answer, I would say 3 or 4.

Mr. ARENS. And where were they engaged with Bethlehem?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. In Lackawanna, N. Y.

Mr. ARENS. Is there a plant here called the Lackawanna plant?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And where were they within the Lackawanna plant please, sir?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I would say they were in various facilities of the plant.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us first of all what did they do there at the behest of the Communist Party? You said you coordinated their work. What was it that they did that you had to coordinate?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Their main function was going to work. I mean, they were earning a living by working in the plant.

Mr. ARENS. This is not amusing.

Mr. TUROFF. No, I don't—

Mr. ARENS. You did not coordinate them going to work. Tell this Committee on Un-American Activities, please, sir, while you are under oath and under subpoena by this committee, what they did in behalf and at the direction of the Communist Party, which you as the director coordinated.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. We discussed, when we met, we discussed the question of what was happening at the plant, what kind of grievances there were, what kind of problems the workers in the plant had, and what they as individuals in that plant could do and attempted, where possible, to coordinate the efforts if it was a problem that was mutual to more than one person.

Mr. ARENS. Why didn't you come out in the open, if you were doing such humanitarian work for the uplift of people, if you were doing work to help workmen in the plants? Why didn't you come out in the open? Why did you have to be secretive about it?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I think, sir, for the very obvious reason that a person coming out openly as a member of the Communist Party would not have survived in that plant. He would have been fired.

Mr. ARENS. Why did you have to be identified with the Communist Party in your efforts to settle grievances?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Because we believed that they had a perspective to these problems that others did not have. Obviously, speaking for myself personally, I have left the Communist Party because I feel

that there are other means by which I can work for the best interests of the workers of the shop.

Mr. ARENS. Did colonizers come in here from outside Buffalo, colonizers of the party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Would you explain what you mean by colonizers?

Mr. ARENS. Do you mean to tell me that you do not know what a colonizer is in the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. I know what I think it is, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Then tell us whether or not there were sent into this community, people who were colonizers as you think they were.

Mr. TUROFF. I think there were people who were sent into this area to go to work in shops for the purpose of—

Mr. ARENS. Sent in first of all, by whom?

Mr. TUROFF. Sent in—

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Not sent. I could only go by my own case. I was not sent anywhere. I voluntarily came to Buffalo.

Mr. ARENS. Let's get back to the principal question now, as to colonizers being sent in here. You started to address yourself to that proposition. Continue, please, sir.

Mr. TUROFF. There were people who came into the area to go to work in the various industries around here.

Mr. ARENS. Communists?

Mr. TUROFF. Communists.

Mr. ARENS. And did they come at the behest of the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. They came, surely, after discussion with the Communist Party. How each individual came, I could not speak for.

Mr. ARENS. How many, and over what period of time, to your knowledge?

Mr. TUROFF. Well, I came in 1949. I could not give any kind of number.

Mr. ARENS. As many as a dozen?

Mr. TUROFF. I would say yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. As many as two dozen?

Mr. TUROFF. I am not sure.

Mr. ARENS. Well, as many as 15 in the course of a year?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Remember, we are in the period now of around April of 1957 or in 1957, 1956.

Mr. TUROFF. As far as I know in that period no one came that I know of.

Mr. ARENS. Then in what period did they come in that you know of?

Mr. TUROFF. In an early period, probably 1950, 1951, 1952.

Mr. ARENS. And why were they sent in here by the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. As I said before, I don't know who was sent or who was not sent.

Mr. ARENS. I did not ask you that. I asked you why.

Mr. TUROFF. They came to go to work in shops in the area.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. It was, to the best of my knowledge, part of a policy that was established at one of the conventions, I am not sure which one—

Mr. ARENS. Conventions of what?

Mr. TUROFF. The Communist Party. It might have been the 15th convention in which it was indicated that the composition of the Communist Party had an insufficient number of workers in it, that the workers were the most important section of the American population and that if Communist influence should be felt, it should be felt among the working people.

Mr. ARENS. And did the party, to your knowledge, take people who were high echelon, intellectually, from the standpoint of educational background, college graduates, masters, Ph. D.'s, and the like, and have them come into this heavy industrial area and apply for menial tasks, just to get themselves within the operation here?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Can you help us on that?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. This falls into the realm of speculation unfortunately.

