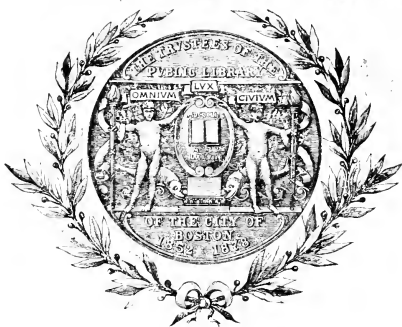




No 9335. No 352



GIVEN BY



INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES
NEW YORK—PART II
(YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS)

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

MARCH 16, 1955

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



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1955

4,335 -

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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CONTENTS

March 16, 1955:	
Testimony of—	Page
Leon Wofsy.....	219
Joseph Bucholt.....	229
Robert Fogel.....	236
Ernest Parent.....	243
Sam Engler.....	244
Index.....	I

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.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 84TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 5, 1955

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

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

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

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17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES—NEW YORK—PART II (YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS)

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16, 1955

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

PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a. m., in room 346, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter (chairman), Edwin E. Willis, and Donald L. Jackson.

Staff members present: Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk, and George C. Williams, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

This hearing is a continuation of the inquiries conducted by this committee into the question of infiltration in youth organizations by Communists.

Let the record show I have appointed a subcommittee consisting of Mr. Edwin E. Willis of Louisiana, Mr. Donald L. Jackson of California, and myself of Pennsylvania, as chairman, for the purposes of this hearing.

Mr. Beale, have you a witness?

Mr. BEALE. Mr. Leon Wofsy.

The CHAIRMAN. Step forward, Mr. Wofsy. Will you hold up your right hand, please.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. WOFSY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Be seated.

TESTIMONY OF LEON WOFSY, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, SAMUEL GRUBER

Mr. BEALE. Will you state your name for the record, please?

Mr. WOFSY. Leon Wofsy, W-o-f-s-y.

Mr. BEALE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. WOFSY. Yes, I am.

Mr. BEALE. Will counsel please identify himself?

Mr. GRUBER. Yes. My name is Samuel Gruber, G-r-u-b-e-r, from Stamford, Conn.

Mr. Chairman, may I respectfully request that photographs of the witness not be taken now during the course of the hearing?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. The photographers know the rules, and they usually comply with them.

Mr. GRUBER. Mr. Chairman, I am advised by the clerk that at this time I could present a motion which I have for the consideration of the committee, and I would like to present it, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, this is not the proper place to present the motion which you have presented.

You may proceed, Mr. Beale.

Mr. GRUBER. May I have it in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. It is in the record. I have just stated that this is not the proper place to make the motion which has just been made, and the motion will be made a part of the record.

(The document above referred to marked "Exhibit No. 1" for identification only, is filed herewith and made a part of the committee files.)

Mr. GRUBER. Thank you.

Mr. BEALE. When and where were you born, Mr. Wofsy?

Mr. WOFSY. I was born in Stamford, Conn., November 23, 1921.

Mr. BEALE. Where do you presently reside?

Mr. WOFSY. In the Bronx, at 1308 Findlay Avenue.

Mr. BEALE. Will you give us a brief statement of your educational training?

Mr. WOFSY. I went to public school in Stamford, continued at New Haven, and graduated from New Haven High School, and I am a graduate of the City College of New York.

Mr. BEALE. What year?

Mr. WOFSY. 1942.

Mr. BEALE. What has been your record of employment?

Mr. WOFSY. May I consult with counsel?

Mr. BEALE. Yes; surely.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOFSY. I worked at a number of jobs in the field of chemistry after getting out of college for a period of approximately—in sum total, I would imagine, a year and a half or so.

Beyond that, I would regard further inquiry into my employment as a sphere in which I would not answer on the grounds that to do so would violate my rights under the first amendment and would cause me to be a witness against myself, and I invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment against further answer to that question.

Mr. BEALE. You do invoke that privilege, then?

Mr. WOFSY. I do.

Mr. BEALE. In other words, you are willing to tell of your employment record up to 1944, but you are not willing to disclose what your employment has been since that time; is that correct?

Mr. WOFSY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you the national director of the Communist Party youth movement?

Mr. WOFSY. I would decline to answer that question on the grounds that to do so would violate my rights under the first amendment to the Constitution, and I also invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment against giving testimony which may be used against me.

The CHAIRMAN. You said, "I would." By that do you mean you do?

Mr. WOFSY. That is so.

Mr. BEALE. Mr. Wofsy, the Daily Worker of April 9, 1946, has an article calling attention to meetings of 300 Communist Party clubs in New York, and urging the people to hear the outstanding leaders of the Communist Party speak at these meetings on the subject, The Struggle for Peace and Building the Communist Party. Scheduled among the speakers for Bronx County is one Leon Wofsy. Are you the Leon Wofsy mentioned in that article?

Mr. WOFSY. May I consult?

Mr. BEALE. Surely.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOFSY. I would decline to answer that question on the same grounds as the previous one.

Mr. BEALE. Did you speak for or on behalf of the Communist Party during the month of April 1946?

Mr. WOFSY. Similarly.

Mr. BEALE. Similarly what?

Mr. WOFSY. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that to do so would violate my rights under the first amendment to the Constitution—

The CHAIRMAN. Let us save time by saying, "I refuse to answer on the grounds I have stated."

Mr. WOFSY. Yes, I agree to that.

Mr. BEALE. According to information in the files of the committee, the Second National Convention of the American Youth for Democracy was held in New York City June 13-16, 1946. The report of that convention reflects that Leon Wofsy, of New York, made a report of the resolutions committee on peace policy at the Friday morning session. Are you the Leon Wofsy referred to in that report?

Mr. WOFSY. The answer is the same as previously.

Mr. BEALE. Were you ever affiliated in any manner with the American Youth for Democracy?

Mr. WOFSY. The answer is the same as previously.

Mr. BEALE. A pamphlet published by the United May Day Committee for May Day 1947 reflects the membership of the United May Day Committee, and contains the name of Leon Wofsy, executive secretary, New York State American Youth for Democracy. Are you the Leon Wofsy mentioned in that pamphlet?

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Were you ever a member of the United May Day Committee?

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Another pamphlet published by the Committee for May Day, 1948, reflects the name of Leon Wofsy as executive secretary, American Youth for Democracy of the New York State Council as a member of the May Day Committee for 1948. Are you that Leon Wofsy?

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. On May 7, 1948, the Civil Rights Congress addressed a letter to all Members of Congress to which was attached an open letter, signed by numerous people, in opposition to H. R. 5852, then known as the Mundt bill. Among those signing that open letter appears the name of Leon Wofsy.

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Wait until I ask the question, please. Are you the Leon Wofsy referred to in that open letter?

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Did you join with the Civil Rights Congress or any other organization in opposing any bill to control subversive activities?

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Did you ever file an application for a passport with the State Department?

