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**INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
STATE OF FLORIDA—Part 1**

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

NOVEMBER 29 AND 30, 1954

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

INCLUDING INDEX



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

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

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

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

* * * * *

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

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

(A) Un-American activities.

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

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

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

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

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

* * * * *

(g) 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.

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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF FLORIDA—Part 1

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Miami, Fla.

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:48 a. m., in the main court room, Federal Building, Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Morgan M. Moulder, and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; Earl Fuoss, investigator; W. Jackson Jones, investigator.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Reporter, let the record show Representatives Clardy of Michigan, Scherer of Ohio, Moulder of Missouri, Doyle of California, and myself, from Illinois, constituting a quorum of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Before hearing the first witness, I would like to make a statement.

Today the House Committee on Un-American Activities is commencing hearings in Miami, Fla., with a view to ascertaining the scope and success of subversive infiltration in this and other areas of the great southeastern section of the United States.

Several months ago the committee voted unanimously to institute an investigation of such subversive activities. This decision of the committee resulted from the various reports and requests from Members of Congress and others indicating that such an investigation was necessary.

Over the past several years the House Committee on Un-American Activities has conducted investigations and held hearings in many parts of the United States. We do not conduct these investigations or have hearings on the mere whim or caprice of the nine members who compose this committee. We are under direction of the Congress of the United States, which in establishing Public Law 601 during the 79th Congress, stated that the House Committee on Un-American Activities should investigate (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, (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any remedial legislation.

It is in furtherance of this direction by Congress that we are here today. It is true that the Miami area does not in terms of numerical strength, have the problem with subversion that many of the other areas of the United States have. We must never, however, be lulled into any attitude of complacency by the numerical strength, or lack thereof, in subversive groups or individuals.

All of us must realize the strategic importance of the Miami area, due to its proximity to certain countries to our south in which communism has made startling inroads.

Today we are taking up where a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities left off in 1948. The present hearings will disclose that as a result of the 1948 hearings the Communist Party in the Miami area was dealt a serious blow. I wish that I could give assurance that the present hearings would deal a death blow to communism in the great State of Florida and the southeastern area of these United States. Unfortunately, any such claim would be foolhardy. Our competent staff has found many instances in which individuals for whom there were subpoenas issued have gone into hiding to avoid appearing before the committee.

We can only gather that these individuals are among those who comprise a hard core of dedicated revolutionaries, and who are more interested in furthering the totalitarian aims of the Soviet Union than honorably assisting the United States Government.

During the next 3 days the committee expects to hear testimony from approximately 15 witnesses. Each of these witnesses has been called because the investigation has established that they possess information which would assist the committee in performing its directed duty.

Every witness has been called in conformity with the committee's rules of procedure. I would like to point out that this committee is the first such committee of Congress to establish written rules of procedure, a copy of which has been furnished to each witness appearing here.

I am pleased that we are conducting these hearings with a quorum of the committee present. I wish to extend to Messrs. Moulder, Doyle, and Frazier, who will arrive, as I understand it, sometime today, on the Democratic side, and to Messrs. Clardy and Scherer on our Republican side, my appreciation for their assistance in this hearing and the excellent spirit of cooperation they have extended me in the past. I am pleased to state that in the operations of this committee, both the Democratic and Republican members have exhibited a sincere opposition to communism.

Since these would now appear to be my last public hearings under my chairmanship in this, the 83d Congress, I would like to pay a special tribute to the excellent staff of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Through the tireless efforts of these fine men and women, the committee has heard during the 83d Congress more witnesses, received positive identification of more Communist Party members, and has produced almost four times as much sworn testimony as that received during any preceding Congress.

Last of all, I wish to express my appreciation for the excellent cooperation extended to the committee and the staff by all law-enforcement agencies of Miami and Florida. I especially wish to mention the names of Special Assistant Attorney General Ellis Rubin, State's

Attorney George A. Brautigam and staff, the Miami Beach police under the able direction of Chief Romeo Shephard, and the Miami police, under the direction of Chief Walter E. Headley, and Deputy United States Marshal Guy Hixon.

Mr. Counsel, do you have a witness?

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Edwin Waller, will you please come forward?

Mr. VELDE. Will you raise your right hand? In the testimony you are about to give before this committee, will you solemnly swear to tell the whole truth, so help you God?

Mr. WALLER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF EDWIN E. WALLER

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you give the committee your full name?

Mr. WALLER. Edwin E. Waller.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your present address, sir?

Mr. WALLER. 957 Eighth Street South, Naples, Fla.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see you are not accompanied by counsel, Mr. Waller. The committee will always permit everyone to have counsel. I think you are willing to testify without counsel?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir, and I would like to state for the record, in fairness, I requested counsel, and they had agreed to furnish me counsel, and I am willing to waive the right of counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. We, of course, did not agree to furnish counsel.

Mr. WALLER. They agreed to try to secure counsel for me.

Mr. KUNZIG. But you are willing to go ahead without counsel?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. Waller, I would like to state for the record, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Waller appeared before the subcommittee of this committee in 1948, and that at that time Mr. Waller testified and gave certain testimony, and that Mr. Waller personally, in discussing this matter with committee investigators, and with me, in the last few days, has stated very strongly he felt the true picture of his testimony was not given, and that he did not give the full picture he would like to give, and asked that he come back before the committee, stating that he would this time answer all questions, and he stated if he did so, he would be giving himself an opportunity to clear up any misconceptions that might exist; is that correct?

Mr. WALLER. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. I believe you had some specific item you did mention?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; I have one specific item I would like to clarify, that does not concern my direct testimony to the committee, but Mr. Russell, on May 6 of 1949, made a statement that I deemed is untrue, and I think my previous testimony will bear it out.

Mr. VELDE. Who made the statement?

Mr. WALLER. Mr. Russell.

Mr. KUNZIG. For the record, Mr. Russell was chief investigator of the committee; he is no longer connected with the committee.

Mr. WALLER. I am quoting from the printed testimony of Paul Crouch, and he says:

Mr. Chairman, during the month of March 1947, a subcommittee of this committee held a series of hearings in Florida, and at one of these hearings Mr. Edwin Waller was subpoenaed, and, when asked the question whether he was a member of the Communist Party, declined to answer on the ground it might incriminate him.

Mr. Chairman, I did not say that.

Mr. KUNZIG. For the record, I have analyzed that, and am glad to say he has at no time ever taken refuge in the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE. This committee has changed those rules of procedure in many instances since 1948, and the present committee is not operating in the same spirit as the committee operated in 1948.

Mr. WALLER. Mr. Chairman, if I wasn't convinced of that, I wouldn't be here as a friendly witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Waller, when were you born and where?

Mr. WALLER. June 5, 1912, Macon, Ga.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you give us a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. I attended grade school at Lake City, Fla., I attended grade school at Miami, Fla., and graduated from junior high school here in Miami, the Robert Lee High School. I attended prep school at Milledgeville, Ga., and graduated from Miami High School.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now could you kindly give the committee a brief résumé of your employment background, starting with the early stages and working up?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. After leaving school, I joined the Armed Forces and was at the Artillery School at Fort Sill, Okla. I returned home in Miami in 1933 and I secured employment with Swift & Co. From Swift & Co. I went to work for Wilson & Co. and worked there for quite a number of years.

Mr. KUNZIG. What sort of work did you do there?

Mr. WALLER. I was salesman in the wholesale butchers, sir.

I then went to work for a short period of time for Southern Liquor Distributors here in Miami, as a wine salesman. From there I went to work as a wholesale butcher with Smith, Richardson & Conroy, Miami. From there I went to Dade Drydock Corp.

Mr. KUNZIG. When and how long did you work for Dade Drydock Corp.?

Mr. WALLER. Sir, it was about the period of approximately 1942 until 1946, the latter part of 1946.

Mr. KUNZIG. What work did you do with Dade Drydock Corp.?

Mr. WALLER. I was employed originally as a blacksmith's helper and subsequently worked my way up to blacksmith.

Mr. KUNZIG. Roughly, in 1946 where did you go next?

Mr. WALLER. In 1946 I was employed by the Local 59 of the Shipbuilders' Union, and from there, after a short period of time, I went to work for the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Local 9, part on the payroll of the national and part on the local union.

Mr. KUNZIG. What sort of work did you do with the local?

Mr. WALLER. More or less business agent and international representative.

Mr. KUNZIG. From there, where did you go?

Mr. WALLER. From there I went to work in a kind of hodge-podge work setup, part on CIO State payroll, and part on the payroll of the Union Record, and in June 1948, I resigned that position and went to work, after a short period of time, for the United Construction Workers, and in there I went to work doing day labor on the Womack Construction Co. in Miami.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever connected with the Transport Workers Union?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. I subsequently went with the Transport Workers Union in 1947, as international representative, and I done work in Miami and Tampa, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. How long did that period continue?

Mr. WALLER. That lasted until along about the middle of the year 1948, sir. Pardon me, I mean 1950.

Mr. KUNZIG. From there, where did you go, from 1950 to 1952?

Mr. WALLER. From there, I was employed by United Furniture Workers, CIO, in North Carolina, and subsequently was made district worker of that area.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then, from there?

Mr. WALLER. I became ill and resigned my position, and returned back to Florida, and I went to Naples. I moved my family back to Naples, and I tried to secure employment around Tampa for a short period. Then I worked on, in Miami, on the Union Record newspaper, and after that my health was still bad, and I went to work in construction work in Naples and I worked in construction work there until May 1953, and at the request of the union I returned to work for United Furniture Workers of America, and returned there until October 1946, and at that time—

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean 1946?

Mr. WALLER. I mean 1953. At that time, I returned to Naples. I was a bit ill, sir, and I was on sick leave, and subsequently I secured employment in an advertising business and subsequently I secured employment in the advertising business in the newspaper where I am presently employed.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Waller, have you at any time ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. I have, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. It was in the latter part of 1945, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you kindly give the committee the circumstances of how you joined, who recruited you, and that sort of information?

Mr. WALLER. Well, sir, I was contacted in the union hall at 730 West Flagler Street by Charles Smolikoff.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell that?

Mr. WALLER. S-m-o-l-i-k-o-f-f, I believe, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Continue.

Mr. WALLER. He explained to me what the Communist Party was, or what the Communist Party was supposed to have been, that it was an organization to be to the benefit and to help out in the building-trade-union movement in Florida and any other parts of the country. On that basis, I agreed to join the Communist Party, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was this man?

Mr. WALLER. Smolikoff.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was his position?

Mr. WALLER. At that time he was international representative of the Industrial Union, Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO.

Mr. CLARDY. You mentioned meeting the gentleman at some union hall; do you mean to imply you met with him only once in that one

conversation, or as there a series of that that led up to your becoming a member?

Mr. WALLER. The particular conversation was one direct conversation that I affiliated with the Communist Party. I had had quite a number of meetings with him, and I admired him as a trade-union leader.

Mr. CLARDY. That was a sort of consummation of a series of events?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; I would say so.

Mr. CLARDY. Continue describing how you actually got in the party.

Mr. WALLER. From that meeting, I subsequently attended meetings in a home here in Miami, and I can't recall the particular address where I attended. At that time the application blanks for the membership in the Communist Party were passed out, and at that time I signed an application blank and became a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you receive a Communist Party card?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. A short time after that meeting in the private residence, I received a card which was dated for the period of 1945-46, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Would you describe the Communist Party card which you received?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. It was the only, the one and only card I ever received. It was originally given to me flat, and could be folded up into four sections, and on that card it had space in there for your membership dues and your initiation fees. It was kind of buff-colored, and stamped on it with an ink-stamp pad was a hammer and sickle a number on there, but I could not recall the actual number.

Mr. CLARDY. But no one actually signed their name as a representative of the party; it merely had printed on it, "The Communist Party"?

Mr. WALLER. There was no actual signature I could recall.

Mr. SCHERER. As a member of the party, did you use your own name?

Mr. WALLER. I did, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know if in any cases persons used fictitious names?

Mr. WALLER. In most cases, I found out subsequently, most people did use fictitious names.

Mr. DOYLE. I understood you to say on the card there appeared the printed hammer and sickle?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Did not there also appear the stars and stripes?

Mr. WALLER. No, sir; it didn't sir, regrettably.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Kunzig.

Mr. KUNZIG. To whom did you pay your dues, Mr. Waller?

Mr. WALLER. Most of the time I paid those to Charlie Smolikoff.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was his post in the Communist Party? I take it you knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. He had recruited me, and he was looked upon as a leader of the Communist Party in Miami and was at the early stages of the game, in early 1945 and 1946, he was deemed to be the leader of the Communist Party in the State of Florida, until the party was assigned an organizer.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean at the same time he was a prominent union official, he was also a prominent Communist?

Mr. SCHERER. Again, would you describe just what his position was in the union?

Mr. WALLER. It varied at various times. Originally when I first knew him, sir, he was the international representative, I think. I believe his correct title was regional director in the shipbuilders union. From there, when he was discharged from the shipbuilders union, we hired him on local 59 of the shipbuilders. From there he was subsequently hired by the transport workers union.

Mr. CLARDY. Was that shipbuilders, A. F. of L. or CIO?

Mr. WALLER. They are all CIO. Any information I have, outside of specifically A. F. of L., I mean CIO, so the record may be straight.

Mr. CLARDY. At this point, did he stay in the union, or what happened to him?

Mr. WALLER. I did not happen to be there at the time he was subsequently terminated by the transport workers union, when they cleaned house, and after that he was hired by the local union, and if I recall correctly, and here, again this is hearsay from matters I read in the newspapers, he was subsequently terminated from the local union which had hired him on account of some activities around the so-called cultural center.

Mr. CLARDY. When did those events take place?

Mr. WALLER. If I recall correctly, Congressman, it was somewhere in the period of the latter part of 1948, or early part of 1949.

Mr. CLARDY. After your testimony before the committee in the earlier period?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. My testimony before the committee was in, if I recall correctly, was in March 1948, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. Waller, could you tell the committee what your functions were during the time you were a member of the Communist Party? What were your party functions?

Mr. WALLER. One of them, I was chairman of the Trade Union Club, and subsequently I was more or less in connection with Smolikoff, liaison between the club level and what is known as the section level, in Miami, which is the governing body of the Communist Party in Miami.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was the Trade Union Club?

Mr. WALLER. The Trade Union Club originally was a club that was comprised of the trade-union people in Miami and the area, that were members of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. All the trade union people who were in the party?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You were at one time head of that?

Mr. WALLER. At one time I was chairman of the club.

Mr. KUNZIG. What were your functions as chairman of the Trade Union Club? What did you do, on a day-to-day basis?

Mr. WALLER. Actually in my official capacity as chairman, it was not a very impressive thing. They rotated the chairmanship from time to time, and the general idea was to educate the people in preparation to be able to chair meetings, either Communist Party meetings, or any other kind.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you deliver to the people at the meetings the Communist Party line? Who took care of that?

Mr. WALLER. From time to time, the specific instances I recall, there were meetings they called educational meetings. At these meetings was when the educational point of view was raised. Specifically I can recall at a series of these meetings the discussion was raised relative to the Communist Manifesto, and the constitution of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. What year were you chairman of this club?

Mr. WALLER. I am almost positive it was early 1946.

Mr. MOULDER. At that time, how many members belonged to that club?

Mr. WALLER. In the Trade Union Club, sir, I would say there were possibly 6 or 7.

Mr. MOULDER. Out of all the trade unions in Miami?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; I do believe, Congressman, there were other people I was not aware of.

Mr. MOULDER. All in one group, or scattered about?

Mr. WALLER. They were scattered about; some were affiliated with the A. F. of L. and some were affiliated with the CIO.

Mr. CLARDY. The size of your cell, to use that term, was 6 or 7, but you think there were other cells you knew nothing about?

Mr. WALLER. I think the testimony will develop there were various other clubs in the area, but in the trade-union club, I would say, sir, there were other people in the Communist Party in the trade unions in Miami.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew, of course, many more than 6 or 7 Communists at this time?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; I knew quite a few, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. What other clubs did you know about, personally, in addition to the Trade Union Club, in Miami?

Mr. WALLER. Sir, there were several what we call clubs; there was the professional club, there was the youth club, and there was a beach club, and they went by various names, like that, sir. I knew, actually, various people were members of the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. What were the functions of these other groups, so far as lies in your personal knowledge?

Mr. WALLER. The only contact I had was when the meetings I attended on the sectional level, which was the governing body in Dade County, each one had a specific assignment of one kind to carry out. Primarily on the beach it was to raise funds, and in the trade-union group, it was to sell literature, and various assignments. I think you are familiar with the party-line changes from day to day, and you did not know from one day to the next what was going to happen.

Mr. CLARDY. You mentioned a youth club. Are you speaking now of persons in your own age group at the time who were directing youth activities, or were you speaking of youngsters themselves, when you are using that term?

Mr. WALLER. Congressman, I would say, to the best of my knowledge, they were people younger than I was, and I would say they were in the early twenties, and I did not have too much connection with that particular club, but I would say they were in the early twenties.

Mr. CLARDY. Were they working with youths engaged in shipbuilding, or other activities, or were they working among youths regardless of where they were employed?

Mr. WALLER. They were working, generally, among the younger generation.

Mr. CLARDY. They were not drawing any line, such as a labor-union group; they were spreading their activities clear across the board?

Mr. WALLER. There had been several decisions, sir. I can go into that, if you wish. There had been a lot of discussions, from what I heard, of the hierarchy of the Communist Party. They wanted to build workers clubs, but it was predominantly middle-class groups, and the main line of attack of the party was to attack the laboring groups. They felt there was too much middle-class groups mixed up.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was the total period of time you were active with the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. From the period late 1945, sir, until the early part of June 1948, when I went with the FBI.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have given your story to the FBI?

Mr. WALLER. I have met with them on several occasions, and I went to them and told them all the facts I knew of the Communist Party in Miami, and statewide, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to ask you the following question, and I want you to be explicit in your answer.