Mr. ARENS. Let's get back to your definition of colonizing, then.

Mr. TUROFF. Would you please let me finish my answer to your question?

Mr. ARENS. I beg your pardon.

Mr. TUROFF. There were a number of people that came, I suppose, with that background.

Mr. ARENS. High educational background?

Mr. TUROFF. High educational background. I don't think it was a deliberate choice. I think these people responded to the thinking that it was necessary to go out of New York and other big cities into areas where they could work in shops.

Mr. ARENS. What is a colonizer as you understand that term in party lingo?

Mr. TUROFF. As I have always understood it, from my point of view it was always an unfortunate term, even as a Communist. My position on it has always been that it is a person who came into an area to go to work, who left his prior background, whatever it may be, whether it was work, or school or academic, whatever it was, and came to go to work.

Mr. SCHERER. And while at work advanced the interests of the Communist Party among the workers in that particular factory, is that right?

Mr. TUROFF. Well, I would say in a particular geographical area rather than a geographical factory. When people come here, they don't know where they are going to work. They just come to an area.

Mr. ARENS. Would you regard yourself as a colonizer?

Mr. TUROFF. At the present time?

Mr. ARENS. As of the time you were in the party?

Mr. TUROFF. I don't think so.

Mr. ARENS. The party at no time—

Mr. TUROFF. Could I finish?

Mr. ARENS. Excuse me. I beg your pardon.

Mr. TUROFF. I don't have any higher degrees, Ph. D.'s, M. A.'s, or so forth.

Mr. ARENS. You have a college education.

Mr. TUROFF. I have 2 years of college which prepared me for nothing. I have had, since the age of 16, accumulated work experience. I had to get a job if I was going to raise a family; \$110 a month, the GI subsistence, was insufficient. I did discuss with the Communist Party where would be a good place to go.

But I came here of my own free will. I was not under direction or any kind of compulsion and, therefore, I don't know how to answer the question.

Mr. SCHERER. You said you discussed it with the Communist Party where you were going to go. Did they suggest Buffalo?

Mr. TUROFF. In answer to that last question, Buffalo is one of a whole number of cities that were suggested as places where employment possibilities were good.

Mr. ARENS. Did the party emphasize heavy industry?

Mr. TUROFF. I would say "Yes." Rather, actually, the emphasis was not heavy. It was industry that had a large number of workers.

Mr. ARENS. Was there any espionage operation conducted to your knowledge by the colonizers, or was that separate and distinct?

Mr. TUROFF. I have absolutely and unequivocally no knowledge of anyone in the Communist Party mentioning the subject, no less mentioning it.

Mr. ARENS. Our information is that it is a separate channel. Did the party, in your experience have its sabotage operations operating through the conduits or channels of the colonizers?

Mr. TUROFF. I could not even begin to answer such a question. I don't know what existed besides those things that I am familiar with.

Mr. ARENS. That confirms our information of elsewhere, that that is a separate operation.

Mr. TUROFF. I don't know what it is.

Mr. ARENS. Could you kindly tell us, if you please, sir, the training which you had in the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. If by training you mean classes and that sort of thing, to the best of my recollection I attended a class in New York City in 1947 or 1948 for about 2 or 3 days.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that, the Jefferson School of Social Science?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. It was probably there. It might have been at the 12th Street, the 35 East 12th Street address.

Mr. ARENS. Headquarters?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. The party must have had its eye on you very young, then, to have you at the headquarters?

Mr. TUROFF. No, it was quite open then and people went there. Also, I attended a class for a week here in Buffalo.

Mr. ARENS. Where was that?

Mr. TUROFF. I don't know the address.

Mr. ARENS. What was the general neighborhood? Was it in a home? A store?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Was it in a basement? Where was it?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. It was in a home in the North Park area.

Mr. ARENS. When, just your best recollection? What year approximately?

Mr. TUROFF. It must have been between 2½ or 3 years ago.

Mr. ARENS. Two and a half years ago?

Mr. TUROFF. I think so.

Mr. ARENS. How many people were engaged in the courses there or the course?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I think it was 8 or 9, somewhere. I am not positive.

Mr. ARENS. Normally I would ask you who they were, but I know there is no use wasting my breath. That is right, is it not?