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I request that the witness be directed to answer that question, whether or not he filed an application for a passport with the State Department. It seems to me that many people have so filed applications for passports, and that is a question which is well within the scope of this inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, I think the witness certainly should answer. I could imagine questions that might be asked in that connection which might involve you in crime, but the mere question whether or not you have applied for a passport certainly cannot involve you in criminal prosecution, and I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. WOFSY. May I consult with my attorney?

Mr. BEALE. Yes.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOFSY. I would answer "Yes," that I did apply.

Mr. BEALE. I show you a photostatic copy of a passport application, and ask you if the signature of Leon Wofsy on that application is your signature?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOFSY. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds as previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline to answer?

Mr. WOFSY. I do, sir.

Mr. BEALE. Will you look at the application and state whether or not the photostatic copy of the picture on that is a reasonable likeness of yourself?

Mr. WOFSY. Shall I request each time I want to consult with my attorney?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOFSY. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds as previously indicated.

Mr. BEALE. Was this application for passport granted or denied?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of it, Mr. Beale?

Mr. BEALE. It appears to be the 11th of June 1948.

Mr. WOFSY. I would decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline to answer?

Mr. WOFSY. Yes, I do.

Mr. BEALE. According to an article in the Daily Worker of July 14, 1948, Leon Wofsy, national educational director of the American Youth for Democracy, filed an application for a passport on June 11 for the purpose of attending the Young Workers Conference and an executive meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. According to this article the passport had not been issued, and a

protest was filed with the State Department by the American Youth for Democracy. Are you the Leon Wofsy referred to in this article?

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

Mr. BEALE. Had you made arrangements to attend the World Federation of Democratic Youth?

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Who made those arrangements?

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. In the March 1949 issue of Political Affairs appears an article entitled "Fighting for the Needs of the Young Workers," by Leon Wofsy. According to Political Affairs, this article was based on a report to the national committee of the Communist Party made on January 24, 1949. Were you the writer of that article?

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Did you make such a report to the national committee of the Communist Party on January 24, 1949?

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. According to an article in the Daily Worker of April 1, 1949, the 8 youth leaders from New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California were to meet to consider plans for a new working class youth organization. Among those who issued a statement about this meeting was Leon Wofsy. Are you the Leon Wofsy mentioned in this article?

Mr. WOFSY. I decline to answer that question on the grounds that, in my opinion, any question in that sphere would interfere with due process and any semblance of justice for the Labor Youth League in the McCarran proceedings which are now underway and which the Labor Youth League is contesting.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you decline to answer on any grounds other than that?

Mr. WOFSY. In my opinion, that is an adequate ground for the time being.

The CHAIRMAN. I direct you to answer the question, Mr. Wofsy.

Mr. WOFSY. I answer it on that ground the same way, as well as on the grounds of the first amendment and the fifth amendment privilege which I have used previously.

Mr. JACKSON. I interposed that question in order that he might not place himself in jeopardy by overlooking the fifth amendment in this question. The previously stated grounds I do not consider to be legal grounds for refusing to answer the question.

Mr. BEALE. What was the purpose of that meeting?

Mr. WOFSY. I maintain the same position on all three grounds. I would regard this as an inquiry upon an inquiry not provided for by the laws of Congress. I think it would be an interference with the procedures of Congress—

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to remind you that this committee is charged with the responsibility of making the American people aware of the existence of activities which are not in the best interests of the United States. It is not a punitive operation. It is for information. That is what we are seeking now. We would be very grateful if you would give us assistance in this very patriotic movement which we know you can give us.

Mr. WOFSY. If I may—

The CHAIRMAN. This is purely a case of informing the people. I am going to ask you, are you a member of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. Wofsy. I decline to answer that on the same grounds as previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the national chairman of the Labor Youth League, are you not?

Mr. Wofsy. If I may, I believe I have a strong position which we believe in deeply, and I believe it is a patriotic position, and I believe that it is perfectly in line with the facts. Certainly the Labor Youth League hearings have been given extensive publicity, very extensive publicity, and it is our understanding—we have consulted with counsel, and it is our understanding that it is an infringement on the rights of Congress—

The CHAIRMAN. With what counsel did you confer? Who gave you that opinion?

Mr. Wofsy. We have consulted, if I may consult further at this moment—if I may consult at this moment on that question before I answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, surely.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Wofsy. I have consulted with my attorney, and that position was indicated in the motion which Mr. Gruber placed here before the committee at the outset.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. Beale. Getting back to this meeting, what was the result of the meeting?

Mr. Wofsy. I must refuse to answer that on the same grounds as previously indicated, that it does not represent a legitimate question within the sphere of this inquiry.

Mr. Beale. In addition to that, do you also plead the provisions of the fifth amendment?

Mr. Wofsy. If I am so directed, I believe I am also entitled to the privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. Beale. I ask that he be directed to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. I direct you to answer.

Mr. Wofsy. Yes; I am basing myself, in that case, on all three grounds previously indicated.

Mr. Beale. Mr. Wofsy, isn't it true that this meeting resulted in a gathering in the People's Auditorium in Chicago, Ill., on May 28-29, 1949, at which time the national organizing conference for a Labor Youth League was launched?

Mr. Wofsy. I refuse to answer that on exactly the same grounds as previously indicated.

Mr. Beale. Did you attend that meeting in Chicago?

Mr. Wofsy. The same answer.

Mr. Beale. Isn't it true that you were named chairman of the national organizing conference for a Labor Youth League?

Mr. Wofsy. The same answer.

Mr. Beale. Did you prepare a report of the meeting?

Mr. Wofsy. The same answer.

The CHAIRMAN. I think there is a newspaper account of his election as chairman; is there not?

Mr. Beale. I will get to that, Mr. Chairman.

I show you a photostatic copy of a pamphlet entitled, "For a New Youth Organization Dedicated to Education in the Spirit of Socialism," which is also called a Report to the Gathering of Youth Leaders which

launched the national organizing conference for a Labor Youth League at the People's Auditorium in Chicago, Ill., May 28-29, 1949. Were you the author of that report?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Doesn't that report reflect the words, "By Leon Wofsey"?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOFSEY. That name appears here.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you contend that that Leon Wofsey and you are two different people?

Mr. WOFSEY. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds previously stated.

Mr. BEALE. In an advertisement appearing in the July 28, 1949, issue of the Daily Worker, there is mention of a Dimitroff, D-i-m-i-t-r-o-f-f, memorial meeting to be held under the auspices of the Communist Party of New York State. Listed in the advertisement as speakers are Benjamin J. Davis, John Gates, and Leon Wofsey, chairman, Labor Youth League. Are you the Leon Wofsey mentioned in that advertisement?

Mr. WOFSEY. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. Did you speak at that meeting?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Did you attend that meeting as chairman of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. The Daily Worker of August 25, 1949, carries a "Dear Ben Gold" column. This column is devoted to pleas by Ben Gold for funds for the defense of the 12 Communist leaders. In the column appears a letter to Ben Gold which reads:

We who have just attended the first national leaders' meeting of the national organizing conference for a Labor Youth League are proud to second Ben Gold's motion. We pledge our efforts to win young people for the freedom of Winston, Green, and Hall, and for the smashing of the frameup on Foley Square.