Will you give us the names of the people with whom you met as members of the Communist Party? Let me say very clearly, the committee is only interested in those names of people whom you knew to be members; not people of whom you had a suspicion, and not people who might have been members, but only those people who you knew to be members of the Communist Party. With that caveat, will you tell us definitely?

Mr. CLARDY. Before we get further, what caused you to leave the party?

Mr. WALLER. I would say immediately after joining the party I was disillusioned as to their objectives, and, very frankly, I thought the thing over for a period of a year and a half or 2 years. It isn't the type of organization any honest American should join.

Mr. CLARDY. Why did you come to that conclusion?

Mr. WALLER. I think, sir, what meager knowledge I had of the Communist Party led me to believe all you have got to do is to read their literature and you become completely disillusioned. They are as phony as all get-out.

Mr. SCHERER. When did you find out the party was primarily dedicated to the overthrow of the form of our Government by force and violence? When did you come to that conclusion, if you did come to that conclusion?

Mr. WALLER. I did not actually, the people I talked to here in Miami, sir, in the main, with the exception of possibly 1 or 2 people, actually only 1 person I talked to in the Miami area, was dedicated in that direction, but even before that, I became completely, as a matter of fact, I joined the party in the latter part of 1945, and I became completely disillusioned early in 1946, when the party began to tell me how I had to do this and how I had to do that.

Mr. SCHERER. But you stayed in until 1948?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; I was trying to find some way out.

Mr. CLARDY. But you regarded the literature itself as sufficient to expose the "phony" nature of the movement?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. I think anybody in their right mind who sits down and reads the literature should leave the party right there.

Mr. CLARDY. I agree with you, but you know there are a good many people who call themselves intellectuals, men in professions, and teaching law, and they haven't discovered it.

Mr. WALLER. Congressman, I am just a dumb worker, and I made it. I may differ with the committee on that.

Mr. CLARDY. I think you are to be congratulated on having a better grasp of the realities than these people who think they are smart, but in reality are not.

Mr. WALLER. I think anybody who reads the Communist Party literature, I sincerely believe if anybody reads Communist literature, that eventually they are going to see the light of day.

Mr. CLARDY. The Communist Manifesto is rather garbled.

Mr. WALLER. I remember very clearly the last time that I appeared before the committee, my sainted mother was over in the corner. I can remember she raised me to be a halfway decent guy, and in the Communist Manifesto it says that religion is the opiate of the people. Right there that knocks it out.

Mr. CLARDY. That was the tipoff?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. VELDE. You mentioned a minute ago you might be speaking against the philosophy of the committee; I assure you you are not.

Mr. WALLER. If I disagree with you, I am going to say so.

Mr. VELDE. We want you to.

Mr. WALLER. I think you do.

Mr. DOYLE. When you started to answer the question of my colleague who asked you about the advocacy of force and violence to overthrow our country, you said actually there was only one person you talked to who was headed in that direction, do you remember saying that?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Was that person known to you to be a Communist Party member?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; he was.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you in a position now to tell us who that person was?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; I am.

Mr. DOYLE. Will you please do that?

Mr. WALLER. His name is Charlie Smolikoff.

Mr. DOYLE. The same man whose name you gave a few minutes ago?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand from your testimony, he, in conversations with you, advocated, or led you to believe he was advocating the forceful and violent overthrow of our constitutional form of government?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Where did that conversation take place?

Mr. WALLER. I can't specifically recall the conversation, Congressman, as to time and date, but I know definitely he had discussed the matter with me several times, as specifically opposed to a political change—this was a force and violence deal.

Mr. DOYLE. What do you mean as different between political and a change by force and violence as advocated by him?

Mr. WALLER. Sir, I think we have to recognize we do have two political parties in the country, and I am quite sure you are biased in your opinion in that respect, and I am quite sure I am too. I think we can operate within that framework of disposing of anybody in the political party, but on the other hand, if we undertake to overthrow the Government itself by force and violence and sovietize this country, I think there is a very specific difference, and I know on different instances Smolikoff has talked to me about sovietizing this country.

Mr. DOYLE. I presume our counsel is going into that further. If he is, I will drop my questions; if he isn't, I will continue further.

Mr. KUNZIG. Go ahead.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand from you Mr. Charles Smolikoff advised you he favored, in effect or substance, the forceful and violent overthrow of the United States Government?

Mr. WALLER. In my opinion, in conversations I recall, he seemed to think we would have a much better form of government if we sovietized the United States. In other words, bring about the type of regime they have in Russia.

Mr. DOYLE. Did he advocate to you, in your presence, that that should be brought about, if need be, by using force and violence?

Mr. WALLER. He advocated it by any means.

Mr. DOYLE. Did that occur on more than one occasion in the city of Miami?

Mr. WALLER. I would say that discussions occurred, sir, in probably 2 or 3 instances, but actually I brushed it off, because I don't think too many of the Communists here in town are rough and tumble, anyhow.

Mr. DOYLE. During what years did you have those conversations with him?

Mr. WALLER. It was in the period 1946 to 1948, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Was anyone else present and heard him?

Mr. WALLER. At this minute, Congressman, I cannot recall any specific instances where there was anyone else there.

I would like to be able to specifically point out and know definitely where I will be able to testify to that effect, and I think you know as well as I do 6 or 7 years ago, you have to refresh your memory.

Mr. DOYLE. I realize that. And I have not discussed this subject with you?

Mr. WALLER. No, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Therefore, in asking you these questions, I am looking for a specific answer also because the advocacy of the use of force and violence in overthrowing our constitutional form of government is a very definite subject in which this committee is interested because that, clearly, is subversive.

Mr. WALLER. I agree.

Mr. MOULDER. When Witness Waller proceeds to name persons known to have been members of the Communist Party, counsel should further instruct that he identify them by residence or occupation, so we may question them.

Mr. WALLER. That is one point I would like to bring out. If I mention names, God knows I don't want to smear nobody. I am very

glad you raised that point. I want to identify them as best I possibly can. If the committee has any photographs they wish to offer in evidence, it will be a big help, but God knows I don't want to smear nobody.

Mr. SCHERER. Was Smolikoff in the party at the time you left?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; at the time I left in June 1948 he still remained in the party.

Mr. SCHERER. What was his business occupation at that time?

Mr. WALLER. When I left he was still international representative of the Transport Workers.

Mr. SCHERER. In what union?

Mr. WALLER. Transport Workers Union.

Mr. SCHERER. A. F. of L. or CIO?

Mr. WALLER. CIO.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know where he is today?

Mr. WALLER. No, sir; I don't. Since the committee is in town, I have a very good idea he is out of town.

Mr. KUNZIG. For the record, both Charles and Bertha Smolikoff, we have searched diligently for, and they are two of those who have definitely fled.

Mr. CLARDY. Pursuing the line Congressman Doyle was interested in, and in which we are all interested, didn't you have in the Communist literature itself an advocacy of the overthrow of the Government by force and violence? Though the last thought was vague, it conveyed that idea.

Mr. WALLER. Congressman, I would say the type of literature that was distributed to us down here in the South, I think we have to make a basic difference—if I say the party changes its line day by day, in various locals it changes its line from point to point. Probably some of them developed literature which I did not read. Possibly they did develop that line, but the main line of propaganda and thinking we received here was, "We are willing to help you people down here, the Negro and white and what have you."

Mr. CLARDY. They were trying to sell you a bill of goods by helping you?

Mr. WALLER. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. But the Communist Party clearly and specifically advocates the overthrow of our governments, except the Soviet's, by force and violence?

Mr. WALLER. At the time the Communist Manifesto was written, I don't think there was a Soviet Union.

Mr. CLARDY. No, not in 1848, but it advocated the overthrow of constitutional governments everywhere—"Workers of the world, arise; you have nothing to lose but your chains."

Mr. WALLER. That is right.

Mr. CLARDY. And that was followed through in the literature you had, in somewhat the same language?

Mr. WALLER. Yes. I do think Marx was eloquent; that might be the term. The propaganda and literature we received here was reduced to simpler facts, but I think it was basically the same thing.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you give us these names, being careful to give us only those who you knew definitely to be members of the party, and

as Mr. Moulder said, we are anxious to get some personal identification so we will know exactly who you are speaking about.

Mr. WALLER. I am prepared to name people I definitely have knowledge of, who are members of the Communist Party. I do think this, if there are any of them in the courtroom, and I understand this is against the rules of the committee, if I find myself in conflict with the rules of the committee, I think anyone in the room should have the right to cross-examine me. I think that is something the people should have the right to do.

Mr. CLARDY. Would it surprise you to know that we have a rule and practice of permitting anyone identified before this committee to appear and testify, and thus far no one has taken advantage of that opportunity?

Mr. WALLER. I would like to request if there is anybody here who wants to come up and call me a liar, I want them to do it.

Mr. CLARDY. They will probably do that after you leave the stand: they will call you an informer and skunk, and a rat, and all the terms they use against anyone who has the fortitude and—

Mr. WALLER. I have been called a lot of names by people who were not Communists.

Mr. CLARDY. You are going to be identified by all the names.

Mr. WALLER. I can recall a certain Miami newspaper, not the morning paper, who gives me a very thorough going over.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you now continue with the names?

Mr. WALLER. A partial list of the names, sir, and there may be some other people you may wish to question me about—I don't believe this is a complete list, but as I stated before, it is a partial list of the people I knew as members of the Communist Party. I know if I had been a better Communist, probably I could give you a little bit better testimony.

I did know Harvey Baker.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where did Harvey Baker live?

Mr. WALLER. When I first knew Harvey Baker, he was executive secretary of local 32 in Jacksonville, Fla., of the shipbuilders union.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. Subsequently he went to work for the F. T. A., Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers.

Mr. KUNZIG. This was all during the latter part of 1945 to 1948 that you are talking about?

Mr. WALLER. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And only that time, because that was the only time you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. During that period of time.

Mr. MOULDER. He inquired as to the approximate date; can you further identify them as to age and description?

Mr. WALLER. Sir, I would say he was approximately about my age, between 40 to 45, in that age bracket.

Mr. MOULDER. At that time?

Mr. WALLER. Now, sir. And he was a sign painter, and was also executive secretary of Local 32 of the Shipbuilders, and subsequently he went to work for the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers, in the central part of the State.

Mr. SCHERER. A. F. of L., or what?

Mr. WALLER. CIO.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you describe the man? You have given a very good identification.

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. He was, I would say, medium height, and skinny-built guy, and at tops, he did not weigh 150 pounds.

Mr. DOYLE. How do you know he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. I have attended quite a number of party meetings with him. To the best of my recollection, I did attend the Communist Party convention in Tampa with him.

Mr. DOYLE. Did he have any other name by which he was normally called?

Mr. WALLER. Not that I know of. The only thing I ever knew him by was Harvey Baker, and I believe that was his true name.

Mr. CLARDY. Is he still around Miami?

Mr. WALLER. I haven't seen him in 6 or 7 years; whether he is still in the vicinity, I don't know.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you continue, then, with others?

Mr. WALLER. I also knew Lois Baker.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is she related to Harvey Baker?

Mr. WALLER. She was his wife.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. At one time she was secretary of the Communist Party in the State of Florida.

Mr. DOYLE. How did you know her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. I was at the convention when she was elected, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. The reason I am asking you those positive questions is for the purpose of positive identification.

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; I appreciate that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. WALLER. I also knew a person in Miami by the name of Leah Adler. I understand that her true name was——

Mr. KUNZIG. Benemovsky?

Mr. WALLER. I believe that is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you describe further Leah Adler Benemovsky?

Mr. WALLER. She was a short woman of slim build, and she was, for the Dade County section, she was the Communist Party secretary. She kept the records.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know an address, or where she worked?

Mr. WALLER. She lived on Miami Beach. As to where she worked, I have no definite knowledge.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is the most you can give us in the way of identification?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; but I know definitely she kept the records of the Communist Party here in Miami.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. WALLER. Joe Carbonell.

Mr. KUNZIG. C-a-r-b-o-n-e-l-l?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; he is Spanish. Actually it was spelled J-o-s-e, but most people knew him by Joe, and he was a member of the party, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where did Joe Carbonell work? Identify him further, please.

Mr. WALLER. I understand he originally worked in Miami Shipbuilders, but I know of specific instances where he worked around town as a cabinetmaker. He is of Latin descent.

Mr. KUNZIG. About how old is he today; can you estimate?

Mr. WALLER. I would say possibly somewhere around 50.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give us any other identification of Jose Carbonell?

Mr. WALLER. Outside of the fact I definitely know he has been at party meetings, but general descriptions, if you have a picture, I could possibly make positive identification, because I know Joe very well.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any others, Mr. Waller?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; I remember Prof. Charles Davis, who at one time was employed by the University of Miami, and I am almost positive he was professor of marine zoology. And subsequently, somewhere around about that period of time I left the party, I think he left town, but I think it was some question about his leaving the university.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any others now?

Mr. DOYLE. How does the witness know that Davis was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. He attended the State party meeting in Tampa, Fla. I was at the meeting with Professor Davis, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue, please?

Mr. WALLER. Homer Bates Chase. I first met Chase when I was—to my knowledge he was the first Communist organizer assigned to the State of Florida, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you describe him to us?

Mr. WALLER. He was a tall, wiry guy; about 180 pounds; possibly 40 or 45 years old.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was he a professional organizer? Was he paid for his services by the party, or did he have another job?

Mr. WALLER. He was paid for organizing the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know where he was living at that time?

Mr. WALLER. I am almost positive he was living in Jacksonville. He was in the Miami area quite frequently.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you know by whom he was paid?

Mr. WALLER. He was paid by the Communist Party. I have no actual knowledge of that. I have never seen his pay check or anything like that; but I was told—he told me he was on the Communist Party staff.

Mr. MOULDER. The State organization?

Mr. WALLER. No, sir; on the national payroll, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. To your knowledge he spent his full time working for the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; that was definitely his assignment—on that particular thing, I mean. The name of Chase is in the record. Shortly after the committee appeared in Miami the last time, Mr. Chase chastized me severely for not coming before the committee and saying I was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you repeat that?

Mr. WALLER. Shortly after the committee left Miami in 1948, he chastized me for technically evading the committee. He said I should have gone before the committee.

Mr. MOULDER. Was it his position that he appeared?

Mr. WALLER. It was the old story of throwing the cat on some other back.

Mr. MOULDER. Was it his position that you should not deny the fact but be proud of it?

Mr. WALLER. That was his argument; yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you continue, please, sir?

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know where Mr. Chase was when you last heard of him?

Mr. WALLER. The last I heard he was the Communist Party organizer in Georgia. I have had no contact with him since he contacted me immediately after the committee was down here in 1948, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Continue, sir.

Mr. WALLER. Also, Frank Diez.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that spelled D-i-e-z?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. I think it is a Latin derivative, Francisco. But I knew he was the president of the cigar workers in Tampa. He was also the international president of the Cigar Workers, A. F. of L.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are speaking of his union connections; but he was also a member of the Communist Party. Is that right?

Mr. WALLER. That is right, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Tampa is his home as far as you know?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir, he lived in Tampa to the best of my knowledge, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you describe or identify him further?

Mr. WALLER. He was a little bit short; and swarthy.

Mr. DOYLE. How do you know he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. I attended a meeting in New Orleans and Tampa, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. When did you attend the meeting? What year?

Mr. WALLER. It was the period of time between—it was 1946 or 1947, sir. I will have to refresh my memory on that.

I also knew two people here in this area, Leah Feldman—

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that L-e-a-h?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; and Phillip Feldman.

Mr. KUNZIG. Husband and wife?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you describe them further, please?

Mr. WALLER. They were a young couple living in Miami. I would say they were a few years younger than I am; probably 5 or 6 years younger than I am. They were active in the period of 1945 and 1946; and there was some conversation I had with other people in the party after that—I mean I understand they left the party. That is hearsay testimony, sir. A lot of times the question arises, "What became of so-and-so?" That question arose a couple of times and I was told they left the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think the record should show at this time that whether or not the Feldmans left the party, they also left town and no information where they could be obtained from. The photography shop where Mr. Feldman should be was closed and the children have been taken out of school and have disappeared completely.

Mr. CLARDY. Did our staff make an attempt to serve them?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir, and the United States marshal.

Mr. CLARDY. Without success?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir; and I want to say at this time, if there is any citizen who knows where they could be or if they are now in reach of my voice over the radio or read about it in the newspapers, we will be only too glad to have them come and testify before this committee.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't expect them to accept your invitation, do you?

Mr. VELDE. I would like to say at this point that we have had a great many hearings throughout the country and heard a great many witnesses; and every time a person is identified by an able witness such as you are, sir; such a person is given permission to come before the committee and confirm or deny the charge that he is a member of the Communist Party. To date, we have had no person come before the committee to either confirm or deny he was a member of the Communist Party as described by that particular witness. We have had witnesses come in and admit they were members of the Communist Party but none have confirmed or denied the testimony of other witnesses.

Mr. SCHERER. But we have had experiences other than here where we come into the city and the prospective witness has left town.

Mr. WALLER. I would like to point out to the committee that I was legally subpoenaed and that is how I came down.

Mr. KUNZIG. The witness was referring to the 1948 appearance; not this now.

Mr. SCHERER. This was an order?

Mr. WALLER. Yes; I was handed this, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you give more specific evidence of the people you just named as being members of the Communist Party? Can you further identify them by a statement that they can be found or served by subpoena?

Mr. WALLER. I can. Particularly and specifically I recall that I attended a Communist Party meeting in Tampa in which I drove my car over in the company of several people; and at that time I know definitely that Mrs. Feldman was in the car when I attended the Communist Party meeting in Tampa.

Mr. MOULDER. What kind of meeting? What was done there? How would you identify it as a Communist Party meeting?

Mr. WALLER. It was a State, closed-door meeting of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. How many people were there and where was it held?

Mr. WALLER. It was held in the Cigar Workers Hall in Tampa and people were there from all over the State.