Mr. TUROFF. I will not divulge the names; that is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now, kindly tell us the fronts with which you were connected in the course of your affiliation in the Communist Party. You know what a Communist front is, surely?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Those are organizations penetrated or controlled by the Communists of which there are about 300 in the United States and about 2,000 or 3,000 fronts within fronts. Tell us the fronts within which you were connected.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I really don't remember joining too many other organizations of any sort.

Mr. ARENS. Well, not too many. How many?

Mr. TUROFF. No, I mean I frankly can't—if you throw out some names of what you consider—

Mr. ARENS. The Labor Youth League?

Mr. TUROFF. No.

Mr. ARENS. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mr. TUROFF. No.

Mr. ARENS. The Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. TUROFF. I had made a contribution to the Civil Rights Congress. I don't know if that constitutes membership.

Mr. ARENS. Were you under direction by the party to engage in any activities in non-Communist-front groups, to penetrate even anti-Communist groups? Did you belong to any groups other than your regular assignments within the party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. To the best of my recollection, no. I belonged to several groups on my own free will and volition in the course of my years, but—

Mr. ARENS. What were some of those groups? Could you tell us?

Mr. TUROFF. Well, I guess during one of the election campaigns, I guess it was during the Wallace campaign—

Mr. ARENS. The Progressive Party?

Mr. TUROFF (continuing). I worked with the Young Progressives of America.

Mr. ARENS. Was that penetrated by the Communists here in this area?

Mr. TUROFF. It was not in this area, where I was. It was not penetrated—

Mr. ARENS. It was in New York City?

Mr. TUROFF. It was the students in New York University.

Mr. ARENS. Could you give us an estimate, by the way, of the number of Communists who were in New York University while you were there?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. If I ever knew, I don't remember.

Mr. ARENS. Tell me this: To what extent did the Communist Party in 1957 use non-Communists, dupes, intellectuals, fools, and the like, which they could trick into pursuing the Communist Party line as a technique of the conspiracy?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I don't know how to answer the question, primarily because I have not worked in the direction—

Mr. ARENS. You were a specialist of the party, is that correct, in steel?

Mr. TUROFF. If you could call it that.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us what you did for the Communist Party besides coordinate, as you said, the work of these associates of yours, the comrades who were in April 1957 in this one Steel Section with which you were identified? What else did you do as a Communist for the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. I attended the county committee meetings, the State committee meetings; I was a delegate to both the State and National conventions.

Mr. ARENS. How many are there on the county committee? Just your best judgment.

Mr. TUROFF. Now? I have no idea.

Mr. ARENS. As of the time you were a member, sir?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. There must be about eight people, somewhere in that neighborhood.

Mr. ARENS. And, of course, it would be fruitless for me to ask you who they were?

Mr. TUROFF. On the same basis; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now, how many are there on the State committee?

Mr. TUROFF. Now, I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. As of the time you were on the State committee?

Mr. TUROFF. The last time I was there the number varied from maybe 30 to 50.

Mr. ARENS. And when was that?

Mr. TUROFF. That was in the half-year or 7 months or so.

Mr. ARENS. When did you last meet with the county committee? Did you meet with them during 1957?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, before my resignation.

Mr. ARENS. Where did you meet?

Mr. TUROFF. At homes.

Mr. ARENS. It would be fruitless for me to ask you whose home; would it not?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Were they homes here in the Buffalo area?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And what transpired at a typical meeting, the last meeting that you recall?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I could not really remember any one particular meeting because there were quite a few meetings that I attended that year. I would say this: That in the main mostly higher level meetings, say, from county on upwards, most of the discussion was very bitter.

It was conflict and controversy over major disagreements of policy, which resulted in people such as myself leaving the party.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the names of other persons besides yourself who have in the course of the last several months left the Communist Party in that area?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. Yes, I know them, but my answer as to who they are would be the same.

Mr. ARENS. Could you not help this committee of your Government by giving us the names of those people so we can contact them and see if they can't give us information that will help us evolve legislation for the United States Congress to cope with the problems posed by the Communist apparatus within the United States?

Can't you please do that and serve your Government?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Before you answer that question, was the disassociation of others about the time of your disassociation or later on?

Mr. TUROFF. Within the general period.

Mr. WILLIS. And was it generally for the reasons that you have assigned, if you remember?