Among the names appearing as having signed that letter is one Leon Wofsey. Are you the Leon Wofsey referred to?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Counsel, what was the offense for which Ben Gold was indicted?

Mr. BEALE. This was a movement to raise funds launched by Ben Gold on behalf of the 12 Communist leaders, .

Mr. JACKSON. Was he not later indicted?

(Conference at the committee table, off the record.)

Mr. JACKSON. Falsification of non-Communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act. Thank you.

Mr. BEALE. According to the Daily Worker of December 5, 1949, three youth leaders were added to the staff of the national organizing conference of the Labor Youth League. This article further states that the new leaders joined Leon Wofsey, who was elected national chairman at the organizing conference held at Chicago on Memorial Day weekend. Are you that Leon Wofsey?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. According to the Daily Worker of January 12, 1950, there was a Bronx County Communist Party Lenin memorial meeting to be held January 19 at 7:30 p. m. Scheduled as speakers were Robert Thompson, Pearl Lawes, Leon Wofsy, chairman of the National Labor Youth League. Are you the Leon Wofsy mentioned in that article?

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Did you speak at the Lenin memorial meeting?

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. In the May 1950 issue of Political Affairs appears an article entitled, "Toward Unity of the Working Youth for Peace, Jobs, and Democracy." This is an article by Leon Wofsy. In the article I direct your attention to one sentence which reads:

Despite the angry attention that the league is already receiving from witch hunters, it has begun to answer the vital need in our country for an independent youth organization with a working-class content and direction, with a program of education in the spirit and principles of Marxism, of scientific socialism.

Do you recall that statement?

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. What does that statement indicate?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOFSY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Did you ever hear of a publication called Challenge?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOFSY. Yes.

Mr. BEALE. Is not Challenge the official organ or publication of the Labor Youth League?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOFSY. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds previously indicated.

Mr. BEALE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that he be directed to answer. The witness has identified it. He said he has heard of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the witness is directed to answer the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOFSY. I don't believe I have to answer that. It would seem to me that it is two entirely different questions: what I heard about it, and what I may or may not know about it.

Mr. BEALE. You are directed to answer it.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOFSY. Well, I must respectfully decline on the grounds previously indicated, all three.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not under any compulsion. Do you decline to answer that question?

Mr. WOFSY. I do.

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

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness has stated that he does know of a publication called Challenge. I should like to ask the witness the extent of his knowledge relative to Challenge.

Mr. WOFSY. I would decline to answer that question on the same grounds as previously indicated.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness has testified that he has knowledge of the publication, and I would ask that the witness be directed to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is directed to answer the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOFSEY. I would answer that in the following way: I have seen the publication many times; and as to any further knowledge of the publication, I would decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you contributed anything to the magazine?

Mr. WOFSEY. I would decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. BEALE. In the May 1950 issue of Challenge appears an article entitled "Peace Can Be Won Only If We Fight for It Now." On the same page appears a picture, and under the picture the name of Wofsey. It is apparent that Wofsey was the author of this article. Will you look at this photostatic copy and tell the committee whether or not the picture appearing there is a reasonable likeness of yourself?

Mr. WOFSEY. I decline to answer that on the same grounds previously indicated.

Mr. BEALE. Does not that article appear on that page of Challenge, the article that I previously mentioned?

The CHAIRMAN. Offer in evidence the article. The article is the best evidence, Mr. Counsel.

(The photostatic copy of the article appearing in the May 1950 issue of Challenge was made a part of the record.)

Mr. BEALE. According to information in the files of the committee, the first national convention of the Labor Youth League was held in New York City on November 23-26, 1950. A report of that convention reflects the names of those elected to a national council of the Labor Youth League. Among those names appears that of Leon Wofsey, national chairman. Were you elected to the national council of the Labor Youth League in November 1950?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. According to an article in the Daily Worker of July 5, 1951, there was a meeting held at Park Palace on 110th Street and 5th Avenue, by the Committee to Defend Roosevelt Ward, Jr. Among the scheduled speakers were Claudia Jones and Leon Wofsey, national chairman of the Labor Youth League. Are you the Leon Wofsey mentioned there?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Did you speak at that meeting?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. The Daily Worker of August 26, 1952, carries an article that Leon Wofsey's new 15-cent pamphlet entitled, "Youth Fights for Its Future," is now available for distribution. Were you the author of such a pamphlet?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. I show you a photostatic copy of that issue of the Daily Worker and ask you if you can recognize the picture on there as a likeness of yourself.

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. According to an article in the Daily Worker of March 22, 1954, it is reported that—

Wofsey proudly stated the Labor Youth League's fraternal relations with the Communist Party, as well as the fact that he personally is a Communist.

Were you correctly reported in that article?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that, Mr. Beale?

Mr. BEALE. March 22, 1954.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about a petition which was circulated among teen-agers having to do with peace?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

The CHAIRMAN. I think, Mr. Beale, that this is of terrific importance. When 50,000 gullible children were prevailed upon by obviously Communist leaders to become enmeshed in this international conspiracy, it calls for further investigation. I would like to know who circulated the petition, what means were used to induce these unsuspecting children to sign, how many signed, and who is responsible for the actual circulation.

Mr. BEALE. I will have it looked into.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WOFSEY. That was not a question?

The CHAIRMAN. I was making a speech for your benefit.

Mr. WOFSEY. I wish we had the same opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. I know it would make no impression, any more than yours would make on me.

Proceed, Mr. Beale.

Mr. BEALE. What are the fraternal relations existing between the Labor Youth League and the Communist Party?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer; the same three grounds as previously indicated.

Mr. BEALE. The September 1954 issue of Political Affairs is entitled, "Reports and Documents, National Election Conference of the Communist Party, New York City, August 7-8, 1954." This issue carried an article entitled, "For Democratic Youth Unity," by Leon Wofsey, and has a footnote that it was a speech made at the conference. Did you attend the national election conference of the Communist Party held in New York City in August 1954?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Did you make that report at the conference?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Mr. Wofsey, how long have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WOFSEY. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. I have no further questions of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions, Mr. Willis?

Mr. WILLIS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman, but I certainly hope that the transcript of this witness' testimony will be read by every educator in the country, in order that the Labor Youth League may be adequately evaluated for what it is. Nothing further.

Mr. GRUBER. May I address the Chair and ask one question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. GRUBER. Are these exhibits mentioned by the examiner to be made a part of the record?

The CHAIRMAN. We will determine that.

Mr. GRUBER. Except the one that you indicated was to be?

The CHAIRMAN. We will determine which of those we will make a part of the record for the purpose of bringing home to decent Americans just what this is.