Mr. MOULDER. Who did you say was present there on this occasion, sir?

Mr. WALLER. She was, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you know of any other occasion when they attended party meetings?

Mr. WALLER. I can't specifically recall. They were in a different group than I was. It was the policy down here to keep groups—

Mr. MOULDER. Was this strictly a Communist Party meeting?

Mr. WALLER. It was definitely a Communist Party meeting.

Mr. MOULDER. No one else was there but Communist Party members?

Mr. WALLER. Definitely, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. You say they left the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. That was my understanding, sir, in a conversation I had. There was some criticism about them; and I was led to believe they left the party, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You had that information about the same period of time?

Mr. WALLER. At the same time. I got that information along in the early part of 1948, sir; that they had left.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you identify them as to occupation; the Feldman's; and their residence or a description so that they will not be confused with any other person by that name?

Mr. WALLER. They lived in the southwest section. I don't exactly recall where now, sir; but he was a photographer by trade and she was a housewife.

Mr. MOULDER. You mean he had a photography shop of his own?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. I believe he eventually branched and had his own business in photography.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you have any other occasion to come in contact with them; any other way, socially or in a business way?

Mr. WALLER. Yes; I would contact them on occasion, Mr. Congressman; not particularly socially but I had contact with them from time to time.

Mr. MOULDER. In what capacity?

Mr. WALLER. Mainly in my union work. Very frankly, sir, they were both nice people. I mean, I liked them.

Mr. DOYLE. In view of the statement above, I think we should call attention to the listening audience that under rule 10 it specifically provides that any person named before this committee as being a Communist is promptly notified by registered mail of that fact at his last-known address. The person named is not only notified of the fact that he has been named before the committee; but is given the name of the person naming him and giving testimony about him. That information is sent to the last-known address by registered mail promptly by the committee and the person named is given an opportunity to appear before the committee personally, by mail, or in any way. This is the first time, we believe, in history, that Congress has had any such ruling adopted or put into effect. So, never again let it be said that any person named as a Communist before this committee has no knowledge that he has been named, sir.

Mr. VELDE. At this point I would like to appoint a subcommittee of Mr. Scherer, Mr. Clardy, Mr. Doyle, and myself.

Mr. WALLER. I would like to say one word that ties in with what the gentleman from California just said. Any person here that I name I am willing to testify about in Federal court; and I am willing to be subjected to cross-examination the same as I am here, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you continue with the names, sir.

Mr. WALLER. Celia Greenberg.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you describe Celia Greenberg.

Mr. WALLER. She is elderly. A gray-haired woman; and at one time she had a cafeteria or cafe on Miami Beach; or 1 or 2 in a chain.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. I did, sir. I also knew Frank Jehn.

Mr. KUNZIG. Spell that Jahn.

Mr. WALLER. J-a-h-n. I am not sure that is the correct spelling.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you describe him.

Mr. WALLER. He was slim built with a swarthy complexion.

Mr. KUNZIG. Roughly, how old would you say he was?

Mr. WALLER. Past the 50 mark, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Past the 50 mark in 1948?

Mr. WALLER. In 1948, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Returning to this Celia Greenberg. How did you know she was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. I attended meetings with her.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand whenever you sat in with the members; with these people; they were closed Communist Party meetings?

Mr. WALLER. That is correct, sir; unless there is some specific incident that is mainly the case.

Mr. KUNZIG. All right, go ahead.

Mr. WALLER. I knew Rose Kirkpatrick.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you know she was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. She is the secretary to George Nelson, a Communist Party organizer.

Mr. KUNZIG. You know George Nelson to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. George Nelson succeeded Homer Bates Chase as Communist Party organizer in the State.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you know Rose Kirkpatrick was a member?

Mr. WALLER. To the best of my knowledge she is. She was his secretary and helped out in Jacksonville.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have definite knowledge that she was a member of the party?

Mr. WALLER. That is my assumption. I have no definite knowledge.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any knowledge of her age?

Mr. WALLER. About 45 years old. She told me she served as a nurse in the Lincoln Brigade. I would definitely identify her as a member, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. WALLER. John Lackner.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you identify him further, please, sir?

Mr. WALLER. At the time I knew John he was national director of the FTA workers, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. The CIO?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. He had a position with the union at the same time he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you say the Communist Party, or could you give us any statement of your own personal knowledge that it was the purpose of the Communist Party to infiltrate or control unions?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; I think so. It was definitely the policy of the party if they couldn't control a union, to destroy it. I think I would like to state this for the record that to my knowledge the work-

ers here in Miami with a little help, guidance, and advice, would throw off all shackles of communism. The unions here in Miami are very good, clean unions, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like the record to show with reference to the Lincoln Brigade that it was brought out in a fight against communism in 1949 by the Mays committee that it had been serving as a Communist front and a Communist group to recruit American boys in behalf of Loyalist Spain.

Mr. VELDE. I would like to say that the hearings have shown in the past several years that the Lincoln Brigade is one of the most dedicated organizations for the overthrow of our form of government.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mentioned John Lackner. Continue, sir.

Mr. WALLER. I knew John Lackner was a member of the party. I identified him as the regional director of the FTA.

Mr. KUNZIG. At that time?

Mr. WALLER. At that time. There was an organizer came down; at least the fellow was sent down; Irving Liebold.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you identify him further, please?

Mr. WALLER. He was sent to organize the department store workers. While I have no actual knowledge of his attending party meetings, he was introduced to me by Smolikoff as a member of the party, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. On your statement on the Communist Party invading unions awhile ago, you also stated that you had no connection with the party since 1948; is that correct?

Mr. WALLER. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then any efforts on the part of the Communist Party to infiltrate unions today, you would have no knowledge of, sir?

Mr. WALLER. Wait a minute; I did do work for trade unions until 1953, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. But not with the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You already mentioned George Nelson. Who else after George Nelson?

Mr. WALLER. I knew a Negro by the name of Osa—

Mr. KUNZIG. O-s-a?

Mr. WALLER. That is correct, sir. Osa L. Nickerson.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you identify Osa L. Nickerson?

Mr. WALLER. He was employed in laundries; and, as I understand it, he was tied in with the old organization of FTA. To the best of my knowledge, Nickerson broke with the party. I heard quite a bit of criticism, and he is not with the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. How old was he when he was a party member?

(Mr. Moulder reentered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. WALLER. He was about my age. He weighed about 200 pounds, and he had served in the Navy, too, sir.

Mr. VELDE. I think it should be brought out in the record that the word "Negro" is used purely for the purpose of identification.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. WALLER. James Nimmo.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you identify him further?

Mr. WALLER. He was organizer of the A. F. of L. laundry workers in Miami.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know where he lived?

Mr. WALLER. He lived in the southwest section; south 20th Street.

Mr. KUNZIG. While he was an organizer of the laundry workers you knew he was a Communist?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have identified Osa Nickerson. Who else besides Osa Nickerson?

Mr. WALLER. I knew a person by the name of Esther Norris.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you describe her, please?

Mr. WALLER. She was a slim-built woman—I would say around—it is difficult to describe a woman's age, around 40 or 45, to the best of my knowledge. She worked in a department store downtown.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else besides Esther Norris?

Mr. WALLER. I knew a person by the name of Louis Ornitz.

Mr. KUNZIG. O-r-n-i-t-z?

Mr. WALLER. That is correct, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where is he from?

Mr. WALLER. I was around in the Tampa area when I knew him, sir. He was employed by the A. F. of L. cigar workers. I knew him in the Tampa area. I have attended State and regional Communist Party meetings with him, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. WALLER. I also knew Louis J. Popp. He was employed by Pan American Airways, in town here, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. How was he employed?

Mr. WALLER. As a porter, I believe, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is he white or Negro?

Mr. WALLER. Negro, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you identify him any other way?

Mr. WALLER. He is about my size, sir, without the tummy. I think Popp is really a very honest and decent guy, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you know where he is now? Where he is employed? Have you seen him recently?

Mr. WALLER. I stayed at a hotel with him in New York some 15 days. I returned home Thanksgiving. He returned shortly after that, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Continue.

Mr. WALLER. Dr. David Prenskey.

Mr. KUNZIG. P-r-e-n-s-k-y?

Mr. WALLER. That is correct, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you identify him further, please.

Mr. WALLER. To the best of my knowledge, the last recollection I had of Dr. Prenskey he was a dentist on Miami Beach, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know anything about his present whereabouts?

Mr. WALLER. No, sir, I have no knowledge of his present whereabouts.

Mr. KUNZIG. Next, please.

Mr. WALLER. I also knew Mario Rodriguez or Mariano in Tampa.

Mr. MOULDER. You say you knew him. Did you know of your own personal knowledge that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; I attended meetings with him in Tampa, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you describe him further, please.

Mr. WALLER. Heavy set; black haired. I would say that when I knew him he was approximately 50 years old. He was some kind of an official in the Cigar Workers A. F. of L. in Tampa.

Mr. KUNZIG. So that the record may be clear, I want the record to state definitely at this time that you are naming people at the present time you knew to be members of the Communist Party. Is that correct?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; I am only naming people that I would go into court and testify are true members.

Mr. KUNZIG. After Rodriguez who is next, please?

Mr. WALLER. I knew a fellow by the name of Joseph Rosenkrantz here in town.

Mr. KUNZIG. Identify him further, please.

Mr. WALLER. He was heavy set; approximately—over the 200-pound mark in my opinion; reasonably young and more or less in and out of the party. He was in a different group than mine, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. But you knew definitely he was a member?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you identify him further?

Mr. WALLER. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who is next?

Mr. WALLER. I also knew a person—I actually don't know his correct name; Jack Strong or Sapphire.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did he go under the two names?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; I knew him under the name in the party of Jack Strong; but it is my understanding that he went around town by the name of Isador Sapphire.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you identify him further?

Mr. WALLER. He had a jewelry business somewhere close down by the depot here, sir, and a watch-repair shop. He was educational director of the Communist Party in the Miami area.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was his function as educational director? What did he do?

Mr. WALLER. From the personal knowledge I have, sir, he went to various clubs and read and discussed as I testified previously the communistic literature such as the manifesto and the constitution of the Communist Party, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. All right. Who is next?

Mr. WALLER. I also knew Phil Scheffsky.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that Philip?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you spell Scheffsky?

Mr. WALLER. S-c-h-e-f-f-s-k-y.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you describe Phil Scheffsky further.

Mr. WALLER. He is a steward of Pan American Airways, chief steward; and belongs to the Local 500. Subsequently he became president of the Local 500.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any further identification?

Mr. WALLER. He is of medium build and has dark hair. I think that would be a general description, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else, now?

Mr. WALLER. I also knew Mike Shantzek. I am not sure of the spelling on that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you identify Mike Shantzek further?

Mr. WALLER. He was a painter in the A. F. of L. union here in town, sir.

In conversations with him he told me he also served in the Lincoln Brigade.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. I knew him to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. How do you know he was a member of the party. I think if a person's name is mentioned some specific evidence should be given.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Moulder, I think you were out of the room when he said with each person he mentioned here he had attended closed meetings with the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. I understand; but I still want to ask the question.

Mr. WALLER. I specifically remember, sir, I sat in closed meetings of the party with Shantzek.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where?

Mr. WALLER. At 730 West Flagler Street here in town. We sat at Union Hall around the table.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else, please?

Mr. WALLER. Leo Sheiner.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was he the attorney?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. The Leo Sheiner who was disbarred as an attorney here?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew him personally to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. I never attended any Communist Party meetings with him; but I was introduced to him by Smolikoff; and I had several conversations with him about Communist Party meetings.

Mr. MOULDER. Did he specifically admit to you that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. I can't recall whether he did specifically. He was introduced as a member of the party and he didn't deny it.

Mr. MOULDER. Who introduced you?

Mr. WALLER. Smolikoff.

Mr. CLARDY. When you attended closed party meetings, was he at any of those meetings?

Mr. WALLER. At the present time I have no direct recollection of attending closed party meetings with him; but Smolikoff introduced he and I as members of the Communist Party; and I had a conversation with him about the Communist activities in the city.

Mr. VELDE. In your conversation were you led to believe that he knew a lot about the party and was a member of the party?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir; in my opinion, since we discussed various Communist Party affairs here in the city; and in view of the introduction and this, that, and the other thing, sir, I felt very strongly that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. You say he was introduced as a member. Didn't he deny it?

Mr. WALLER. He didn't deny it.

Mr. CLARDY. In the introduction were you both introduced as members of the party, sir?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else after Leo Sheiner?

Mr. WALLER. Charlie Smolikoff.

Mr. KUNZIG. You already mentioned him; is that correct?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. WALLER. I also knew his wife, Bertha Smolikoff, to be a member of the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. WALLER. Joe Soloman. I believe that is correct, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Describe Joe Soloman further, sir.

Mr. WALLER. Joe was rather a slim-built guy pushing his sixties. What his occupation was, I don't know. But I attended closed Communist Party meetings with him, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Have you seen him since that time? So you know where he is now?

Mr. WALLER. No, sir. I believe the next time I saw him was when I was subpoenaed before Mr. Taylor, county solicitor, prior to 1948; when the committee came down here, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else beside Joe Soloman?

Mr. WALLER. Max Strauss.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you identify him?

Mr. WALLER. He was a heavy-set guy. He also worked on the sectional level, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know where he lives or anything of that nature?

Mr. WALLER. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know anything about his work or employment?

Mr. WALLER. About his work, I don't know; but he was fairly active on the sectional level in town—the governing body of the Communist Party in Dade County, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else after Joe Soloman?

Mr. WALLER. George Trencher.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. WALLER. T-r-e-n-c-h-e-r; and his wife Ruth Trencher.

Mr. KUNZIG. Identify them further, please.

Mr. WALLER. They lived in the southwest section, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of Miami?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir. And as I recall they were both a little bit heavy set. At one time he was the chairman that handled the literature of the Communist Party in the city here, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know anything about his employment or anything of that nature?

Mr. WALLER. I can't for the life of me say.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. WALLER. Raul Vidal.

Mr. KUNZIG. Describe Mr. Vidal further, please.

Mr. WALLER. Vidal is a member of Pan American Airways. I have on occasion attended party meetings with him, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is he of Cuban extraction?

Mr. WALLER. Of Latin descent.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know if he is still in the party or not?

Mr. WALLER. No, sir; he is not, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. WALLER. I also knew a person by the name of William Zuckerman.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you identify him further, please.

Mr. WALLER. To the best of my knowledge he was a former Army officer. He was active among some of the professional groups here in town, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Was he a member of the party during the time he was in the armed services?

Mr. WALLER. That I don't know, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was he out of the Army when you knew him?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir, discharged and here, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know the name of Max Shlafrock?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, the name is very familiar but I can't at this time recall any specific incident that would tie him into the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. The only reason I mentioned the name, you already told us you knew Max Shlafrock to be a member of the party.

Mr. WALLER. I am almost positive he was, sir; but I cannot put him down to anything specific.

Mr. VELDE. He appears to have no specific knowledge but he considers him a member. I think at this time we will adjourn until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

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

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 2 p. m., of the same day, the proceedings were resumed, the same parties being present.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order. Let the reporter note I have appointed a subcommittee of Scherer, Clardy, Doyle, and myself. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Just as we closed at lunch time, we were discussing a person by the name of Shlafrock. You didn't make a positive identification; and I would like at this time that the testimony concerning Mr. Shlafrock be expunged from the record.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection the testimony of Mr. Waller concerning Mr. Shlafrock will be expunged from the record.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to ask you a further question about Professor Davis. Am I correct that you testified you believe he is no longer connected with the University of Miami?

TESTIMONY OF EDWIN WALLER—Resumed

Mr. WALLER. To the best of my knowledge he is no longer connected there.

Mr. KUNZIG. Tell us briefly how you came out of the Communist Party.

Mr. WALLER. Well, sir, I became very disgusted a short time after I became affiliated with the Communist Party; and it became a question of how to get out. I struggled with myself for a period of time—a couple of years—and I thought, frankly, the only solution to my problem would be to go to the FBI, which I did, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have no further questions.

Mr. VELDE. Any questions?

Mr. SCHERER. No questions.

Mr. CLARDY. No questions.

Mr. DOYLE. You just stated to the question how did you get out of the Communist Party or quit the party that you decided to get out through the FBI. Why did you have to go to that extreme? Why didn't you just notify the party you resigned?

Mr. WALLER. I understand—this is probably hearsay testimony—but I understand that once you become affiliated with the Communist Party it is very difficult to break from it. I wanted my Government to know I was on record as breaking with the Communist Party; and for that reason I went to the FBI, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Didn't you find the communistic program doing much to criticize economics or against economic conditions in our country?

Mr. WALLER. No, sir; I found in my experience—and very bitter experience, Mr. Congressman, it was. I found the Communist Party from top to bottom was completely phoney.

Mr. DOYLE. What do you mean by completely phoney? Do you spell it p-h-o-n-e-y?

Mr. WALLER. I don't know how you spell it but it is phoney. The Communist Party in answer to any questions, sir, completely disrupts both personal and family life all the way down the line; a complete dictatorship. I would like to say now, sir, if I may, if anybody gets into this phoney conspiracy; for God's sake, get out tomorrow.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you find yourself having freedom of thought and freedom of action in the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. Sir, I can answer this. I did. I had freedom of thought; and so help me God, so long as I live in this country, I am going to have freedom of thought; but if I followed blindly the dictates of the party, I would never have freedom of thought or anything else, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand in order to maintain your American right of freedom of thought; and the reason you forced your way out of the Communist Party was because they wouldn't permit you to have that freedom of thought for very long. Is that the truth?

Mr. WALLER. That is correct, sir. They try to completely dominate you, sir. With God as my helper, they must never dominate thinking in America.

Mr. DOYLE. Why do you call the Communist Party a dictatorship, sir?

Mr. WALLER. It was my experience they try to dictate, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I made some notes while you were just speaking I want to ask about briefly. You said there were only 6 or 7, I believe, trade union members in the group which you were employed in?