Mr. TUROFF. The people I am referring to, the people that I know, I would say yes, the same general reasons. There might be a specific difference.

Mr. WILLIS. I think you would be doing them a compliment.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. In answer to that question, I don't feel I could give those names. I feel that I have attempted to give information, anything that was asked, about myself with just one exception.

I do not feel that morally I could give my friends or people I know to the kind of situation that I am in, where I have been threatened with discharge, where there has been an attempt to create a hysteria in my shop in order to have me fired.

I don't feel that there is any guaranty for anyone. They know about these committee meetings and if anyone felt they wanted to come and voluntarily testify, they are intelligent people and would do so.

Mr. ARENS. Would you tell us in executive session?

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir. I would not tell you anything in executive session. I am not afraid of anything that I have said in public. I think it is—

Mr. ARENS. Are you against the Communist Party? You said you broke with it. Are you against it?

Mr. TUROFF. What does that mean?

Mr. ARENS. Do you mean to say you do not know what that means?

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir; I do not know what it means, not put as vaguely as that. I don't know what it means.

Mr. ARENS. Are you for the Communist Party?

Mr. TUROFF. I don't know what that means, either. There is a question. If you ask me what do I stand for, I can tell you the things I want.

Mr. ARENS. Would you like to see the Communist Party, the Communist operation in this country, eradicated?

Mr. TUROFF. If it continues along the pattern that it chooses to follow now, absolutely.

Mr. ARENS. Then why do you not give us the information we seek here, the names of people who are engaged in the very activity which you now say you should like to see eradicated?

Mr. TUROFF. I believe I have already explained that question, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You have abundantly.

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

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. There are one or two things I would like to clear up with the witness.

When you were asked about your application for a passport I believe you said one of the reasons you were going abroad was a family matter. Did you say that?

Mr. TUROFF. I said a personal matter. The word "family" might have entered into it.

Mr. SCHERER. Did that personal matter involve any Communist Party activity?

Mr. TUROFF. Absolutely none. It was purely personal between my wife and myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Was she abroad at that time?

Mr. TUROFF. I decline to answer any questions about my wife, sir. I think that privilege should be respected by the committee as you suggest you customarily do.

Mr. SCHERER. I am not asking you about any difficulties that might have existed. I was just wondering whether she was in Europe at that time.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I think, sir, your own rules specify that you only on the rarest occasions do that and I don't think the situation warrants it.

Mr. SCHERER. I am familiar with the rule. Did you go to visit your wife abroad?

Mr. TUROFF. No, sir.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. You said the purpose of your trip and your application for passport was to visit relatives in England. Who were the relatives you had in England? Your family came from Russia originally, according to the passport.

Mr. TUROFF. I do have some relatives by marriage in England. We did not, however, get to visit them.

Mr. SCHERER. You did not visit your relatives in England? Although you did indicate when you made your application for a passport the purpose of the trip was to visit these relatives in England and investigate educational possibilities?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes. That is correct. I was an economics student at New York University. I was majoring in economics and I had considered the possibility of trying to get into the London School of Economics.

Mr. SCHERER. And I believe you said you did not visit relatives in England. Who is Joseph Needleman who was the witness who signed the affidavit of identification on your passport?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. TUROFF. I am inclined to think you do not have the right name there. I don't know anybody of that name.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, I may not. Would you show him this signature?

(A document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. TUROFF. That is a friend of mine who I have not seen in several years.

Mr. SCHERER. What is his name?

Mr. TUROFF. Needleman, Joseph Needleman.

Mr. SCHERER. You say that is Needleman?

Mr. TUROFF. Yes.

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

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

Mr. TUROFF. I don't know.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WILLIS. The committee will go into executive session. All the witnesses who are under subpoena and who are here right now who have not been heard up to now, will remain available during the executive session.

The marshal will call their names as we need them. We will not have any more public session this afternoon. Those who wish to go may go. The rest of the work will be in executive session.

Mr. TUROFF. Am I excused, sir?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, you are excused.

Mr. TUROFF. I mean for good? I don't have to come back? It is from this subpoena?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

(Whereupon, at 3:47 p. m., Tuesday, October 1, 1957, the hearing in the above-entitled matter was recessed to go into executive session.)

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