Mr. GRUBER. I just wanted to know which——

The CHAIRMAN. We are not concerned so much with the witness' testimony as the use of it in connection with information we have.

Mr. GRUBER. I was just inquiring whether all of the exhibits that were read from are to be made a part of the record, and you have indicated that the committee will decide which of them.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. GRUBER. Thank you.

Mr. WOFSEY. If I may say so, this is so obviously unfair that I don't believe it will make much of an impression on young people——

The CHAIRMAN. It won't on some people.

Mr. WOFSEY. Who know that they can hear everything the Labor Youth League has to say and judge it for themselves, if they go to the Labor Youth League office, I would imagine.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Call another witness.

Mr. BEALE. Joseph Bucholt.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you hold up 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?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH BUCHOLT, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, SAMUEL GRUBER

Mr. BEALE. Will you state your name for the record, please?

Mr. BUCHOLT. Joseph Bucholt, B-u-c-h-o-l-t.

Mr. BEALE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I am.

Mr. BEALE. May the record show that the same counsel is representing Mr. Bucholt as represented the preceding witness?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BEALE. When and where were you born?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I was born in the Bronx, N. Y., on April 25, 1920.

Mr. BEALE. Where do you now reside?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I now reside in the Bronx, N. Y., at 109 West Burnside Avenue.

Mr. BEALE. What has been your educational training?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I went to several public schools in Bronx and Manhattan. I was graduated from Tilden High School in Brooklyn.

Mr. BEALE. What year?

Mr. BUCHOLT. In 1936.

Mr. BEALE. Did that complete your formal education?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I had about half a year in engineering school at City College, New York.

Mr. BEALE. What has been your record of employment?

Mr. BUCHOLT. Upon graduating from high school, for several years I had a job in a hardware establishment and in two real estate offices. I spent 3½ years in the United States Army; and in relation to my

employment after that, I decline to answer on the basis of my rights under the first and fifth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Mr. BEALE. I don't want to mispronounce your name. How did you pronounce it?

Mr. BUCHOLT. Bucholt.

Mr. BEALE. One "h" or two?

Mr. BUCHOLT. One.

Mr. BEALE. Did you ever hear of a publication called the Weekly Review?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer that question on the basis of my rights guaranteed under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. BEALE. Mr. Chairman, there has been no identification of the publication so far.

The CHAIRMAN. He probably knows all about it. That is why he has invoked the Constitution.

Mr. BEALE. Undoubtedly he does.

The CHAIRMAN. That is why.

Mr. BEALE. Wasn't the Weekly Review the publication of the Young Communist League?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer on the same constitutional grounds.

Mr. BEALE. Let me call your attention to an item appearing in the January 27, 1942, issue of the Weekly Review:

As Comrade Max Weiss, national chairman of the Weekly Review circulation drive, has said, it requires the entire energy of our league members to overcome this weakness, and increase the Review circulation. There is no single question before our YCL that comes before this task, and if our members realize this fundamental truth then we will achieve any and all tasks before us. Therefore we, the section organizers of the New York State YCL, assume personal responsibility for organizing and leading the Review circulation drive from February 1 to May 1 to gain a stable circulation of 18,000 weekly in New York State.

Going then to the March 31, 1942, issue of the Weekly Review, concerning this drive, there appears the following article:

BRONX VERSUS BROOKLYN

From our corner of Brooklyn—Brownsville, East New York, and the 18th Assembly District—we're taking this opportunity of making public our challenge to three brother sections from the Bronx—East Bronx, West Bronx, and North Bronx.

Skipping further down it discloses this article, it is signed by Ruth Osherow, Herb Malibow, and Joe Bucholt, 18th A. D.—S. O. Are you the Joe Bucholt mentioned in that article?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same as previously stated.

Mr. BEALE. That is, you decline under the privilege of the fifth amendment?

Mr. BUCHOLT. On the basis of my privileges under the first and the fifth amendments.

Mr. BEALE. The Daily Worker of April 9, 1946, contains an article calling attention to special meetings of 300 Communist Party clubs in New York in which the people are urged to hear the outstanding leaders of the Communist Party speak on the subject, The Struggle for Peace and the Building of the Communist Party.

Scheduled among the speakers for Bronx County appear Robert Thompson, Alexander Trachtenberg, Joe Bucholt, and others. Are you the Joe Bucholt mentioned in that article?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. Were you on April 9, 1946, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. Did you speak at any of these Communist Party meetings during that week?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. According to the information in the files of the committee, the American Youth for Democracy held its second annual convention in New York City, June 13-16, 1946, and in the report of the proceedings of that convention, one Joe Bucholt was a member of the New York State National Council of the AYD. Are you the Joe Bucholt mentioned?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. Were you at any time a member of the American Youth for Democracy?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. According to the Daily Worker of September 20, 1948, picketing of the Federal Building at Foley Square, New York City, was to begin the next day, the purpose being to demand the dismissal of the indictments against the 12 Communist Party leaders. This was under the auspices of the New York State division of the Civil Rights Congress.

According to the article, those scheduled to lead the pickets were, among others, Joseph Bucholt, executive secretary, New York State American Youth for Democracy. Are you the Joseph Bucholt mentioned in the article?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer that on the basis of my rights under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. BEALE. Did you participate in the picketing of the Federal Building?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. The Daily Worker of March 31, 1949, carries a news item to the effect that Joseph Bucholt, assistant New York State youth director of the Communist Party, told United States District Judge Harold Medina's law assistant yesterday, young men and women in the Communist Party charge the judge is unjustly permitting the party and its program to be placed on trial and condemned without permitting the jury to hear testimony of the main defense witness, William Z. Foster. Are you the Joseph Bucholt mentioned in that news item?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. The Daily Worker of July 15, 1949, carries a picture entitled, "At the Reunion Dance of Former YCL'ers." Under the picture appears the following:

Joseph Bucholt and Julian Lowitt, leaders of the organizing conference for a Labor Youth League, sell honorary memberships in the league to four Communist Party leaders at a reunion dance of former Young Communist League members * * *.

Are you the Joseph Bucholt mentioned in that article?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer that on the basis of my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. BEALE. Were you a member of the organizing conference for a Labor Youth League?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. Did you sell honorary memberships in the league to Communist Party leaders?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. The Daily Worker of August 25, 1949, carries a column headed, "Dear Ben Gold." In that column appears the following:

We who have just attended the first national leaders' meeting of the national organizing conference for a Labor Youth League are proud to second Ben Gold's motion. We pledge our efforts to win young people for the freedom of Winston, Green, and Hall, and for the smashing of the frameup on Foley Square.