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir, the trade union group in its inception, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I made a list of 36 people you identified. I might have missed a few; 1, 2, or 3. I notice wherever you identify a Communist Party member, you identify him as a person in some industry or trade-union organization; and that person was somewhat of a leader in trade-union work.

Mr. WALLER. That is correct, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Am I in error when I say then that the Communist Party deliberately set out in Florida to capture the members of the trade unions and their leaders?

Mr. WALLER. Sir, I don't think they set out to capture the trade-union leaders. It was my impression from the instructions received from the Communist Party that if you were a labor leader, you should be a member of the Communist Party, too; then you should be forced to do 10 hours work and not 8 hours work.

Mr. DOYLE. The reason I asked you the question is because I think your sworn testimony before the committee is that by and large the policy of the Communist Party is to try to get into the Communist Party the leaders in the trade-union movement wherever they could.

Mr. WALLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. To be in control of the policy of the union, itself.

Mr. WALLER. That is basically correct, sir. But principally the purpose down here was to recruit persons in the trade-union movement and to recruit them in order to try to use them for an instrument, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. You also said the policy was in Florida that if they couldn't control a union then to break it.

Mr. WALLER. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. If they couldn't control it, how would they break it?

Mr. WALLER. With all phoney excuses, sir. I can enumerate two times when the Communist Party set out to destroy a union, the Local 59 Shipbuilders' Union through their instrument, Charlie Smolikoff. They decided that they couldn't run the union so they attempted to destroy it. I know prior to my leaving the labor union in 1948 when Mr. Quill had taken the job and denounced the Communists in his union, that they set out on the policy when they couldn't control a union to destroy it, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. You realize that my questions seem to be cross-examination. We are not trying to cross-examine you. I am deliberately asking these questions to have you bring out whatever the facts may be.

Mr. WALLER. I appreciate that. I have had a little bit of cross-examination in the last few days.

Mr. DOYLE. I am not using any form of question to be critical.

Mr. WALLER. I'm here to give information to the best of my knowledge and belief, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. You mentioned this Charles Smolikoff is the only Communist who discussed with you or with whom you discussed the subject of force and violence if need be to overthrow our constitutional form of government.

Mr. WALLER. I believe, Mr. Congressman, I said he was the only one in the trade-union movement that used that. I have discussed it with other people who are top Communist leaders—

Mr. DOYLE. That is what I want to clarify for my own record and for the record of the committee. You say he was the only leader in the trade-union movement who discussed that; and he was identified as a Communist Party leader and the one who discussed that?

Mr. WALLER. That is correct, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Who else in the Communist Party who was not a leader in the trade-union movement did you discuss the subject of using force and violence if need be to forcibly overthrow our constitutional form of government?

Mr. WALLER. I didn't discuss it with them. They led the discussion. Homer Chase, George Nelson, and Nat Ross, leaders in the

Communist Party; and I believe they advocated the overthrow of the Government, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. This man Chase; isn't he the same man you mentioned as leaving the Communist Party?

Mr. WALLER. No, sir. The last report I had, sir, Chase was the Communist Party organizer in Georgia.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand then, in your presence, he led a discussion on the subject of favoring force and violence for the overthrow of our constitutional form of government?

Mr. WALLER. That was discussed in various meetings in which they advocated Marxism theory to overthrow by force and violence.

Mr. DOYLE. Who presided at those meetings?

Mr. WALLER. At some of the meetings Chase and Nelson; and at some of the meetings Nat Ross.

Mr. DOYLE. You can fairly accurately identify where those meetings were held and also identify those present at those meetings or any persons present at those meetings?

Mr. WALLER. I can remember, sir, in Miami at 730 West Flagler Street the reinstatement of the Communist Party and at that time Nat Ross attended the meeting. I can't recall all the individual people who were there. It was a sizable group. I do know at various times I heard Charlie Smolikoff and Nelson make remarks, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you remember approximately when that meeting was or the meetings were at Union Hall?

Mr. WALLER. The first meeting I recall was shortly after January 1946, sir. That is the one Nat Ross attended.

Mr. DOYLE. Am I to understand that at these meetings Chase and Nelson advocated to other Communists present the use of force and violence ultimately to overthrow our constitutional form of government?

Mr. WALLER. That was the general line, sir. I don't recall Chase or Nelson being present at the original meeting in 1946 but I am quite positive Chase was there. I don't recall definitely, sir; but I do recall that the Marxism theory advocating the overthrow of government ultimately by force and violence was discussed.

Mr. DOYLE. I am sorry we don't have more time to go into that subject now because as you know this is the problem we face, the subversive advocacy of force and violence. It is this phase of the Communist activity which is most treacherous.

Mr. WALLER. I believe it is, sir. Like I testified previously, I think sometimes you are shocked by communistic theories when you begin to read a little bit about it. Find out what it is, sir. It is very unhealthy as a situation.

Mr. DOYLE. I wish to ask a question regarding this Negro subject. We have heard much testimony that the Communist Party while theoretically claiming to help Negroes in the South and elsewhere just does the reverse. I want to ask you if you have knowledge on that subject. I assume you have some knowledge because of your lengthy service in the Communist Party. What is the fact on the Communist Party in Florida? Do they actually help Negroes?

Mr. WALLER. Sir, I would like to testify to the fact that the Communist Party in the State of Florida has never done anything to help anybody whether they are Negroes or white. They use the angle to

exploit a person in the trade union; and they use it if he happens to be a Negro. It is just exploited and that is simply all there is to it, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Public Law 601 was passed in the 79th session of our Congress, just about the time you were entering the Communist Party. This committee is challenged with the obligation and duty of investigating. It is suggested by me that you make recommendations to this committee for additional or different legislation on the question of subversive activities either in the Communist Party or any other group of persons. Have you a suggestion to make to this committee that may have to do with this question?

Mr. WALLER. Sir, I don't presume to sit here in the role of an average, ordinary citizen and tell Congress what to do.

Mr. DOYLE. If we didn't want it or think you were qualified to discuss these problems with your American Congressman, I wouldn't ask it of you. We seek advice from all qualified sources.

Mr. WALLER. Thank you, sir. I think in my humble opinion that if you gentlemen would sit down in all your wisdom in Congress and the Halls up there; if you can educate the American people and bring home to them—not in flamboyant fashion—but in an honest-to-God fashion, the evils of the Communist Party; and explain to them—and they need it, I can tell you that, Mr. Congressman. I think there are an awful lot of lost souls running around here in Miami right now. I mean some people are asked into the party, sir. Maybe they don't know what they are getting into and too, they don't know how to get out. If you gentlemen will legislate the wisdom you got—I know you can't legislate wisdom—but by means of all the power you got to bring about to these people who have been sucked in; I say for God's sake, do it.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you. We all know our distinguished chairman will say so more ably than I can say it before this session is over that we have a standing invitation to everybody in Miami or Florida who wants to come clean to come before the committee and we will help them to give the facts to their Congress. I understand from your testimony that you felt in 1948 that there had been some unfairness applied to you by Representatives of Congress who were then on the committee. I want to ask you now frankly whether or not you have any criticism which you now want to make or have in mind to make as to how you have been treated by this committee at this hearing within the past few days.

Mr. WALLER. Mr. Congressman, I will tell you I had criticism of the committee in 1948. I have stated my objections to the committee. I have tried to raise them very factually. I would say my treatment by the committee here has been very fair and very square, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you very much. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. I appreciate the very fine questions from the gentleman from California.

Mr. WALLER. He is taking advantage of this Florida air, I think.

Mr. VELDE. I should say the gentleman from the land of smog.

Mr. DOYLE. You can call me the gentleman from the land of smog. I brought in my pocket a very small bottle of smog because I knew it would help to keep down the Florida hurricanes.

Mr. WALLER. Those are New England, sir. We don't have them down here any more.

Mr. VELDE. Seriously, Mr. Waller, not only the members of the committee appreciate the fine thing you have done for the Government, but I wish we could have a lot more witnesses appear before this committee and give the truth about communism as clearly and precisely as you have given it. You are excused, Mr. Waller.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Carbonell.

Mr. VELDE. Will you stand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before the committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CARBONELL. I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. State your full name, please, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JOSE CARBONELL, ACCOMPANIED BY HOWARD DIXON, HIS COUNSEL

Mr. CARBONELL. Carbonell.

Mr. KUNZIG. Jose?

Mr. CARBONELL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your present address?

Mr. CARBONELL. 3614 Northwest 12th Terrace.

Mr. DIXON. Mr. Carbonell has a statement he would like to read to the committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. The rule on statements of witnesses is: Under rule 9 of the committee, it states that such a statement shall be filed with the committee in advance; and that has not been done. We have received no statement from this witness.

Mr. VELDE. Does counsel know his position?

Mr. DIXON. I am his lawyer, Mr. Chairman. I was not advised by Mr. Carbonell that I was going to be his counsel until this morning; and I had no knowledge of this situation before.

Mr. VELDE. Do you now have a copy of the rules?

Mr. DIXON. Yes; I do.

Mr. VELDE. You understand that he has the right of counsel for advice and that counsel may advise his client with reference to his constitutional rights?

Mr. DIXON. That is right, sir.

Mr. VELDE. May we proceed. The committee will take into consideration any statements made or you wish to present.

Mr. CLARDY. Can he make a statement?

Mr. VELDE. No; we take into consideration any written statement made and submitted and to consider whether or not it should be filed in the record.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness can make a statement in response to a question.

Mr. VELDE. He means a written statement.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Carbonell, what is your present occupation?

Mr. CARBONELL. Cabinetmaker.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where were you born, sir?

Mr. CARBONELL. Cuba.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you come to this country?

Mr. CARBONELL. I think it was May 1943.

Mr. KUNZIG. You became a citizen in 1943?

Mr. CARBONELL. I think so.

Mr. KUNZIG. Don't you know?

Mr. CARBONELL. Yes; but it is so long I can't recall.

Mr. KUNZIG. You can't recall accurately but you know you are a naturalized citizen of the United States of America at this time?

Mr. CARBONELL. Oh, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where were you naturalized; in Miami, Fla.?

Mr. CARBONELL. Miami, Fla.

Mr. KUNZIG. In this courthouse?

Mr. CARBONELL. I believe it was the post office building; yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. This is the post office building or it may have been another building at that time.

Mr. CARBONELL. Yes, sir; I don't recall very well.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give us a brief résumé of your occupational background since you came to this country to work.

Mr. CARBONELL. I worked in New York.

Mr. KUNZIG. What sort of work did you do in New York?

Mr. CARBONELL. Carpenter; cabinetmaker. I worked in a place 4 years. In 1935 when I came here I have been working or I was working in a job many years; maybe 15—I am not sure—I worked in that job many years.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where?

Mr. CARBONELL. I have worked in another place called Armeteck and 2 or 3 small jobs.

Mr. CLARDY. You are telling us in your last statement that you worked in different places in Miami?

Mr. CARBONELL. I have been in Miami 19 years and since then I have been working in one place 15 years. The rest of the time I worked in Armeteck and 2 or 3 places—maybe 2 more—I can't remember, for just a short time.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Carbonell, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CARBONELL (witness takes out paper). I refuse to answer on the ground that my answer may tend to incriminate me and for that reason I have decided to invoke my constitutional privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who wrote that for you?

Mr. CARBONELL. My lawyer.

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

Mr. CARBONELL. Shall I answer this?

Mr. KUNZIG. If you wish, you can give the answer you just gave. Just say the same answer and the committee will understand you are giving the same answer.

Mr. CARBONELL. Same answer.

Mr. VELDE. That is not the answer to the question.

Mr. KUNZIG. Instead of making the same statement about the fifth amendment I asked him to say, "The same answer."

Mr. CLARDY. The record should be a little more complete than this same answer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Say you refuse to answer on the same grounds. Mr. Carbonell, you became a citizen, you said, around 1943. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1943, when you became a citizen of the United States?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of the Communist Party prior to becoming a citizen of the United States?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you first came to this country?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. When you filed your papers necessary to become a citizen, did you notify your Government that you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CARBONELL. Refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever hear of the Florida Press Educational League?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer. Same ground.

Mr. SCHIERER. I ask the chairman to direct the witness to answer the question whether he ever heard of the Florida Press Educational League.

Mr. VELDE. Ask the question again, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. I asked the witness if he ever heard of the Florida Press Educational League and he gave the same answer.

Mr. SCHIERER. Direct him to answer that question.

Mr. VELDE. There is no reason why it would interfere with his constitutional rights in any way. Direct him to answer the question.

Mr. DIXON. At this time I would like to state—

Mr. CLARDY. You know if you read the rules you have no right to address the committee. I ask the chairman to remind you of the fact that if you want to advise your client, you may.

Mr. DIXON. I was just asking to clarify—

Mr. VELDE. You are not in court, Mr. Counsel. Of course, you are allowed to sit next to your client and advise him. This is a committee of Congress and naturally, we have our rules and our functions are different. We have made the rule that counsel cannot make statements to the committee or engage in any harangue, citing the law, or anything else. But you have the right to advise the witness of his constitutional rights; and I ask you to proceed with that.

Mr. KUNZIG. I believe I asked you again to answer that question.

(At this point Mr. Carbonell conferred with Mr. Dixon.)

Mr. CARBONELL. I don't recall, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have been directed to answer the question and you have refused to answer. Now the chairman has directed you to answer the same question.

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think the record should show the Florida Press Educational League has been fought by State Attorney Tom Clark as a principal of the communistic government; and further that this witness has been identified as an executive board member of the Florida Press Educational League.

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you at any time been an executive board member of the Florida Press Educational League?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you present in the courtroom this morning?

Mr. CARBONELL. I am here.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you present this morning in this courtroom?

Mr. CARBONELL. Yes; I was.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you hear Mr. Waller testify?

Mr. CARBONELL. I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you hear Mr. Waller testify that he knew you, Mr. Carbonell, to be a member of the Communist Party when he was a member?

Mr. CARBONELL. I think I did. I am not so sure. I didn't hear too well.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was his identification of you correct?

Mr. CARBONELL. I didn't hear that too well. I was in the back seat; in the rear.

Mr. KUNZIG. When he said he knew you were a member of the Communist Party, was he right?

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

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know Mr. Waller?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. VELDE. You are directed to answer the question. There is no way that it will incriminate you.

Mr. CARBONELL. All the questions you ask me about being connected with the Communist Party, whether I am or not. Why don't you ask me if I have a clean life? I have been living clean all my life; and I have a very clean home too; and I work in the same place many years.

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

Mr. CARBONELL. If you would stop asking those questions, I would tell you more. If I deny it, would you stop asking questions?

Mr. VELDE. We can't make any agreement. If you will answer the question as to whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party at the present time, we certainly—

Mr. CARBONELL. I am no lawyer. I have no education like you have.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have a lawyer sitting there at your side who can advise you as to every single question. You stated that you live a clean life and you live in a clean home; with your clean and decent life, we ask you simply this question: At any time during your clean and decent life have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have no further questions.

Mr. CLARDY. Since I am not sure, did we understand you correctly when you said something about the testimony of the witness, Mr. Waller, this morning. Did you hear any of the testimony he gave?

Mr. CARBONELL. Who? Mr. Waller?

Mr. CLARDY. Yes.

Mr. CARBONELL. I heard something.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you hear your own name specifically mentioned?

Mr. CARBONELL. I think I did but I was in the rear. I couldn't hear very well.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you hear any of the details given by Mr. Waller concerning his activities with you and his attendance to various places along with you?

Mr. CARBONELL. Let me put it this way. I didn't pay much attention to what he said. I said already I was in the back and I couldn't hear very well.

Mr. CLARDY. Let me put it this way. Did you ever attend a meeting of any kind with the witness that appeared on the stand this morning?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer that on the same ground.

Mr. CLARDY. I direct the witness to answer. I didn't ask him about being a member. I asked him if he attended a meeting.

Mr. CARBONELL. I am in fear of answering any questions that will incriminate me. You have already hurt me and hurt my family.

Mr. VELDE. It will be a lot worse if you refuse to answer the questions. I guarantee you that.

Mr. CLARDY. Are you refusing to answer on the ground that it might incriminate you?

Mr. CARBONELL. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you belong to the same union or local that Mr. Waller belonged to; or did you have any other association with him that you know of?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. VELDE. You have had two questions.

Mr. CLARDY. He refused to answer both, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CARBONELL. I would like to say when I came here today, I left my boy sick with asthma. That happened before when Mr. Brautigam called me. My boy is very sick and you are all responsible for that. What do you think people should know? Why don't you people ask me about my clean life? Why don't you go around the neighborhood and the place where I work? Why don't you ask that kind of questions?

Mr. CLARDY. If you answer the questions here, you will be back to your boy in a short time. I have 1 or 2 more. How old are you at the present time?

Mr. CARBONELL. About 47 years old.

Mr. CLARDY. Remind me again. What year did you come to this country.

Mr. CARBONELL. 1928.

Mr. CLARDY. You weren't very old then. You were a minor when you came to this country?

Mr. CARBONELL. That is right.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you have any association with any of the principals of the Communist Party in Cuba before you came here?

Mr. CARBONELL. When I came here, sir; I was very young.

Mr. CLARDY. I know they start very young. Even in the nursery. Answer my question. Were you associated with any branch of the Communist Party when you came to this country?

Mr. CARBONELL. No, sir; no connection.

Mr. CLARDY. None, whatsoever?

Mr. CARBONELL. No.

Mr. SCHERER. You say you were naturalized when?

Mr. CARBONELL. 1943.

Mr. SCHERER. In view of this witness' testimony, I think the testimony should be referred to the Department of Justice to determine whether or not this is one of those cases where naturalization proceedings should be commenced.

Mr. VELDE. I feel that the matter of a formal recommendation should be taken up later at the executive session.

Mr. MOULDER. How long did you live in Cuba before you came here?

Mr. CARBONELL. All my life, sir. I mean I lived here and in Cuba.

Mr. MOULDER. How old were you when you arrived from Cuba?