Among the signers to the letter appears the name of Joseph Bucholt. Are you the Joseph Bucholt mentioned in that?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. Did you ever hear of a publication called the Challenge? (The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. Isn't that a publication of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. On page 6 of the issue of March 1950 appears an article about Jose Marti, a Cuban revolutionary hero. The article is by Ted Veal and Joe Bucholt. Did you prepare, or take part or participate in the preparation of, that article?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. On the same page appears the picture of Ted Veal, Joe Bucholt, and Flavio Bravo, a leader of the Cuban Socialist Youth. Will you look at the picture and tell the committee if that is a reasonable likeness of you?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer that question based on my constitutional rights as guaranteed under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. BEALE. According to information in the files of the committee, the Labor Youth League held its first national convention on November 23-26, 1950, in New York City. Did you attend that convention?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer that question based on my rights under the first and fifth amendments to the United States Constitution, as well as on the ground that hearings in relation to the Labor Youth League, as indicated in the motion filed by my attorney this morning, are now pending before other bodies.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is the hearing pending?

Mr. BUCHOLT. It is pending before the Subversive Activities Control Board.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been subpoenaed as a witness in that proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BUCHOLT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the preceding witness in this hearing was subpoenaed in that proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer that question, based on my rights as guaranteed under the first and fifth amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer that question, based on my rights under the first and fifth amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. These proceedings were brought after the Attorney General found this organization, with which it is alleged you have been associated, to be a Communist organization; is that not correct? (The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer that, based on my rights under the first and fifth amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer that, based on my rights under the first and fifth amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Beale.

Mr. BEALE. We were talking about the report of the first national convention of the Labor Youth League. I want to show you a photostatic copy of page 22 of that report, which is an article entitled, "Education for Peace, Excerpt From the Report on Education." I ask you to look at that and state whether or not that photostatic copy says that that article was by Joe Bucholt.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BUCHOLT. Yes; that article says it was by Joe Bucholt.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you the Joe Bucholt who wrote that article?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. The Daily Worker of December 29, 1950, carries a news item about the 15th National Convention of the Communist Party, and about meetings held in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx. According to this article, Joseph Bucholt spoke at the Manhattan meeting. Are you the Joseph Bucholt mentioned in the article?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same as previously stated.

Mr. BEALE. Did you speak at this Communist Party meeting?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that date?

Mr. BEALE. December 29, 1950.

According to the Daily Worker of September 26, 1951, a rally was to be held the following day sponsored by the Committee to Defend Roosevelt Ward, Jr. Among the speakers scheduled were Joseph Bucholt, State chairman of the Labor Youth League. Are you the Joseph Bucholt mentioned in that article?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. Are you acquainted with Roosevelt Ward, Jr.?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. The Daily Worker of June 12, 1952, carries an open letter to Claudia Jones and Betty Gannett. The letter closes with these words:

Warmest fraternal greetings. New York State Board, Labor Youth League; Joe Bucholt, chairman; Mary Morris, organizational director.

Are you the Joe Bucholt mentioned there?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. Were you the chairman of the New York State board of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. Do you know Claudia Jones?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. Do you know Betty Gannett?

Mr. BUCHOLT. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Who is Mary Morris?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. According to the Daily Worker of Wednesday, January 20, 1954, members and leaders of the Labor Youth League will join in celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Daily Worker the following Friday. This was a statement supposedly made by Joe Bucholt, New York State chairman of the Labor Youth League. Are you the Joseph Bucholt mentioned there?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. According to the Daily Worker of February 25, 1954, a new national council of the Labor Youth League was elected at its second national convention. Joseph Bucholt is listed as a member of the new national council. Are you that Joseph Bucholt?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer that, based on my constitutional rights as guaranteed under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. BEALE. According to the Daily Worker of March 7, 1955, Robert Fogel was elected as State chairman of the Labor Youth League to succeed Joseph Bucholt, who had served 4 years in that capacity. Are you the Joe Bucholt mentioned there?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. The Daily Worker of March 10, 1955, carries an article in which appears the following:

The convention, on behalf of the national membership of the LYL, said farewell to the former State chairman of the New York State organization, Joseph Bucholt, who was released from activity in the LYL and the national youth movement. Mr. Bucholt was paid tribute to by the delegates with speeches and gifts and warmly saluted for his many years of service to American youth and the Labor Youth League.

Are you the Joseph Bucholt referred to in that article?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer that, based on my constitutional rights as guaranteed under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. BEALE. What does the article mean when it says you were released from activity in the Labor Youth League?

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

Mr. BEALE. Are you today active in the Labor Youth League?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. Isn't it true, Mr. Bucholt, that you were released from activity in the Labor Youth League to take a position of importance with the Communist Party underground?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer that question on the basis of my rights as guaranteed under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. BEALE. Are you today a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My answer is the same.

Mr. BEALE. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. When were you commissioned in the Army, Mr. Bucholt?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I was commissioned, I think it was, the summer of 1943.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a member of the Communist Party when the oath of allegiance was administered?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I decline to answer that question on the basis of my constitutional rights as guaranteed under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you take an oath of allegiance at the time.

Mr. BUCHOLT. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, at that very moment you were an organizer for one of the Communist organizations; were you not? (The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BUCHOLT. Without relinquishing any of my rights under the fifth amendment and first amendment of the Constitution, I was fully 100 percent of my time, thinking and activity, devoted to service in the United States Army and in the efforts to defeat the Nazi armies which we were fighting.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BEALE. He still hasn't answered the question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Was the oath of allegiance which you took at that time taken in good faith?

Mr. BUCHOLT. Absolutely.

Mr. JACKSON. In the event of hostilities as between this country and the Soviet Union, would you again take such an oath in good faith?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I have taken the oath under good faith. I always take oaths of allegiance and loyalty to my country in good faith, and I reject and feel that the question as posed in relation to conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union is an unreal one, and one which stems from, and is part of an anti-Soviet war hysteria, which many forces in our country are seeking to perpetrate at this time.

Mr. JACKSON. That is a very fine statement. It does not, of course, answer the question which I asked, whether or not in the event of possible hostilities between this country and the Soviet Union, would you take in good faith such an oath of allegiance as might be required?

Mr. BUCHOLT. I answered that question.

Mr. JACKSON. No. Let the record show you did not answer it. You gave a very evasive and roundabout reply, but it was in no sense an answer. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. You have testified, and you just stated, that you always take an oath in good faith. If that is a fact, why don't you help us in what we are trying to do? We are not trying to prosecute anyone. We are not trying to get anyone into any trouble. We are just trying to let the young people of this country know that there are serpents creeping about. That is all. If you took the oath in good faith, why don't you tell us what you know? Why don't you answer these questions?

Mr. BUCHOLT. My record stands on itself in relation to my devotion to my country and to the young generation.

The CHAIRMAN. Any more witnesses, Mr. Beale?

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Mr. BEALE. Robert Fogel.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you hold up your right hand, Mr. Fogel? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. FOGEL. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF ROBERT FOGEL, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL,
SAMUEL GRUBER**

Mr. BEALE. Will you state your name for the record, please?

Mr. FOGEL. Robert Fogel, F-o-g-e-l.

Mr. BEALE. Let the record show that the same counsel is representing Mr. Fogel as represented the two preceding witnesses.

When and where were you born?

Mr. FOGEL. I was born in New York City on July 1, 1926.

Mr. BEALE. Where do you presently reside?

Mr. FOGEL. In New York City.

Mr. BEALE. Do you have any objection to giving us the street address?

Mr. FOGEL. 609 West 151st Street.

Mr. BEALE. What has been your educational training?

Mr. FOGEL. I went to various public schools in New York City. I graduated from Stuyvesant High School, and I graduated from Cornell University in June of 1948.

Mr. BEALE. Did you ever hear of a publication called New Foundations?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. BEALE. According to the spring 1948 issue of New Foundations, Robert Fogel of Cornell University is listed as one of the collegiate editors. Are you the Robert Fogel mentioned there?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds as I stated previously.

Mr. BEALE. The same issue contains a short story entitled "Mostly Love Stories," by Robert Fogel. Are you that Robert Fogel?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. The same issue lists the names of the contributors, and the listing reads:

Robert Fogel, a senior at Cornell University, is president of the Marxist Cultural Society there.

Are you that Robert Fogel?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. BEALE. While a student at Cornell University, were you president or affiliated in any manner with the Marxist Cultural Society?

Mr. FOGEL. When I was a student at Cornell, I was active, as many students are, in all kinds of scholastic and extracurricular activities. I might say that was a period of time when young people were not as intimidated as they are today by committees such as this, and were much less afraid of entering into debate on all kinds of public issues.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you suppose the young people are afraid today?

Mr. FOGEL. I think the whole past number of years has been one in which witch hunting stemming from—

The CHAIRMAN. We are not witch hunting. We are Communist hunting.

Mr. FOGEL. That is your opinion. My opinion is that this committee and many other committees are carrying out activities which are stifling democratic thinking—

The CHAIRMAN. Let's get the record straight. This committee is doing nothing of the sort. The Congress of the United States, becom-

ing aware of the existence of this movement after a long time, when it should have been obvious that there was a movement afoot to undermine this country, created this committee to make inquiry into these activities so that the young people in America could be made aware of the existence of these movements. The Congress of the United States in its wisdom, charged with the responsibility of securing this Nation, has set up this committee.

You are a college graduate. Why don't you come clean here? Why don't you help us develop the truth?

Mr. FOGEL. I am clean. I came clean and I am trying to help you develop the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. Good. I am glad to hear it.

You said you were going to help us develop the truth. Were you a lecturer at Camp Unity at any time?

Mr. FOGEL. I do not think you are really interested in getting at the truth, or else—

The CHAIRMAN. I want to know the truth about that. Did you ever lecture at Camp Unity?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question—

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. FOGEL. Under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. JACKSON. I think there is a question pending. The witness has stated that he entered into all sorts of collegiate and extracurricular movements on the campus.

Mr. FOGEL. Activities.

Mr. JACKSON. Activities on the campus. The question which is pending is, Did you enter specifically into Communist Party activities while on the campus?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments. I don't see—

Mr. JACKSON. What you see about it does not make a bit of difference at this moment. The question has been answered. It is within the scope of the jurisdiction of this committee to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Beale.

Mr. BEALE. Now will you answer my question, please?

Mr. FOGEL. I am not sure what question you are referring to.

Mr. BEALE. I asked you if at any time while you were attending Cornell University you were the president of or affiliated in any manner with the Marxist Cultural Society at that university.

Mr. FOGEL. I would like to indicate that I was active in many extracurricular activities—

Mr. BEALE. You indicated all that before. Now will you answer my question, please?

Mr. FOGEL. Of which I am proud.

I decline.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer this question.

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer this specific question, as I feel it is an invasion of my rights under the first amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees me free speech and assembly, and I think that kind of question violates that right and helps to create this atmosphere of intimidation which makes many young people afraid to enter into that kind of discussion and debate today.

Mr. JACKSON. You mean, then, they are not afraid to enter into an organization at the present time which has been declared to be

subversive by the Congress of the United States, the Communist Party?

Mr. FOGEL. What I mean is that over the past number of years, through the activities—what has commonly been known and referred to as McCarthyism—an atmosphere has been created in which young people have been intimidated, bullied, so as not to take advantage of the opportunities that they had or that I had, for example, when I was at college, to learn through discussion and debate of all kinds of public issues.

The CHAIRMAN. Then as I understand you, there are now fewer students who are members of the organizations about which you have been asked; is that it?

Mr. FOGEL. No; you misunderstand me. I am talking about all kinds of activities.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about one particular activity, Communist activity, and for the first time I have heard someone say that our committee has really succeeded in accomplishing something. I am very happy that we have.

Mr. FOGEL. They have succeeded in curtailing academic freedom and democratic rights, in my opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. Academic freedom designed—never mind.

Mr. FOGEL. If you will read the New York Times—

The CHAIRMAN. There is no question pending.

Proceed, Mr. Beale.

Mr. BEALE. In order that there is no misunderstanding and in order that the record is absolutely clear, are you relying on the first amendment in your refusal to answer the last question?

Mr. FOGEL. I think that last question is obviously a violation of the first amendment.

Mr. BEALE. And you are relying on that solely?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. BEALE. We just want to make the record clear.

Mr. FOGEL. I don't know what you mean by rely on that. Can you explain that?

Mr. BEALE. You are the one who used the first amendment. You ought to know what you are doing.

The CHAIRMAN. That is immaterial, Mr. Beale. The witness has answered the question by stating that he refuses to answer because of the constitutional protection given against self-incrimination.

Mr. BEALE. No, sir; he hasn't. He only used the first amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Only the first amendment?

Mr. FOGEL. I said I felt that this question was a violation of the first amendment. I think it is an improper question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. FOGEL. I think it violates other parts of the Constitution as well.

Mr. BEALE. Are you pleading other parts of the Constitution?

Mr. FOGEL. I am pleading—first of all, I am indicating—I don't know what you mean by "pleading," exactly.

Mr. BEALE. You have counsel there. You may confer with him.

Mr. FOGEL. As I understand, you asked a question, and I indicated that in my opinion that was an improper question.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you decline to answer that?

Mr. FOGEL. Yes, I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Upon what grounds do you decline to answer it?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer it, first of all, as I previously indicated, on the grounds that I think it is improper and violates the first amendment. I also decline to answer it under the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Beale.

Mr. BEALE. According to the information in the files of the committee, there was issued a call for a Conference on Democracy in Education to be held in New York City, December 17-18, 1949. According to this call, Robert Fogel, New York State chairman of the student conference for the Labor Youth League, is listed as one of the sponsors. Are you the Robert Fogel referred to in that article?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds that I previously mentioned.

Mr. BEALE. Were you a member of the student conference for the Labor Youth League?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. According to an article in the Daily Worker of Monday, August 15, 1949:

Last Thursday, a gang attacked the speaker's stand at an outdoor rally, where Robert Fogel, chairman of the student division of the Communist Party, was speaking.

Are you the Robert Fogel mentioned in that article?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds that I previously mentioned.