Mr. CARBONELL. Not 21 yet.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you recall the reason why you came here?

Mr. CARBONELL. Like any other people that like to go somewhere.

Mr. MOULDER. Why did you leave Cuba and come here?

Mr. CARBONELL. I live in Cuba and I like America, like many in America go to Cuba and live.

Mr. MOULDER. Why did you change your citizenship to American?

Mr. CARBONELL. Because I like it here.

Mr. MOULDER. Or was it because there was better employment and better opportunities over here?

Mr. CARBONELL. I don't understand the question. I think so.

Mr. MOULDER. A while ago in answering the Congressman you said that while you were in Cuba you were not affiliated with any political parties?

Mr. CARBONELL. No, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. What political parties did they have in Cuba at that time?

Mr. CARBONELL. I was a minor.

Mr. MOULDER. How old were you when you left there and came over here?

Mr. CARBONELL. Less than 21 years old when I left Cuba.

Mr. MOULDER. That leaves a large range of years. Can't you recall how old you were?

Mr. CARBONELL. I was not 21 years old.

Mr. MOULDER. I understand that. How old were you?

Mr. CARBONELL. Twenty years old.

Mr. MOULDER. At that time were you old enough to know about political parties in Cuba?

Mr. CARBONELL. No, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Were you affiliated with any political party there?

Mr. CARBONELL. No, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you attend any political party meetings at all there?

Mr. CARBONELL. No, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. I am referring to your life here. Are you now employed?

Mr. CARBONELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Are you married?

Mr. CARBONELL. Yes, sir; and I have three children.

Mr. MOULDER. Have you ever been convicted of a crime here in the United States?

Mr. CARBONELL. No, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Or in Cuba?

Mr. CARBONELL. No, sir. As I said before, I had a very clean life. I have never been arrested.

Mr. MOULDER. Have you ever been guilty of any sabotage or acted in any way disloyal to the United States to your own personal knowledge?

Mr. CARBONELL. Not that I know of. I don't think I have done any violence at all or anything in my life in this country or in Cuba or any place I have been; or New York that would go against anybody.

Mr. MOULDER. Would you consider in your opinion becoming a member of the Communist Party as an act of disloyalty to the United States?

Mr. CARBONELL. That I refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MOULDER. You say you haven't been convicted of any violence here?

Mr. CARBONELL. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. And before that you said you haven't been disloyal to the Government of the United States?

Mr. CARBONELL. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. And now you refuse to answer?

Mr. CARBONELL. I have to act that way. I am no lawyer. I am not sure I want to say on the same grounds.

Mr. MOULDER. Have you any knowledge of any other person who as a member of the Communist Party committed any act of disloyalty or sabotage or attended any organization meetings? Do you have any knowledge of anything like that?

Mr. CARBONELL. I don't think I know anybody who has done this but I will have to answer the question this way because I don't want—the questions you are asking me I refuse to answer on the same ground.

Mr. MOULDER. You said you lead a clean life and you have never been convicted or been guilty of any violations or disloyalty to the United States. Is that correct?

Mr. CARBONELL. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. Then the next question is: Whether or not you were ever a member of any political group comprising the Communist Party or that ever participated in any of the meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. CARBONELL. I already did.

Mr. MOULDER. What did you say?

Mr. CARBONELL. I already did refuse to answer.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Carbonell, when you filed your papers on citizenship in the court to become an American citizen, you received instructions that you would have to answer certain questions; didn't you?

Mr. CARBONELL. It was so long ago. I can't remember everything.

Mr. DOYLE. It was in 1943. Is that so long you can't remember anything?

Mr. CARBONELL. I am afraid not.

Mr. DOYLE. I will ask you again. In preparing to become an American citizen, you were obligated to learn something about the Constitution of the United States; weren't you?

Mr. VELDE. I would like the record to show I am appointing a subcommittee of Mr. Chardy, Mr. Doyle, Mr. Moulder, and myself.

Mr. DOYLE. You studied about the American Government?

Mr. CARBONELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you remember those classes?

Mr. VELDE. Don't shake your head. Answer "yes" or "no."

Mr. CARBONELL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. What other classes have you attended in the United States, in Florida, since you became an American citizen, to study about government? What was the school?

Mr. CARBONELL. That was the only school I attended.

Mr. DOYLE. But it wasn't the only class, was it?

Mr. CARBONELL. I am afraid it was the only one.

Mr. DOYLE. Now you attended some classes studying about Russia, didn't you—Soviet communism? You attended some classes studying about communism and Soviet Union, didn't you, and about the Marxist theory of government? You did that, didn't you?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, I thought you would. How long since you have attended a Communist Party meeting?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer the question on the same ground.

Mr. DOYLE. How old is your boy that is sick?

Mr. CARBONELL. He is 11—11 years old.

Mr. DOYLE. You aren't teaching him to be a Communist?

Mr. CARBONELL. We are Catholic and my daughter, she chose Baptist and that is the way I practice democracy in my house. I like my children to choose what they want, and she chose Baptist and I am glad she did go.

Mr. DOYLE. I will have to compliment you on having your children worship God. Of course, the Communists don't do that.

Mr. CARBONELL. I think that if you read about information of the FBI about me, you could be more prepared, I think, before you came to committee, and know a little more about me than the questions you ask me now, because the way I feel, you try to pose me something that do harm against my home; against this country, too, and as I said before, my honesty is very high and I compare my honesty with anybody, including the people asking me questions today here.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, of course, may I just state this, neighbor, that we are not interested or not trying to get you to make any answer that goes contrary to your conscience, but just before you took the stand we heard a man under oath, testify that he sat in Communist meetings with you and you heard him testify to the same thing in this very room. You were right in this very room. Now you are on the stand and under oath and you are given the opportunity to say whether or not he spoke the truth. Instead of you stating whether or not he told the truth, you are exercising your privilege under the American Constitution and you are claiming immunity or you are claiming the privilege of the fifth amendment, which your counsel has properly advised you that you have the right to claim. I wish to say that as a member of the bar I know very well, Mr. Carbonell, from what you have testified to that you are in a position to help your own Government, which you have adopted, understand more of the problem of the Communist conspiracy to forcibly overthrow our Government, and I am very sure when you became an American citizen in 1943, you took a solemn oath to help your Government, to help defend it against all enemies. It is well known that the American Communist policy is an enemy of the United States Government, determined to overthrow the American Government by force and violence if they could. You know that; don't you?

Mr. CARBONELL. As I said before, that I have never made any violent act against anyone.

Mr. DOYLE. But you know that the American Communist Party is dedicated to the proposition of forcibly overthrowing the United States Government, if it can; don't you? You know that is true; don't you?

Mr. CARBONELL. I am not so clear.

Mr. DOYLE. You know my statement is true: don't you?

Mr. CARBONELL. I am not very clear about what you said now. I want you to forgive me, to pardon me, because my English is not as well as yours, and something that I don't understand, doesn't mean that I try to—

Mr. DOYLE. I realize that. I compliment you on your English. You do very well. I think you understand very well, too. I compliment you on both. Now I wish to ask my question again: You know, don't you, that the Communist Party in the United States, and especially in Florida, is part of a conspiracy against the Government of the United States; don't you?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer that question, sir. My knowledge doesn't go that far.

Mr. DOYLE. What books, if any, have you read about the Communist Party?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer the question on the same ground.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you read any books about the Communist Party?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer that question on the same ground.

Mr. VELDE. I think he should be required to answer that question, because certainly every intelligent person has read books about the Communist Party and there is no reason why that should incriminate you in any way, and you are directed to answer the question of the gentleman from California.

Mr. CARBONELL. I don't try to make it hard on you, but I have a home and three children and I am afraid. I fear to answer any question that will incriminate. I am not sure what I am going to say. I have a wife and three children.

Mr. VELDE. Under my direction for you to answer the question of Mr. Doyle, you are now pleading the fifth amendment, using the privilege of the fifth amendment—refusing to answer?

Mr. CARBONELL. I don't understand that.

Mr. VELDE. You again refuse to answer the question of the gentleman from California; is that right?

Mr. CARBONELL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. One question more, Mr. Chairman. I understood, a few minutes ago, you to say that the FBI knew all about you; is that correct?

Mr. CARBONELL. I think so, because I have been called by phone by the FBI.

Mr. DOYLE. And did you tell the FBI whether or not you had been or were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CARBONELL. I didn't talk to them those questions, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. They don't know all about you, do they, if you didn't discuss that subject?

Mr. CARBONELL. The only thing they knew about me is that I am a very honest man.

Mr. KUNZIG. I feel sure they know a bit more.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know Raul Vidal?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer the question on the same ground.

Mr. KUNZIG. Isn't it a fact in addition to the clean life you have been discussing, you actually recruited Raul Vidal into the Communist Party?

Mr. CARBONELL. I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. VELDE. The witness is excused. The committee will be in recess for 10 minutes.

Mr. DIXON. Does that mean he is excused from further sessions?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

(Thereupon a recess was taken for 10 minutes.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order. Miss Reporter, let the record show that Mr. Scherer has returned and the full quorum is now present. Proceed, Counsel. Call the next witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Samuel Hirsch.

Mr. VELDE. In the testimony you are about to give before this committee, do you solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HIRSCH. I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give your full name?

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL HIRSCH

Mr. KUNZIG. Spell that.

Mr. HIRSCH. H-i-r-s-c-h.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your present address?

Mr. HIRSCH. 4535 Royal Palm Avenue, Miami Beach.

Mr. KUNZIG. I note you are not accompanied by counsel. Do you desire to testify without counsel?

Mr. HIRSCH. Mr. Carr is my lawyer. He was over in Judge—I believe it was Whitehurst's chambers. I don't know if he is available yet or if his case is through. He is presenting a case.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of course, no one has come to us in any way, no lawyer has come to me as has happened many times, and stated that he has to be in another courtroom. A man has a right to have counsel, but this is the first time we heard counsel is not present.

Mr. VELDE. Do I understand that your counsel is presently engaged in another trial?

Mr. HIRSCH. I believe so; yes, sir.

Mr. CARR. I have been engaged in another trial, but it is adjourned until tomorrow.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you come in, then, sir? We just started. Will you state your name and address for the record?

Mr. CARR. Henry R. Carr, 1006 Biscayne Building, Miami, Fla.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Hirsch, would you give the committee a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, sir. I will be glad to. I entered the University of North Carolina in the fall of 1936. I was given a scholarship by a group of businessmen in my home town of Trenton, N. J., to attend this school. I was unable to attend otherwise, and I attended there for 2 years, 1936 through 1938. In 1938 I had no more money left and no funds available to me.

I went to the University of North Carolina in order to study dramatics, which was my field. I had a teacher at the high school that I attended at Trenton, N. J., who felt that I had talent in this particular field, because I had worked with him as a high-school student and gone back for a year of postgraduate work. I had shown some promise as an actor and some promise as a writer in the theater, and he felt that I should go on, and he was the one who selected the Uni-

versity of North Carolina as being a place where Professor Kotch has the Carolina Playmakers and encouraged a great amount of activity.

While at the university, I engaged in theater exclusively. That is why I went to school. I engaged in theater at the cost of my educational career at the time. I flunked several courses, but I was in every play that was presented. That is why I came to school, and the educational part was secondary. I wanted to be an actor or work in as many plays as I could.

At the end of my freshman year, I was asked to play several parts in the *Lost Colony*, which had just been written by Paul Green.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give us the overall highlights of your education? You went to school from 1936 to 1938, and your funds ran out. Did you have any further education at any time, and if so, tell us about that.

Mr. HIRSCH. I left the university after 2 years and went home to New Jersey and got a scholarship at the Neighborhood Playhouse School of the Theater. I believe that was in 1940 and 1941, at the Neighborhood Playhouse.

Then I entered the Army in the winter of 1942 and was in the Army for 4 years until 1946. While in the Army, I may say that I was approached—I was in Special Services after I finished my basic training at Fort Knox. I was approached as a member of headquarters company by G-2 of the headquarters company and asked if I would represent them. This was, I was to report on activities of people that I came in contact with.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you do that?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, I did. I did that for a period of a year while I was enlisted. I entered OCS at Fort Knox and after the training there I was given a commission as second lieutenant, and while an officer at Camp Campbell, I was approached again by G-2 and asked to be in charge of a group of enlisted men who were also engaged in this activity, which I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you do that?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, I did and after I was—this service, after this period, I went overseas and I was wounded—severely wounded in France. I was hospitalized for 9 months and came back to this country and was given a retirement as a first lieutenant from the Army in 1946.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any other formalized education after that period of time?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, I did. I returned to the University of North Carolina under my GI bill in the spring of 1946 and took my undergraduate work. I had about 2½ years which I completed in a year and a half and entered graduate school in the—I think it was—the fall of 1947, and then I had 2 years I was appointed as a graduate assistant in the department of dramatic art at the University of North Carolina and served for 2 years while I was taking my master's degree, and left the university in the spring of 1949.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you were there from roughly 1946 to 1949?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did that end your formalized education and schooling?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, it did.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have given us a detailed account. Will you tell us what your employment has been from 1949 to the present time?

Mr. HIRSCH. I was offered a job in the department of drama at the University of Miami and entered in the fall of 1949 as the assistant professor and worked for 4 years, in the department of drama up until a year ago—a year ago last summer, when I engaged in a professional—I had a professional theater at the Casa Blanca Hotel during the summer while I was not employed. There was no job available so I formed a company and had the theater at the time at the Casa Blanca Hotel for one summer.

The venture was successful and I felt I wanted to continue in the field of professional theater in order to further my work as a teacher. I felt that professionally I would be a much better instructor to drama students if I engaged in the field of professional theater rather than the theoretical theater we were teaching and educational theater with which I was working and teaching. I asked for a leave of absence for a year from the university and it was granted and I resigned from the university this past spring in order to continue a professional theater which I am now running at the Biltmore Theater in Miami.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are not now then connected with the university?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir; I am not.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. Hirsch, having received in evidence a detailed and clear account of your education and employment, I should like to ask you whether at any time you have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir; I have not. I may tell you this: I answered questions before Mr. Brautigam's investigators, simple questions and gave simple answers. I answered questions before the grand jury and gave simple answers to the questions. I asked for—after these questions and after my appearances, I asked for an opportunity to return to the grand jury and try to amplify apparently what I felt that I was under a cloud, and I felt I wanted to dispel any doubts in anybody's mind, as to my answers. This was denied me. I wasn't able to do that. I am at present under an indictment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let me say, what happens in the State of Florida or what the grand jury has done is not in connection with this United States congressional investigation, as I am sure you will realize, and answers to our specific questions—

Mr. SCHERER. I don't want to interrupt counsel, but I am interested in what the witness is saying. He says he is under indictment. I think we are interested in hearing about it.

Mr. HIRSCH. May I continue, then?

Mr. VELDE. All right, proceed.

Mr. HIRSCH. What I wanted to say was that while an undergraduate at the University of North Carolina, I entered into an atmosphere at the university where we were encouraged always to explore ideas; all sorts of political ideas. In fact, there was on the campus of the University of North Carolina, a student organization called—

Mr. KUNZIG. I don't believe this has anything to do with what you asked.

Mr. HIRSCH. What I am trying to bring out is that the indictment is in relation to a specific question that I answered in a specific way. What I wanted to tell the committee was some of the circumstances

that I wanted to bring up before the grand jury in order to explain my position—why I answered the questions as I did.

Mr. DOYLE. I doubt, Mr. Chairman, the absolute propriety of us taking time of this witness to go into the question of his indictment by the grand jury. I think we are only concerned with whether or not this gentleman has been engaged in subversive activity as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. HIRSCH. That is what I am trying to explain.

Mr. SCHERER. I want to know if he was indicted for anything that deals with subversive activity. If it is foreign to that, we are perhaps not interested.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness has testified he was under indictment and it is not being publicized and he is endeavoring to make an explanation of it and I feel he is entitled to do it.

Mr. VELDE. You may proceed.

Mr. DOYLE. He has testified he was not a member.

Mr. SCHERER. What are you indicted for? I don't know.

Mr. HIRSCH. I was indicted on eight counts. The question that we are discussing now is the question that I was just asked: Are you a member of the Communist Party, and I said, "No, sir; I am not."

Mr. SCHERER. You were indicted on eight counts for what—for perjury?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. In connection with answering questions as to membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. HIRSCH. That's right.

Mr. MOULDER. I believe he is entitled to make the explanation that he started out to make, why you feel you were indicted or unjustly indicted or any explanation.

Mr. VELDE. Of course we often have said it is not in the jurisdiction of this committee to question the action of any State court or any Federal court, as far as that is concerned, and we are not specifically interested in your indictment or your trial or anything else. Our jurisdiction is limited. We are a committee of Congress just like any other committee of Congress. Our duty to the House of Representatives, to the American people, is to investigate subversive activities—subversive propaganda. I don't feel going into this indictment any further would come within the jurisdiction of this committee, so I will ask counsel to proceed.

Mr. MOULDER. I will move that the witness be given the opportunity to make whatever explanation he wants to make. His very appearance here is a reflection upon him. He is trying to make an explanation of the reason why he is here and why he was indicted, and I believe he is entitled to it.

Mr. CLARDY. May I say something on the subject? The witness is represented by counsel who, by reputation, has been represented to us as one of the ablest in this area, and I am sure he will give him the best advice he can, but the committee is not above giving a little advice on its own now and then. It would seem to me, Mr. Chairman, that that exploration of reasons for the indictment and any further discussion by him in justification for his position might seriously jeopardize his own position when he appears in court. That is going to be tried in court, obviously at some time in the future. We have nothing to do with that. We are not interested in whether you are

acquitted or found guilty, but it would seem the better part of wisdom on your part not to engage in a lively discussion of why you think the grand jury made the mistake. Maybe they did or didn't. It is no concern of ours, but you may put your neck in a noose if you insist on rambling on and saying a lot of things that may be picked up later. So I am going to suggest, while I am interested as any lawyer would be in what he might have to say, I don't think it is a proper matter that should be explored here, for the protection of the witness himself, and while I agree with my brother from Ohio that it would be interesting to know about it, we couldn't decide it or go into it.