Mr. BEALE. Were you the chairman of the student division of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. According to an article in the Daily People's World of November 22, 1949, there was a walkout of students at the New York City College. The following appears in this article:

Robert Fogel, organizational secretary of the student division of the New York Communist Party, and Jack Cohen, a Jewish youth leader, described the situation in the June 1949 issue of Jewish Life.

Are you the Robert Fogel referred to there?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the grounds which I have previously mentioned.

Mr. BEALE. Were you the organizational secretary of the student division of the New York Communist Party?

Mr. FOGEL. I also decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. In the summer 1949 issue of New Foundations appears an article entitled "Free Our Schools," by Robert Fogel, and a footnote to the article appears:

Mr. Fogel, a 1948 graduate of Cornell University, is now organizational secretary for the student division of the New York Communist Party.

Are you the Robert Fogel referred to in that article?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. BEALE. Did you ever hear of a publication called Challenge?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. Isn't that the publication of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. In the May 1950 issue of Challenge appears an article entitled, "A Better Future for Students," by Bob Fogel. Did you write that article?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. The article deals with the second World Student Congress to be held in Czechoslovakia, and the following is quoted from the article:

The Congress—

and that refers to the second World Student Congress—

will help to expose the lies about the Soviet Union which are sold as fact in our schools.

Did you write that?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. What did you mean when you said, "the lies about the Soviet Union which are sold as fact in our schools"?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. According to information in the files of the committee, the First National Convention of the Labor Youth League was held in New York City, November 23-26, 1950. The report of that convention states that Bob Fogel, among others, had been elected to a national council to lead the Labor Youth League. Are you the Robert Fogel mentioned in that?

Mr. FOGEL. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Were you ever elected to membership on the national council of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. FOGEL. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. According to the Daily Worker of January 31, 1951, leaders of the New York Labor Youth League pledged active support to the circulation of the Daily Worker. Among those who pledged their support appears the name of Bob Fogel. Are you the Bob Fogel referred to?

Mr. FOGEL. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. According to the Daily Worker of September 10, 1952, an investigation of the Board of Education of New York City was referred to by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and the New York State council of the Labor Youth League, as a witch hunt. The same article quotes Robert Fogel, Labor Youth League student director, as demanding that the McCarran committee immediately discontinue its witch hunt and leave this city, and further quotes Fogel as saying:

Using the inquisition as their weapon, lies and slander as their ammunition, stool pigeons as their witnesses, the committee hopes to be able to smash the unions and other democratic organizations of teachers.

Are you the Robert Fogel who wrote that article?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. According to the Daily Worker of February 25, 1954, the Second National Convention of the Labor Youth League elected a new national council. Among those elected to the council was one Robert Fogel. Are you the Robert Fogel referred to?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. Were you elected a member of the national council of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. In the Daily Worker of April 12, 1954, appears an article entitled, "Freedom Rallies To Be Held This Week on Many College Campuses." This article is written by Robert Fogel.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that?

Mr. BEALE. April 12, 1954.

According to the article, the Labor Youth League issued 20,000 copies of the statement urging students to reject the "big lie" that communism menaces America, and to unite to defend academic freedom and the Bill of Rights. Were you the author of that article?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. What information have we concerning those rallies on the college campuses? Were they actually held?

Mr. BEALE. I haven't checked on that. This is the notice that they would be held.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us complete the investigation and, wherever they were held, inform the college authorities the source of the inspiration for the meetings.

Mr. BEALE. That will be done.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BEALE. The Sunday Worker of July 4, 1954, carries an article entitled, "Draft Program of the Communist Party." This article was written by Robert Fogel. It is a review of the Communist Party program which is entitled "The American Way—to Jobs, Peace, and Democracy." Were you the author of that article?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. BEALE. In the March 7, 1955, issue of the Daily Worker appears a news article to the effect that Robert Fogel was the newly elected chairman of the New York State Labor Youth League, succeeding Joseph Bucholt. Are you the Robert Fogel referred to there?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. BEALE. Were you elected chairman of the New York State Labor Youth League?

Mr. FOGEL. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Are you presently the chairman of that organization?

Mr. FOGEL. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Are you today a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline to answer that question under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. BEALE. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOGEL. I decline for the same reason. I think that violates my constitutional rights, and not only mine but many other young Americans.

Mr. BEALE. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. FOGEL. I would like to say something before—

Mr. BEALE. You are excused. Step down.

Mr. WILLIS. I refer to the article Mr. Beale questioned you about, appearing in the Worker, Sunday, July 4, 1954, wherein one Fogel quoted Robert Thompson as saying:

In all truth we can say that the forces that win the youth of our country will win our country.

Do you agree to that?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FOGEL. I am not clear on that question. Could you indicate what you are trying to get at?

Mr. WILLIS. The article quoted states—and I will not take it out of context; I will read the two sentences:

Work among youth is not just another important field of work for our party—meaning the Communist Party—

and for the progressive forces; it is a decisive field of work. In all truth we can say that the forces that win the youth of our country will win our country.

I ask you, do you agree to that statement?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. FOGEL. Are you interested in my opinion, on what I think on this question?

Mr. WILLIS. I will be frank with you, my next question was going to be: Did you participate, as the article indicates, in winning the youth of the country to the draft program of the Communist Party, which is the title of the article you are alleged to have written?

Mr. FOGEL. If you want my opinion on the problems confronting young people in our country today and what I think they should do about it, I will be very glad to answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. We know the answer without putting you to that trouble.

Mr. FOGEL. If the question is trying to undermine my constitutional privileges, I won't.

Mr. WILLIS. I don't care for your opinion generally.

Mr. FOGEL. I thought that was one of the reasons I was called here.

Mr. JACKSON. If that was one of the reasons, the committee and the Congress and the country certainly have not benefited to any degree by your answers.

Mr. FOGEL. I think if I had been given a full and fair opportunity to present my ideas and point of view, and not just—I think anyone who was called before the committee would have benefited.

Mr. JACKSON. If you had answered the questions which have been put to you, you would have done a much more rapid and greater service to the country than by the delivery of propaganda speeches you might care to deliver.

This committee has listened for many years to everything that you might be expected to deliver in the way of a speech. We have been harangued, vilified, much the same as you would do, if you had the opportunity. I, for one, do not intend that you shall have an opportunity to use this committee as a sounding board for the Communist Party.

Mr. FOGEL. I didn't ask to come before this committee; I was subpoenaed.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. And quite rightfully. I think that is one of the best subpoenas we have issued.

Mr. FOGEL. I think that if this committee wants to get at the truth and not to get excited because students had academic freedom, about which apparently the chairman is very excited, and I think his reaction to that—

The CHAIRMAN. I am excited because I know a lot of very decent college students—

Mr. FOGEL. And so do I.

The CHAIRMAN. Who have been imposed upon by your ilk. I would like to have the youngsters of this country know just exactly who inspired the sort of thing that apparently was held last year. That is all.

Any more witnesses, Mr. Beale?

Mr. FOGEL. If you want to give me credit for inspiring activities for academic freedom, I think that is very good, and I think that is one of the most democratic, patriotic things that anyone can do.

The CHAIRMAN. That is enough.

The next witness, Mr. Beale. Have you any more witnesses? (Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Mr. BEALE. Ernest Parent.

(Representative Donald L. Jackson left the hearing room at this point.)

The CHAIRMAN. Hold up your right hand, Mr. Parent. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. PARENT. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ERNEST PARENT, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, SAMUEL GRUBER

Mr. BEALE. Let the record show the same counsel who has appeared for the preceding witnesses appears for this witness.

Will you state your name for the record?

Mr. PARENT. My name is Ernest Parent, P-a-r-e-n-t.

Mr. BEALE. When and where were you born?

Mr. PARENT. I was born in Montreal, Canada, October 2, 1919.

Mr. BEALE. Where do you presently reside?

Mr. PARENT. I live at 1049 Fox Street, Bronx, N. Y.

Mr. BEALE. What has been your educational training?

Mr. PARENT. If you mean my formal educational background, I have gone to various public schools in and around New York City, and went to high school for a period of time but did not graduate. That has been the extent of my formal education.

Mr. BEALE. Going back just a minute, what was the date and place of your birth?

Mr. PARENT. October 2, 1919.

Mr. BEALE. Where?

Mr. PARENT. Montreal, Canada.

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

Mr. PARENT. I don't recall the exact month, but I believe it was around August of 1925. I don't want to be held to that, however. I believe that is the approximate date.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the best of your recollection.

Mr. BEALE. Have you resided in the United States continuously since then?

Mr. PARENT. I have.

Mr. BEALE. Have you ever filed an application to become a citizen of the United States?

Mr. PARENT. I have.

Mr. BEALE. When and where?

Mr. PARENT. I filed several applications.

Mr. BEALE. When did you file and where did you file the first one?

Mr. PARENT. Let me answer the question, Counsel, in my own way.

Mr. BEALE. I will ask the questions, please.

Mr. PARENT. I filed an application before I entered into the Army. I believe the date was around 1940. I became a citizen, however, in 1943—I believe that is the date—in the Army, Chattham County, Ga.

Mr. BEALE. What has been your employment record?

Mr. PARENT. I started going to work in, I would say, the year 1935. I have held various positions and have done many jobs—all of them, I assure you, honest. I have been a metal worker, a furrier, a laundry worker, a hospital worker, salesman, laborer.

Mr. BEALE. Where are you now employed?

Mr. PARENT. At the moment I am unemployed.

Mr. BEALE. Where were you last employed?

Mr. PARENT. I would refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I believe that it would leave me open to prosecution and possible persecution. Therefore, I refuse to answer that question for the very reasons stated under the fifth amendment. It would leave me open to incrimination.

Mr. BEALE. Over what period of time does the employment cover which you don't want to tell us about?

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is immaterial.

Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PARENT. I decline to answer that question on the very same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused. There is no reason for our wasting time.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have another witness?

Mr. BEALE. One more. Sam Engler.

The CHAIRMAN. Hold up your right hand, Mr. Engler. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. ENGLER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SAM ENGLER, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, SAMUEL GRUBER

Mr. BEALE. Let the record show the same counsel who has appeared for the preceding witnesses appears for this witness.

State your name for the record, please.

Mr. ENGLER. Sam Engler, E-n-g-l-e-r.

Mr. BEALE. When and where were you born?

Mr. ENGLER. I was born in New York City, June 27, 1920.

Mr. BEALE. Where do you presently reside?

Mr. ENGLER. 506 West 122d Street, Manhattan, New York City.

Mr. BEALE. What has been your education and training?

Mr. ENGLER. Public schools in Brooklyn, Boys High School in Brooklyn, and City College of New York.

Mr. BEALE. When?

Mr. ENGLER. When what?

Mr. BEALE. In City College of New York. When did you finish there?

Mr. ENGLER. I did not graduate. I left in 1941.

Mr. BEALE. What has been your record of employment?

Mr. ENGLER. I have worked most of the time as a publicity writer.

Mr. BEALE. Where have you worked?

Mr. ENGLER. I work now at Yeshiva University.

Mr. WILLIS. Where is that?

Mr. ENGLER. New York.

Mr. BEALE. According to the Daily Worker of March 8, 1954, the first session of the People's Conference to Repeal the McCarran Act was held in Washington, D. C., the previous day. Among the speakers at that meeting were William L. Patterson, Carl Marzani, and Sam Engler, a New York State Labor Youth League leader. Are you the Sam Engler mentioned in the article?

Mr. ENGLER. I decline to answer under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. BEALE. Were you a member of the New York State Labor Youth League?

Mr. ENGLER. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ENGLER. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ENGLER. The same answer.

Mr. BEALE. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you the educational director of the New York State Labor Youth League?

Mr. ENGLER. The same answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. WILLIS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Mr. BEALE. That concludes the hearing, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:40 a. m., the hearing was adjourned, subject to call.)

INDEX

INDIVIDUALS

	Page
Bravo, Flavio.....	232
Bucholt, Joseph.....	229-235 (testimony), 241
Cohen, Jack.....	239
Davis, Benjamin J.....	225
Engler, Sam.....	244-245 (testimony)
Fogel, Robert.....	234, 235, 236-243 (testimony)
Foster, William Z.....	231
Gannett, Betty.....	233
Gates, John.....	225
Gold, Ben.....	225, 232
Gruber, Samuel.....	219, 229, 236, 243, 244
Jones, Claudia.....	227, 233
Lawes, Pearl.....	226
Lovitt, Julian.....	231
Malibow, Herb.....	230
Marti, Jose.....	232
Marzani, Carl.....	245
Morris, Mary.....	233, 234
Osherow, Ruth.....	230
Parent, Ernest.....	243-244 (testimony)
Patterson, William L.....	245
Thompson, Robert.....	226, 230, 241
Trachtenberg, Alexander.....	230
Veal, Ted.....	232
Weiss, Max.....	230
Wofsy, Leon.....	219-229 (testimony)

ORGANIZATIONS

American Youth for Democracy.....	221-223, 231
Camp Unity.....	237
Civil Rights Congress.....	221, 222, 231
Committee to Defend Roosevelt Ward, Jr.....	227, 233
Conference on Democracy in Education.....	239
Cuban Socialist Youth.....	232
Labor Youth League.....	222-229, 231-234, 239-241, 245
Marxist Cultural Society.....	236, 237
National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.....	240
United May Day Committee.....	221
World Federation of Democratic Youth.....	222, 223
World Student Congress.....	240
Young Communist League.....	230, 231
Young Workers Conference.....	222

PUBLICATIONS

Challenge.....	226, 227, 232, 239
Jewish Life.....	239
New Foundations.....	236, 239
Political Affairs.....	223, 226, 228
Weekly Review.....	230

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