We should get on with the question of whether he is a Communist or he isn't, and any explanation on that score I think will be received, but we are hardly the tribunal to try whether or not you were justly or unjustly indicted by a jury of your peers in this locality.

Mr. HIRSCH. Such was not my intention.

Mr. CLARDY. That is what it would degenerate into. You are not doing yourself very much of a service to go into it.

Mr. HIRSCH. What I wanted to do, I want to help the committee. I am not an unfriendly witness. I want to explain what I did at the University of North Carolina which seems to be the crux of the problem.

Mr. VELDE. The witness has said he wanted to explain his activities at the University of North Carolina and if it is satisfactory with the members, without objection I am going to ask counsel to proceed to ask him questions relative to his work and this connection with the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. All I wanted to do was find out what the man was indicted for and we have it out now.

Mr. VELDE. We will proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Hirsch, you were asked a simple question: Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, and your answer was "No"; is that correct?

Mr. HIRSCH. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have never been, at any time, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir. I have attended at the University of North Carolina; I attended a number of discussion meetings. That is what I have been trying to say.

Mr. KUNZIG. We will ask you questions about the discussions. You will have every opportunity—

Mr. VELDE. He has a right to explain it.

Mr. KUNZIG. The question, I believe, was: Have you ever been, at any time, a member of the Communist Party, and his answer to that was "No." That is a simple, clear answer. That should be left right there as a simple answer. We will go into explanation later on.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair will acknowledge his right to explain his activities at the University of North Carolina.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I speak with the committee just a moment?

(At this point, Mr. Kunzig conferred with the committee.)

Mr. VELDE. You may proceed with your explanation.

Mr. HIRSCH. What I wanted to say was at the University of North Carolina, I was asked on a number of occasions by students whom I knew in my classes and my dormitory, to come with them to discussion

groups on Marxism. I knew at the university there was an organization called the Carolina Political Union, which was set up for the students, which had the sanction of the university, which in the spring of each year had a meeting—had about a week's series of discussions—at which time all members of every political party were asked to come and discuss their point of view.

I recall the first year I was there, among the speakers were Norman Thomas and Earl Browder, head of the Communist Party and who had run on the presidential ticket. I remember in the Tar Heel, which was the daily newspaper, there were invitations to come to Marxist study groups in the student union, the place where students gathered. I attended a number of these discussion groups when I was able to. I was always in the theater, acting in shows and engaged in that activity. I attended these things. I was never; it was never on any steady basis. It was on occasions, and when, under the pressure of my friends I was asked to come along, I would go. I never considered myself a member of the Communist Party. I never thought of this as a Communist meeting or cells or bodies or groups. It was an attempt on my part to participate in the intellectual ferment of my college days. I was 18 or 19 years old.

Mr. CLARDY. You are talking about the time you were in school and counsel's question embraced your entire life, and you have denied any Communist Party affiliation at any time in your life?

Mr. HIRSCH. That was the only time I had any contact with this kind of ideology was while I was at the University of North Carolina.

Mr. CLARDY. Then if you should be identified by other witnesses, you would deny their identity was correct?

Mr. HIRSCH. I don't know what the identification would be.

Mr. CLARDY. I say if that should happen. I am making sure we understand your position. If you should be identified as a member of the party at some time or other by a witness or witnesses, subsequent to your appearance on the stand, it would still be your position you had never been a member of the party; is that right?

Mr. HIRSCH. That's right.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask a question? Were you ever a member of a study group at the University of North Carolina which later became known to you as a Communist front or which at the time was known to you as a Communist front, even though it was not a Communist Party organization?

Mr. HIRSCH. As I look back on it now, I would say probably that was a Communist-front organization.

Mr. DOYLE. What group was that? The Carolina Political Association?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. What was the name of the group that was probably a Communist front?

Mr. HIRSCH. One of the groups that I referred to was the Marxist Study Group.

Mr. DOYLE. Who was the leader of the Marxist Study Group at the University of North Carolina?

Mr. HIRSCH. I don't recall there was any specific leader. I don't know, sir, that has been 18 years ago.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you ever lead the discussion?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. At the time you were in this group, which now you say you look back at as probably a Communist front, was that in 1936 and 1938, or when you were there the second time in 1946 and 1947?

Mr. HIRSCH. It could have been both times, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Both times—then you went to the group which now you say probably was a Communist front when you were there in 1936 and then you were there 10 years later?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Who was the leader in 1946, who led the discussions of this Marxist study group?

Mr. HIRSCH. I don't recall, sir, because my attendance at these meetings was so infrequent. In 1946, as I told you, for a year and a half I did 2½ years' work. I was always engaged in my schooling or in the theater and my appearances were so infrequent that I honestly don't recall who these people were.

Mr. DOYLE. Infrequent—did you attend as frequently as once a month?

Mr. HIRSCH. There might have been a period where I did attend that frequently and for a longer period I didn't attend at all.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, if you attended once a month, that would be quite frequent; wouldn't it?

Mr. HIRSCH. Well, I don't recall that it was that frequent, no, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. What books on Marxism—or have you studied books on Marxism since your retirement from the Army?

Mr. HIRSCH. Well, at the University of North Carolina.

Mr. DOYLE. Since leaving the university, have you studied books on Marxism?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. Hirsch, let's be very clear about this. Did you ever know a Ralph Long?

Mr. HIRSCH. That name sounds familiar. If I saw him I would probably know who he was.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is Mr. Long in the courtroom? Would he stand, please? Would you turn around and look at Mr. Ralph Long and see if you ever knew that man?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, sir; I did know him as a student.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where?

Mr. HIRSCH. At the University of North Carolina.

Mr. KUNZIG. What year was that, your first attendance or your second attendance?

Mr. HIRSCH. I honestly couldn't recall. It could have been the second time. I don't think it was the first. That was 18 years ago.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever attend closed Communist Party meetings with Ralph Long, the man whom you just recognized?

Mr. HIRSCH. I saw him at the discussion groups.

Mr. KUNZIG. My question was very clear: Did you ever attend closed Communist Party meetings with Ralph Long?

Mr. HIRSCH. I don't know they were closed party meetings. I would say "Yes," but I couldn't be sure I was right.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is very confusing, Mr. Hirsch. That will be all the pictures, please. You have said you were never a member of the

Communist Party. Only members of the Communist Party can attend those closed Communist meetings. Therefore, my question to you was: Did you ever attend closed Communist meetings with Ralph Long?

MR. HIRSCH. Not to my knowledge. According to my knowledge of these things that I attended, they were not closed Communist meetings.

MR. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

MR. VELDE. Proceed.

MR. CLARDY. How do you know they were not closed Communist meetings if you were not a member of the party yourself?

MR. HIRSCH. That is what I was trying to explain. I don't know they were. I attended them under the assumption they were study groups.

MR. CLARDY. You were brought to the meetings at the behest of someone else?

MR. HIRSCH. Yes.

MR. CLARDY. Was that someone else Mr. Long?

MR. HIRSCH. No; he never brought me.

MR. CLARDY. Can you name that person?

MR. HIRSCH. No; I don't remember.

MR. CLARDY. The subject of communism was discussed?

MR. HIRSCH. Yes, sir.

MR. CLARDY. There isn't any doubt in your mind about that fact?

MR. HIRSCH. No, sir.

MR. CLARDY. You want us to believe that you honestly do not remember whether they were or not?

MR. HIRSCH. I didn't say I didn't remember. According to my knowledge, they were represented as Communist meetings.

MR. CLARDY. What told you they were not, if anything did?

MR. HIRSCH. They were study groups. We studied from the writings of Marx and Lenin and Stalin and all the various Communist literature that we were presented with.

MR. CLARDY. That didn't excite your suspicion this was a Communist group; is that what you are trying to tell us?

MR. HIRSCH. I honestly—I probably knew that these were. The rest of the students were interested in the same thing I was.

MR. CLARDY. You were interested in communism, then; weren't you?

MR. HIRSCH. Yes; I was.

MR. CLARDY. You knew you were attending a Communist Party meeting?

MR. HIRSCH. I don't know that I was; no, sir.

MR. VELDE. You wouldn't say you weren't attending?

MR. HIRSCH. I didn't realize. I wasn't that interested. I was not a Communist. I wasn't interested in politics. I was interested in intellectual things and things we were discussing, but not as a positive, professional or political person, because I didn't do anything about it. All I did was engage in the discussions and after school was over, when I left the University of North Carolina—

MR. SCHLERER. Before we get into that, was your position different from that of any of the other students who attended these meetings?

MR. HIRSCH. What do you mean?

Mr. SCHERER. Was your position any different? Were they merely interested in the intellectual escapades into Marxism?

Mr. HIRSCH. As far as I knew.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you know anybody who was ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. SCHERER. Were any of them in that group?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Where did you become acquainted with members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HIRSCH. When I was married, my sister-in-law at the time was married to a professional Communist and I knew he was, and since then he has been divorced and I have no contact with him. He was the only person I would definitely say I know would be a Communist.

Mr. SCHERER. How many were in the group at the university that you have just described, how many students?

Mr. HIRSCH. It would vary; sometimes there would be 10 or 15, sometimes 20.

Mr. SCHERER. Any professors identified with the group?

Mr. HIRSCH. No.

Mr. SCHERER. Where did you meet, on the campus?

Mr. HIRSCH. On the campus, off the campus, students' rooms, wherever it was called.

Mr. SCHERER. You said you were interested in the discussion of intellectual problems, and so forth, and so forth; did you discuss anything else at the meetings except Marxism and communism?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. You didn't study fascism?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir; we had that in these political discussions where the people came down. We had that; yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Your discussions, as I understand it then, were confined to the subjects which you have mentioned?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Hirsch, you mentioned a husband of a sister-in-law; am I correct?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was a professional Communist and he was the only person you knew to be a member of the Communist Party. Did you know Ralph Long to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Hirsch, were you ever a member of the Graduate Club of the Communist Party at North Carolina—University of North Carolina?

Mr. HIRSCH. That was the same sort of discussion group.

Mr. KUNZIG. Answer the question.

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever a member of any undergraduate Communist Party group while you were an undergraduate at the university, either in the first period or the second?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir; not that I was aware of, I was not. I attended meetings, but I did not consider myself, and I do not consider myself now, a member of that group.

Mr. SCHERER. It hasn't been made clear if the groups were separate clubs that he attended at different times; whether the personnel of the clubs was different. Let me ask you that. Mr. Kunzig has mentioned a number of clubs. Did you belong to a number of clubs at the university?

Mr. HIRSCH. There were several groups that I attended.

Mr. SCHERER. Several different groups?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes; as an undergraduate and again as a graduate.

Mr. SCHERER. The graduate was a different group from the undergraduate?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. You belonged to several undergraduate groups. The discussions of those groups related to Marxism, did they not?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. They were different groups and different organizations?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Different personnel in some of the groups; was it not?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. That is all.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, of course, I fully appreciate any type of intellectual study, and I am a firm believer in free thinking and discussion, and in this country it is a matter of apprehension if it is endangered. It is the basic foundation of our liberty in this country. However, I would ask you, What is your opinion of the philosophy of the Communists as a worldwide movement or conspiracy? What is your attitude, whether or not you are a member of the party?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, sir; I abhor it. I have had no connection whatsoever with any of these things. After I left as a student, I had a chance as a father of children and an employee of a great university—I felt all of these things which I had engaged in as a student which I found at the time stimulating and interesting intellectually—found them to be abhorrent to what I believed in as a good American; as a father, and member of the community, and as a teacher, because I felt a new sense of responsibility toward the work I was engaged in. I had youngsters whom I was endeavoring to teach drama, and I was endeavoring to give to them the kind of activity and thought and beliefs that I felt as an American and veteran who fought for his country—and I would be willing to fight again on any occasion—I felt all these ideas which I once found attractive and dangerous and interesting because I believe any student who goes as a youngster to a university comes in contact with new ideas which are, in a sense, against the elders. I think we all, as youngsters, are a little bit of a radical. We like to disagree with our elders, because they are so definite about it, and we feel they are wrong, and we have a way to fix it; cures and ills of the world which, if we have an opportunity, we will do.

Since I left the university, I have had no contact whatsoever with anything; I haven't read anything; I am not interested.

Mr. MOULDER. That is the experience of every thinker in the universities, and it also exists at student bull sessions. I know nothing about your particular case or experience, and I haven't heard any other testimony concerning your activities, but certainly I will agree with most of your statement.

Mr. CLARDY. I won't agree with that part having to do with all college students, because I don't think it is true.

Mr. MOULDER. He didn't say that. That is your construction of it.

Mr. CLARDY. I am quite sure that was the construction he intended to plant in my mind. He didn't succeed because I don't think that is the case.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party while you were in the Army?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party when you were approached by G-2 as an enlisted man to act for G-2?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir; I was not.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party when you were an officer of the Army and working for G-2?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. Hirsch, while you were at North Carolina for the second time from 1946 to 1948, you were married; am I correct?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. And did you have any children at that time?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes; I had 1 child, 1 girl.

Mr. KUNZIG. Born when, if you recall?

Mr. HIRSCH. I believe it was 1946 in the summer, in June of 1946.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was there ever any occasion in which—strike that. Let me ask it this way: Isn't it a fact, Mr. Hirsch, that you were a member of the Communist Party and that there was an effort made to expel you from the Communist Party because you didn't attend enough meetings and that you and your wife fought for your continued membership and as a result finally succeeded and were not expelled from the Communist Party?

Mr. HIRSCH. This has bearing on what I just said.

Mr. KUNZIG. Answer that question. Is that a fact or not?

Mr. HIRSCH. What fact?

Mr. KUNZIG. What I just said.

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you at any time make a patronizing remark in Communist Party activities to a Negro which drew a sharp reprimand from no less a Communist than the southern regional organizer, one Nat Ross?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know that man?

Mr. HIRSCH. No.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know Junius Scales, who was just arrested?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes; he was a student at the University of North Carolina when I attended.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was he a member of any Communist group?

Mr. HIRSCH. He was present at the discussion group.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was he a member of any Communist Party group with you? That is my question.

Mr. HIRSCH. No, I don't believe he was. I recall that Junius Scales—the reason I know it is he identified himself and made a public statement and it was printed in the paper that he was a member and printed in the student paper and state paper.

Mr. DOYLE. Is that in 1946 or 1948 or 1936 to 1938?

Mr. HIRSCH. I believe it was in 1946.

Mr. KUNZIG. You said a little while ago you only knew one Communist, the husband of your sister-in-law. Is that another one, now?

Mr. HIRSCH. I knew who he was. I didn't recall it until you mentioned his name.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know a Hans Freystadt?

Mr. HIRSCH. I don't know him. I recall when he was at the university he was a physics student.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know Hans Freystadt as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Milton and Minna Abernethy?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, they ran a book store.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know them to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have already stated you didn't know a Nat Ross?

Mr. HIRSCH. That's right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know a Myron Howard Rosenberg?

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

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Paul Zilsel?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know Paul Zilsel to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HIRSCH. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was the name of your sister-in-law's husband?

Mr. HIRSCH. Emanuel Cantor.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will remain in executive session for 10 minutes.

(Thereupon the hearing was recessed for 10 minutes.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order. Mr. Hirsch and Mr. Counsel, the committee has decided to continue the testimony of Mr. Hirsch until tomorrow morning at 10:30.

Mr. HIRSCH. May I thank the committee for your conduct in my behalf? I wish to thank the committee for the way you have handled me; and anything else that I can volunteer I will be glad to do.

Mr. VELDE. You will be excused.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like this witness to remain in the courtroom. Mr. Ralph Long, please come forward.

Mr. VELDE. In the testimony you are about to give before this committee, do you solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LONG. I do.

TESTIMONY OF RALPH VERNON LONG, DURHAM, N. C.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Long, will you give your full name?

Mr. LONG. My full name is Ralph Vernon Long.

Mr. KUNZIG. Your present address?

Mr. LONG. I live in Durham, N. C.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Long, I take it that you are willing to appear without an attorney since I see you are not accompanied by one?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You know you have the right to have an attorney?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Put that microphone over in front of the witness.

Mr. LONG. What was the last question, sir?

Mr. KUNZIG. I asked you whether you were willing to appear without an attorney and you said "Yes." Where were you born, and when?

Mr. LONG. I was born in Fayetteville, N. C., March 1, 1924.

Mr. KUNZIG. There are many varied questions that I desire to ask you and a great deal of information that you will be able to give the committee and Congress, but I am going to take it out of order and without going into the background of your education and your employment, I will just ask you at this time if you ever attended a university?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where?

Mr. LONG. At the University of North Carolina.

Mr. KUNZIG. And this was the end of the war?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir; I attended there from the summer of 1946 until early 1951.

Mr. KUNZIG. By the way, were you ever in the Armed Forces?

Mr. LONG. I was in the Army Air Force 4 years, approximately.

Mr. KUNZIG. After you got out of the Army Air Force, you went to the University of North Carolina?

Mr. LONG. That's right.

Mr. KUNZIG. You stood up in this courtroom a few moments ago when we asked the previous witness if he knew you. I wish to ask you if you know the previous witness, Samuel Hirsch?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. I ask you to stand up and look around the courtroom and see if you see Samuel Hirsch.

Mr. LONG. Yes; there he is with the bow tie.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let the record show the witness had identified the previous witness, Samuel Hirsch. Mr. Long, were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. I want to make it very clear I am not talking about attending discussion groups, studying about Marx, reading interesting books about Russia. I am talking about being a full and actual member of the Communist Party and I want to ask you again so the record will be clear and the answer will be absolutely clear. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir, absolutely.

Mr. KUNZIG. From when to when?

Mr. LONG. I joined the party in 1946, the summer of 1946, not long after I joined the university, and I left the party in 1948; the spring of 1948 I went to my last meeting.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of the party while you were at the University of North Carolina?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask, Mr. Chairman, how he was a member? Was a card issued to him or did he pay dues; that is, briefly identify himself as having been a member of the Communist Party during that period.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell us just—not the previous portion prior to North Carolina—will you tell how you became a member at the University of North Carolina and what sort of a member you were? Do you have a card?

Mr. LONG. I was approached. I had been indoctrinated sometime in the Army prior to my entering the University of North Carolina. There I met a gentleman by the name of Joseph Franklin Blake whom I found out to be a member of the party. Joe found out I read the official west-coast paper, the People's World, the equivalent of the Daily Worker, and he began to talk straight communism with me and he took me to Junius Scales. He was a student in comparative literature at the time at the university.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that the Mr. Scales who was just arrested recently in communistic activities?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir; just arrested, that's right, and I found out that Junius was chairman of what was known as a student club apparatus in Chapel Hill. There were actually two clubs, but I just knew the student club and Scales was chairman and he was the delegate to the district committee of the Communist Party of the Carolinas, representing Chapel Hill as a delegate.

Mr. KUNZIG. How did you, personally, actually become a full-fledged member of the Communist Party? Tell us exactly what you did to become a member.

Mr. LONG. Junius asked me and I told him about my friends I had met in the Army and I had been reading their press and I had asked to join in the Army, but I was told to wait until I got out of the Army.

Mr. KUNZIG. I realize this is taking the part we are going to cover tomorrow, but you asked to join while in the Army and they told you to wait?

Mr. LONG. While in the Army, and they explained to me the party had taken the part of the Communist Political Association, under Earl Browder and, as a party member said, one of Browder's mistakes was to sponsor a certain amount of cooperation with the Government while this Government was allied with Soviet Russia; so, to get back to this Communist Political Association, it did not take servicemen, as she gave me to understand, into the party during wartime, but I was urged to join when I got out and she told me the University of North Carolina would be an excellent place to join.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who is she?

Mr. LONG. That is a lady I met in California, Dorothy Dow.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew her to be a member?

Mr. LONG. She showed me the Communist Political Association card. She got me to subscribe to the People's World that I just told you about, and other pamphlets such as In Fact, and Browder's pamphlet Der Tag, and other Marxist books and took me around and introduced me to her friends and in general she was, as I found out later, just bringing me along and educating me.

Mr. KUNZIG. When you got to the University of North Carolina and out of the armed services, you wanted to get into the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. I got out in February and it was June until I entered the University of North Carolina and so actually I didn't decide until

May, and when I went there I wouldn't say I went looking for the Communist Party, but I was still under the influence of their ideology and still reading that press, and this chance accident of meeting Joseph Franklin Blake and getting to know that he was a Communist and he said I have known them, and he takes me to see Scales who has admitted all over the State he was a member of the Communist Party and the party organization, I might add, has also admitted publicly that I was actually a member of the party. The party itself has put pamphlets up all over town.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean since this period?

Mr. LONG. Since I have testified for the Government.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. Long, would you tell us then, exactly how you became an actual member of the party at the University of North Carolina—how you got a card and everything?

Mr. LONG. At the University of North Carolina, there were no party cards. There originally were, I understand, but in 1946 when I joined, there were actually no Communist cards. In other sections of the district, such as Winston-Salem, there were, but at Chapel Hill it was considered to be rather foolish since we all knew each other. We were a rather tight group and actually there was some risk in carrying a card, and so forth, so we actually had no party cards at the University of North Carolina in the clubs that I became associated with at that time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you pay dues?

Mr. LONG. Yes; we paid dues. We attended Communist Party meetings. Junius Scales, an admitted open Communist since 1947, was our chairman. We discussed the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin. We read the Daily Worker which we received clandestinely. That is another one of our security measures. We didn't get that straight through the mail. New York would send it to our district organizer and he would come through the Chapel Hill area every week and leave some Daily Workers, some political affairs with our chairman, Junius Scales, and at the party meeting Scales would distribute the literature.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Samuel Hirsch to be a member of this Communist Party group with you at the University of North Carolina?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is there any doubt?

Mr. LONG. No.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is there any question he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. The Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you knew him to be such?

Mr. LONG. Such.

Mr. SCHERER. To clear up that question of party cards, I am making an observation. As I recall there has been abundant testimony before this committee that numbers of educational instructors, particularly with the professional groups; they didn't issue cards, so it is not unusual that you didn't issue cards at Chapel Hill.

Mr. VELDE. The gentleman is right. We have had an abundance of testimony concerning the use of cards by Communists themselves. In some cases they did or didn't, but I believe as late as 1948, however, the headquarters of the Communist Party did issue instructions to local groups to carry cards or not to carry them.

Mr. SCHERER. They actually discontinued the issuance of Communist Party cards for all groups in 1948 as a security measure for the party and they started to stop issuing cards to various groups as early as 1944, as I remember.

Mr. LONG. May I say something? I would like to say that each year we would register officially. We had an official form of registration in which you make out a card, all the party members, and this card you don't put your name. You put everything else—what mass organization or trade union, your age and weight and I don't know where it goes; whether it is the national review commission of the party or where, but I know that around December and late in the year, one of the jobs would be to go out and register all the comrades, but as for the comrade carrying that card on himself, the only purpose as we saw it, was identification and in a tight little group like Chapel Hill and Duke, we saw no need. At least that is the reason I was given.

Mr. MOULDER. Probably counsel intends to pursue this line of question, but with reference to Mr. Hirsch, you identify him that he was without doubt an active Communist Party member at that time that you have referred to in your testimony?

Mr. LONG. Without doubt.

Mr. MOULDER. Will you go into a little more detail as to the activities in which he participated in the Communist Party meetings and to what extent he did participate that causes you to reach the conclusion and opinion that unquestionably he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. LONG. Well, I first met Sam in the home of Junius Scales at a Communist Party meeting.

Mr. SCHERER. That is a closed meeting?

Mr. LONG. Absolutely.

Mr. KUNZIG. No one but members?

Mr. LONG. Absolutely. We had other meetings when we discussed front organization, but it was executive meetings which are quite distinct from Communist Party meetings.

Mr. MOULDER. May I pursue my question in connection with that? What notice or procedure would be used for calling such a party meeting?

Mr. LONG. Well, for one thing we were in constant contact with the national organization of the Communist Party. Our district organizer, Sam Hall and later Gene Moss and later, Bernie Friedman, and in the case of Hall, he published the fact. He called himself the chairman of the Communist Party and all of the State papers ran full page ads.

Mr. MOULDER. In response to Mr. Scherer's question, you said a closed party meeting. How would you be notified to attend that party meeting as such?

Mr. LONG. At our party meetings we would decide when we were going to have the next meeting and we had an executive meeting to discuss the agenda.

Mr. MOULDER. Did Mr. Hirsch participate in any of the executive meetings?

Mr. LONG. Mr. Hirsch has led educationals. We would have an integral part of our meetings which would be always a small discussion of education from time to time, and we would decide that topic at the executive, and who would lead it, and notify that comrade.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you know of your own personal knowledge whether Mr. Hirsch paid Communist Party dues?

Mr. LONG. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you see him pay the money?

Mr. LONG. At the party meetings we all paid the dues regularly, and you paid according to what your salary was. As students, we paid the minimum of 10 cents.

Mr. MOULDER. To whom?

Mr. LONG. To the financial secretary, who was Vera Laycock Scales.

Mr. MOULDER. You say, as I understand it, Mr. Hirsch paid the dues which you yourself were paying, and you considered him to be a Communist Party member and paying dues?

Mr. LONG. I have never heard of anything in the meetings as a delinquent account with the financial secretary. It was understood all the comrades pay the dues, and most of them would subscribe extra money.

Mr. MOULDER. How many people would attend at the usual meetings?

Mr. LONG. Well, it varied. When I first went in, it was during the summer session, during June of 1946, and quite a few of the comrades were home, so I think about 8 or 10 or 12. I can just about tell you who was there when I joined.

Mr. MOULDER. Just approximately.

Mr. LONG. Eight or 10 or 12, but during the period I suppose there must have been 60 or 70 during the 3-year period.

Mr. MOULDER. And that is when the dues were paid, at the meetings?

Mr. LONG. That's right.

Mr. MOULDER. And you then had an opportunity to observe Mr. Hirsch as he participated in the payment of the dues?

Mr. LONG. Yes; at a set time we would all pay our dues, and Sam Hirsch was a regular attendant at party meetings. Sometimes he would sit home, and watch the baby, and his wife, Rose, she would attend when he would be home watching the baby, and they would reverse the process, but generally they were both there.

Mr. MOULDER. And they both paid their dues. You saw them actually pay the money?

Mr. LONG. I saw the actual dues collection which was held late in the meeting before everybody went home. When the time came everybody would pay dues. You can see where it would be hard to remember over a period of 6 years, but I am positive he paid his dues. I saw the actual act of dues paying many times.

Mr. MOULDER. By Mr. Hirsch?

Mr. LONG. In which Mr. Hirsch was present; yes, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. At those meetings, what occurred at those meetings when you would meet?

Mr. LONG. We would have an educational. We would also have what we called a business meeting which dealt with our work through mass organization which were set up around the campus, and we would discuss our tactics at the next executive meeting at say the Southern Conference for Human Welfare for North Carolina. Certain comrades would have positions.

Mr. MOULDER. At the meetings, did you ever hear Mr. Hirsch discuss a subject of the Communist activity of the Communist Party, aside from the philosophy?

Mr. LONG. Very definitely. As a matter of fact, Mr. Hirsch recruited. He recruited Rusty Kirsch who was a student which Mr. Hirsch was connected with at that time. Each one of us was actually at these party meetings, to try to recruit a certain liberal who was well underway, and Sam was supposed to work on Rusty Kirsch Goodman, because just before she left Chapel Hill, and just as she joined the party, she married a Goodman and she gave as one of the reasons, the fact, "I am marrying a Communist," and Sam reported that information to us and she was actually Sam's convert into the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. Those meetings then were party meetings?

Mr. LONG. That's right.

Mr. MOULDER. You didn't consider them as study groups or philosophy of different kinds of government of the different countries?

Mr. LONG. Certainly not.

Mr. MOULDER. At the meetings, was there any discussion of our own form of government or was it confined solely to communism?

Mr. LONG. In the Communist Party, the practical action of every Communist is based upon a very definite theory which was developed over a period of time by thinkers like Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, his collaborator, and later by Lenin, the engineer of the Soviet Revolution, and by Stalin. These gentlemen write books, books which are flawless, according to the Communist Party and it would be sacrilege actually to deny it—to deny anything can be wrong about it, so they have this very set theory which every Communist is constantly mastering and at the educational, that is what we are discussing and incorporating into the theory.

Mr. MOULDER. At those meetings when you were talking about the Communist Party representative being there from New York or some other place, Mr. Hirsch was there on those occasions?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir; and Mr. Hirsch was castigated roughly by Nat Ross at a meeting, I remember, for making a patronizing remark—that is what Nat considered it—to a certain Negro Communist who on this occasion was sitting in. They are usually in another group, but they were sitting at this time and he was castigated by Nat Ross, organizational secretary of the Communist Party, and sort of the troubleshooter throughout the South for the National Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. Did Mr. Hirsch participate in active discussion of Communist Party activities other than the philosophy and form of government?

Mr. LONG. Very definitely.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you give us some statement or occasion when he did discuss Communist Party affairs?

Mr. LONG. We discussed it continuously. When we would go into a mass organization, the party was out, but we knew what to do to advance the overall program of the party, but in the meetings, we discussed communism. Plans were adopted to advance communism, to build the party, to sell the papers, and by recruiting people's front organizations.

Mr. MOULDER. Then it wasn't in your opinion, an intellectual study group of forms of government, but it was an active Communist Party meetings at all times?

Mr. LONG. Could you rephrase that?

Mr. MOULDER. When you were at the University of North Carolina, a group of people met and it wasn't what you refer to as an intellectual study group, out of curiosity of study examining forms of government or communism or fascism, but it was an active Communist Party group?

Mr. LONG. That's right, Marxism and Lenin to us wasn't a subject, an academic subject connected with our work and curriculum at the university. To us it was a religion, actually, and it dominated our whole way of thinking all the way through and of course we disguised it to fool people, but among ourselves—

Mr. MOULDER. If one wanted to have studied it, he could have gone to the library without getting into any active Communist Party meetings; is that right?

Mr. LONG. He probably wouldn't realize that Marx, Engels, and Lenin is right and everything and everyone else is wrong.

Mr. MOULDER. If one wanted to enlighten himself about communism, he could go to the library and find plenty of material to study without meeting with a group of Communists?

Mr. LONG. Absolutely, the University of North Carolina had quite a library on Marx. I consulted it myself.

Mr. SCHERER. In discussing these meetings which you had, you many times referred to the other members of it as comrades, or called the other members comrades. Was that a practice at these meetings?

Mr. LONG. Absolutely.

Mr. SCHERER. Was Hirsch present when you called each other comrades?

Mr. LONG. Yes; normally we put the first name with it. It is Comrade Sam, not Hirsch. When you get up to Stalin, it was Comrade Stalin, but everyone called each other comrade. I can't imagine the Communist Party without calling them comrades.

Mr. SCHERER. And you tried to hide your identity, did you not, on the university campus, by not issuing cards; is that right?

Mr. LONG. The reason I got was that it would help our security.

Mr. SCHERER. Help the Communist Party security?

Mr. LONG. To remain unknown, except someone we would have some reason to bring out, such as Junius Scales.

Mr. SCHERER. But you did hide your identity on the campus?

Mr. LONG. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. You did not do that with any other organizations at Chapel Hill?

Mr. LONG. No.

Mr. CLARDY. Isn't it a fact you could not continue to attend closed Communist Party meetings if you were very much in delinquency on your dues?

Mr. LONG. Oh, yes; certainly. The dues were so small, actually the idea of delinquency would be ridiculous.

Mr. CLARDY. If you allowed yourself to be in delinquency, you either got it up, or got out?

Mr. LONG. Yes, and also attending meetings; if you did not attend meetings regularly.

Mr. VELDE. Your testimony is very interesting, but we must adjourn at this time, until 10:30 tomorrow morning, at which time we request you again to be present to finish up.

The committee is adjourned until 10:30.

(Thereupon, at 4:31 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 10:30 a. m., the next day.)

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE STATE OF FLORIDA—Part 1

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Miami, Fla.

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:45 a. m., in the main courtroom, Federal Building, Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Morgan M. Moulder, and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; Earl Fuoss, investigator; W. Jackson Jones, investigator.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order. Miss Reporter, let the record show the presence of Mr. Scherer, Mr. Clardy, Mr. Moulder, Mr. Doyle, and myself, as chairman, the full quorum of the committee. Counsel, proceed with the witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Ralph Long, please return to the stand.

TESTIMONY OF RALPH V. LONG—Resumed

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Long, yesterday in your brief testimony before we closed for the day, we took a little out of order certain experiences in your period of time in the Communist Party. I would like now to go back to the previous period and get the full background information. Let me ask you again when and where you were born.

Mr. LONG. I was born at Fayetteville, N. C., March 1, 1924.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you are, therefore, how old today?

Mr. LONG. I am 30 years old.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell us a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mr. LONG. I finished Durham city high schools. Durham is actually my hometown. I moved there from Fayetteville shortly after my birth—I was moved there. I went to the Durham city schools; in 1942 I went into the Army; coming back in 1946 out of the Army, I entered the University of North Carolina and I attended there from 1946 to 1951, and I received a bachelor of arts degree in English, and that completes my formal educational background.

Mr. KUNZIG. When you were in the Army, tell us if you had any brush with communism while in the Army. Go into that in some detail, please.

MR. LONG. Well, I was in the Army when I met my first Communist, which I mentioned yesterday, a lady by the name of Mrs. Dorothy Dow. She was working with the—she was at that time working with the post office of the United States Government and living on Palm Avenue in Riverside, Calif. She told me quite a few things about herself. She had once been married to a State legislator, she told me, in the State of Idaho.

Her father was an old IWW organizer. She was brought up—the entire family were brought up as atheists, and along that line gradually she came to tell me she was a member of the Communist Party and showed me her Communist Political Association card which was the name the party went under in those days.

MR. KUNZIG. Where were you stationed?

MR. LONG. Nearby—Ontario Air Force.

MR. KUNZIG. Where was that?

MR. LONG. Ontario, Calif., 17 miles I believe it is, from Riverside.

MR. KUNZIG. Were you an enlisted man or an officer?

MR. LONG. I was an enlisted man.

MR. KUNZIG. Continue please.

MR. LONG. Well, she identified herself to me as a Communist and she subscribed at that time to the Peoples' World, as I said yesterday, the west coast equivalent of the Daily Worker at that time. I don't know whether it still is or not, and she brought me to actually subscribe to this and other publications such as In Fact, and Political Affairs, and she took me to what she called the progressive meeting of people out near Hollywood, at the home of one Wess River and his wife. He is a novelist, Wess River. At his home I found out it was to be a fund raising affair to raise money for a progressive bookshop in the Los Angeles area somewhere.

Among the people there, I met and was introduced to—and this lady would have me believe that these people were Communists, some of them, and one of them she would have me believe, was the screen writer, John Howard Lawson. At this particular fund raising social, there was something in the form of a raffle to raise money as part of the fund raising ceremony, and an autographed manuscript of Lawson's screen play Counter Attack was the first prize, and that later became a Paul Muni movie, that manuscript. A girl that was at UCLA that I knew as Harriet, she won the autographed manuscript.

Dalton Trumbo, another screen writer was supposed to be there, but he didn't make it, and a Professor Davis who taught psychology at UCLA—who had taught at UCLA—and by the way, this Dorothy Dow had received her masters in psychology from UCLA and got to know the Hollywood people. He was there and MC'd the whole affair. All I knew was Professor Davis originally was from Boston and she told me he was a Communist, and she told me some of the people are and some of them aren't, but to impress me—really she was trying to recruit me into the party, as I see it now.

Mr. Lawson is a member of the party and Dalton Trumbo was supposed to be here, and River she identified to me as a Communist, but I wasn't actually a Communist at the time, but it was true, I was on the way up with it. I was reading the literature and listening to her.

MR. KUNZIG. It was the beginning of your interest, in other words?

MR. LONG. That is true.

Mr. CLARDY. And Mr. Trumbo. What was the date of this meeting?

Mr. LONG. This was around the time of 1945—early 1945.

Mr. CLARDY. I wasn't sure you said Trumbo and Lawson attended or it was represented to you they would attend?

Mr. LONG. Lawson was there and before I went there, I saw the letter which these people sent my girl friend which they said they were going to have the social to raise the money, and Dalton Trumbo, Lion Feuchtwanger—

He is a well-known novelist. I read one of his novels at that time. One of his works was one of the rewards for winning the raffle.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever stationed in Hawaii?

Mr. LONG. Yes; I went overseas not too long after that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you describe any brush you had with communism there?

Mr. LONG. Yes; I was stationed at Hickam Field, and at nearby Fort Kamehameha—we called it Fort Kam—nearby Fort Kam there was an enlisted man by the name of George Davis. This lady in southern California, Dorothy Dow, finding out I had been transferred to Hawaii, kept in contact with me and she writes me a letter telling me that an old friend of hers whom she knows well is also in Hawaii and she will have him look me up, and he did. She evidently sent my address to him. Davis was from Van Nuys, Calif., and he subscribed to such things as New Masses. I got the first copy of New Masses I ever got from him and Political Affairs, and he continued the indoctrination, apparently, where she left off, and I asked Davis, I says, "This sounds all right to me. How do you join the Communist Party?"

Mr. KUNZIG. Did Davis tell you he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. Oh, yes, sure, and he didn't—told me he didn't hide the fact.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was he in the Armed Forces?

Mr. LONG. Yes; he was an enlisted man.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was he?

Mr. LONG. In the artillery. He was originally a truck driver, a teamster, I believe as he gave me to understand, before he went into the service, but he told me that one of his jobs was to arrange to get the People's World to certain Hollywood people rather than through the mails.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did he have any connection with Army information and education?

Mr. LONG. No, Davis actually didn't, but Davis continued indoctrinating me and at an orientation lecture at the same time, I expressed my views—these views which I was accumulating—very overtly—and after the meeting, our orientation instructor, a soldier by the name of Nat Petashnik—

Mr. KUNZIG. He was the Army information and education enlisted man in charge of giving lectures?

Mr. LONG. That is it, and he was impressed by my opinions, and he confided to me he was in the party. He had been in local 65 in Brooklyn, CIO union in Brooklyn. I believe it was the wholesale—

Mr. KUNZIG. I want to get it straight. Are you testifying that in your own personal experience when you were stationed in Hawaii as an

enlisted man in the Army, that an Army information—or the other word was orientation—enlisted man, who was in charge of indoctrinating and explaining to the soldiers why we were fighting—I happen to know this personally since I was in the office during the war—that man told you he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir, and he lived in a big barracks at Pearl Harbor—a tremendous barracks with many wings, in one of which I lived. He took me to his locker, his foot locker, and he had it loaded with all kinds of Communist literature, and also took me to several places he had to go to. If you want me to go into that at this time—

Mr. KUNZIG. This foot locker and all this Communist literature was in an Army building?

Mr. LONG. Yes, and he had a circle of friends he ran around with. He took me down to what they call the Labor Canteen, on Richard Street in Honolulu. It was right beside the Young Republican Club.

Mr. KUNZIG. I don't want to dwell too long on this period of time—not because of what was just mentioned—but I want to get the information as to how you became a party member. You were first indoctrinated and taken to affairs in California and then the enlisted man in the Army in Hawaii interested you further. Did you join at that time?

Mr. LONG. No, I asked Davis, "How do you join the Communist Party?" Again, I touched on this yesterday—he tells me, "Well, you can't join in the service, but I urge you to get in immediately upon getting out," and I told him I was from North Carolina, and he says, "Around the University of North Carolina you will find some of our people," and mentioned the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the first time I ever heard the organization mentioned, which was a new organization, and he says, "You will find them around there."

Mr. KUNZIG. Did he tell you anything about the Southern Conference for Human Welfare?

Mr. LONG. No; other than the fact that it was a type of organization around which you would find, as he put it, "our people."

He also was a good theoretician to be a former truckdriver, and talked Marx, Engel, and a long line of thinkers.

Mr. CLARDY. While he was advising you not to become a member while you were in the service, you testified that he, despite the fact he was in the service, was a member. Did he inform you he had been a member before he joined the armed services?

Mr. LONG. He gave me to know—he was actually a member of the party, but in the service I don't think that he was attending meetings at that time. I presume—I don't know—that he suspended all of that for the duration of the war.

Mr. CLARDY. You said he had a circle of friends he associated with. Were those identified to you as members of the party?

Mr. LONG. It was Mr. Petashnik, the orientation instructor that I spoke of having a circle of friends, not Davis. He kept pretty much to himself.

Mr. CLARDY. At any rate, this man, according to the information he gave you, was a member before he came into the armed services?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. And for protective reasons was suggesting that you not formally join until you got out?

Mr. LONG. That is true. As I kept pointing out yesterday—I hate to keep repeating that phrase—he was telling me the Communist Political Association was indulging in limited cooperation with the United States in view of the fact that the United States was cooperating with the Soviet Union, and for that reason the party apparatus had changed into the CPA. It wasn't considered a party any more. It was an association, and as one of the results of that—what the party later called tailism—tailing the capitalists—as a result of this, it was decided not to take servicemen. There may have been some that were taken in.

Mr. CLARDY. When you say not to take servicemen, or not to join, don't you actually merely mean they did not want the formal step to be taken, but that they did want you to subscribe to their ideology and to go along with their indoctrination program?

Mr. LONG. That is it exactly.

Mr. CLARDY. Actually they wanted you to be a Communist without having the evidence that might be found on you?

Mr. LONG. That's right and I might add, while in Hawaii, I came in contact with what was, in my mind, the first front organization, known as the Mobilization Organization Action Committee. One of the leaders was Dave Livingstone, whom I was told by Petashnik was a young, known Communist youth leader, American Youth for Democracy, in New York, and it was ostensibly to protest and slow down mobilization. This was after the war ended, and a meeting—a forum—was heard.

Petashnik—and I am running around with Petashnik in a circle—and Livingstone set up this group and they get a very wide—I have had them discuss a wide range of speakers; we have a WAC, we have an officer, we have this and that, to get a representative set of speakers, which every one attended at Hickam Field, and there were demonstrations throughout the Pacific. This was going on in Hawaii. Every one gets up and makes a speech for: Let's go home, the war is over—everyone is writing their Congressman, and they wind up with a catchall resolution. I forget the points, but something like: Demand of your Congressman, and so forth, that American troops be pulled out of Korea; that American troops be pulled out of so-and-so.

To me, I wanted to go home and all the other guys wanted to go home. The resolution was unanimous, but now I am not so sure the Communists didn't have leaders working with the theory—were actually more interested in getting American troops out of certain spots in the world, really, than getting the boys back home, and that to me was what I would call the first front organization that I ever met in the party, though the party didn't call it that; it was mass organization. Petashnik told me we had to compromise somewhat, that we didn't get everything we wanted done.

Mr. CLARDY. Then the party was actually engaged in promoting the interests of the Communist Party of Russia right within the midst of our Armed Forces; weren't they?

Mr. LONG. I would say so; yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think the record should show at this time that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, where you were told you would find the same type of people, that group had been cited as a

Communist front by the special committee in 1944, and cited by it as an organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South"—cited by a congressional committee in 1947.

Mr. LONG, you then got out of the Army. Did you receive an honorable discharge?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. And then you went to the University of North Carolina and continued your study at that point?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. So I would like to turn to North Carolina. You described the background as to how you became interested. Tell us again when you actually joined the Communist Party.

Mr. LONG. I joined the Communist Party in the late summer of 1946.

Mr. CLARDY. That was how many months after you got out of service?

Mr. LONG. I got out in February of 1946. This was, I would say, about August of 1946—5 or 6 months, I suppose.

Mr. CLARDY. You actually were, mentally, a member of the party before you took the formal step; weren't you?

Mr. LONG. When I entered the party, I think I was probably better advanced ideologically than some of the comrades that I found in there. I found in the party, my education—one of the tasks is to continually develop his understanding of the works of Lenin and Marx so that actually I think you can say that I was actually not intellectually a Communist when I went in. I don't think I was really intellectually one until I started changing my mind in 1947.

In the deepest sense of the word, when I was exposed in party schools in New York to the pure solution of the doctrine, it was very comprehensively, but I was ahead. I hope you see what I mean. I was ahead of some of them, but we had some pretty good ones there ahead of me.

Mr. CLARDY. This last step was merely confirmation of what you had mentally decided on?

Mr. LONG. That's right; I had decided to join the Communist Party. Actually, I would have been in the party probably a year earlier—not a year—6 or 8 or 10 months earlier if the Communist Party would have accepted me.

Mr. DOYLE. You said you had decided to join the Communist Party. Were you a member—a registered member—of some other political party? I am not asking you to name which, if you were, but were you a member of some other political party?

Mr. LONG. You mean at the time I joined the party?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. LONG. Absolutely not.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, you had not voted?

Mr. LONG. I had never voted. I don't think I had ever voted in my life.

Mr. CLARDY. How is that?

Mr. LONG. I don't think at that time in 1946—I was 22—I had ever voted and I spent 4 previous years in the Army, so at the time I had never voted an election. The first election I voted in were Communist-club elections.

MR. DOYLE. You were born an American, raised an American, wearing a United States uniform, ready to fight if you had to for our country. What was there in the indoctrination of the Communist Party that made you desirous of joining it instead of either of the other political parties in our Nation? Why did you choose to join the Communist Party in preference, I will say, to the Republican or the Democratic Party?

MR. LONG. Well, I have, sir, a working-class background, and one of the points that the Communists play up is that they will eventually free the world's working class from capitalistic oppression. However, they don't start off by immediately walking up to you and saying, "Get in here. We are going to overthrow capitalism." They find out if you are for labor—yes; I am, all right. A little while longer they will say, "What do you think of nazism or fascism?" Well, I say I think it is bad, you know, and they go along with a series of issues and it sounds pretty good, and when you couple it with the fact that in Army orientation pictures—motion pictures—you actually see the Red army glorified in driving the Germans across Poland and things like that—and I have seen them in Army movies—why, you wonder if communism is really so bad after all.

MR. DOYLE. Did I understand you to say that Davis told you that the Communist Political Association was cooperating in a limited manner with the United States?

MR. LONG. Yes.

MR. DOYLE. In other words, Davis told you that the CPA which was the Communist Party, was only cooperating with the United States in a limited manner; didn't he?

MR. LONG. Well—

MR. DOYLE. Isn't that what he told you?

MR. LONG. You are speaking of the United States. Davis, as all Communists, distinguishes between the United States as such and the United States Government, which they say is a tyrannical, oppressive government. He wasn't condemning the United States. He was saying the way to be an American patriot is to free its working class and have world harmony—one great Soviet state.

MR. DOYLE. What I mean—I wrote it down here. "Davis told me the CPA was only cooperating with the United States in a limited manner."

MR. LONG. Well, I wish you would please amend that to the United States Government.

MR. DOYLE. But at any rate he got across to you that the CPA was only cooperating with the United States Government in a limited manner?

MR. LONG. That is it.

MR. DOYLE. As an ally of Russia?

MR. LONG. That is it.

MR. DOYLE. Wasn't that sufficient notice to you as an Army man, that you shouldn't have anything to do with the Communist Party; that it was only cooperating in a limited manner with your Government?

MR. LONG. I was, at the time, 20 years old, and actually emotional—and I will admit it—had a chip on my shoulder.

MR. DOYLE. I think the chip was quite large, apparently. I think you were charged with notice right then when this Communist told

you they were only cooperating with the United States Government in a limited manner—that should have been notice to you that you shouldn't have anything to do with it, and that is the way I look at it.

Mr. CLARDY. Did I understand you to say that in the Army indoctrination courses there were moving pictures glorifying the Soviet army and the actions in Poland and other places?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. I am not going to take issue with Mr. Doyle, but I think there is something that ought to be developed out of what the Congressman has said.

Mr. DOYLE. I think what I said speaks for itself.

Mr. CLARDY. I am not quarreling with you at all, but I felt there is something to be brought out. Was there not a studied effort by at least some of those that were in charge of indoctrinating you fellows in the service—a studied effort made to glorify the Soviet Union and the part it was playing in the war against Germany?

Mr. LONG. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Did that affect not only you but others in a manner that was more or less favorable toward the Soviet Union?

Mr. LONG. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Now it was pretty apparent outside of the indoctrination course that Russia was cooperating in a very niggardly fashion; she wasn't letting us land our planes in Russia. Didn't you know about that also?

Mr. LONG. Would you repeat that?

Mr. CLARDY. You knew at the time we were supposedly engaged in a common cause, Russia was not allowing our planes to fly across and land there before the return trip?

Mr. LONG. They may have been.

Mr. CLARDY. You didn't know about that?

Mr. LONG. No.

Mr. CLARDY. I was wondering if you didn't know from other circumstances that Russia was doing a poor job with us. It was a one-way street—we were supplying and she was taking and nothing given in return and the Army was, through some mischance, trying to sell you the idea that Russia was cooperating. Was that the impression you got?

Mr. LONG. Yes, very definitely.

Mr. CLARDY. That had the effect upon your slant toward the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. I think what I would call the international climate affected me like it affected a lot of people.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Long, turning now to the University of North Carolina, would you describe to us the clubs, the Communist Party clubs there were at the university? Tell us exactly what they were.

Mr. LONG. When I first entered the university in 1946, I was taken into what was known as the Student Club.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. Of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. So we can be clear, this I assume, was not in any way a club officially approved by the university as a debating society?

Mr. LONG. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. The existence was unknown to the university officials?

Mr. LONG. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You didn't go loudly saying this was a student club of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Continue.

Mr. LONG. Shortly after entering the Student Club of the Communist Party, there was another club which was called the Workers Club.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was the difference?

Mr. LONG. Actually two Communist clubs; the one composed of middle-class people associated generally with the university—students, teachers, townspeople of the university community, and others mostly Negro—maybe one or two whites, would be put into it, and then usually in some educational capacity.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean the club was mostly white and the other Negro?

Mr. LONG. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Does that suggest the Communist Party practices segregation?

Mr. LONG. They definitely practiced it at Chapel Hill when I entered the party in 1946. The distinction they would put on it was student worker, but coincidentally, there was the white, Negro distinction also present.

These, I might add, the personnel of the workers—this group, the Workers' Club, were people who mostly worked as say janitors around the university. I might add they also lived, most of them, in what is known as Carrboro. Chapel Hill and Carrboro, anyone that knows it, one ends where the other begins. Chapel Hill is an incorporated town that contains the university and immediate university surroundings, residential and business districts. Carrboro seems to be a working-class adjunct to the university village, so actually there was, generally speaking, an area distribution—they were in two different areas, but as I say, one town ends where the other begins.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was the greatest number of Communists or members in these Communist groups, the sum total, while you were there?

Mr. LONG. Well, I would say 50 or 60 or 70—somewhere around there. I couldn't name them. I never counted them.

Mr. KUNZIG. We will come to that. Tell us what was the purpose and function of the Communist clubs existing on the campus of the University of North Carolina.

Mr. LONG. You are speaking of the Student Club?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mr. LONG. Having been a member, I can go into the names. I would like to ask the committee; I have some notes here. My knowledge of the party is divided into sort of sections and I didn't know particularly what sections you might be interested in or whether you would be interested, so to expedite it, I have taken some notes. Can I use them?

Mr. VELDE. That has been done in the past and certainly you are given that permission. Were these notes made from your recollection?

Mr. LONG. Yes, as a matter of fact I could probably do without the notes. The notes would just help me probably bring to mind these occasions.

Mr. VELDE. You may use them.

Mr. KUNZIG. Use the notes.

Mr. LONG. Well, the principal aim of the Student Club of the Communist Party when I entered it in 1946, was to build the Communist Party among the young intelligentsia of the State which were developing in the States' universities, and particularly in the University of North Carolina. That was the principal aim, to recruit students into the party, and usually the front apparatus was a first step toward working them finally into the type of party that controlled the front apparatus. That, I would say, was the principal aim, but there were many others. For instance, to raise funds, we had a drive to defeat the Mundt-Nixon bill which was a piece of legislation which the Communist Party considered repressive. I, myself, contributed \$20 in the drive, and I recall I didn't have very much money and I was a pretty devoted devotee.

Mr. KUNZIG. You will be interested to know it was largely written by this committee before which you appear, or their predecessors.

Mr. LONG. To raise funds to defend the Communist Party was another very important fact, especially at Chapel Hill. In other parts of the State, the party was poorer, but around Chapel Hill, you have students—you have a middle-class group, and it is precisely from such groups that it seemed to us most of the money can be raised for these things. Then there was to circulate the Communist Party press, to get the people reading our mimeographed pamphlets on this or that issue, which we would stick around under people's doors, and a long mailing list of professors.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you prepare and mail or mimeograph any of the things right there at the university?

Mr. LONG. The mimeograph machine was in Chapel Hill. At those times it was in the possession of Milton and Minna Abernethy, although I didn't take part in the actual mimeographing of one. We would assign a guy to prepare a pamphlet on this or that issue, and arrange to get it mimeographed. The machine was there, and it was a party machine, as far as I know.

Mr. CLARDY. Were all these activities that you mentioned and you described a lot, were they so skillfully concealed that none of the people in charge at the university knew anything of it, or was it common knowledge these groups existed?

Mr. LONG. When I first went in, we didn't get them out immediately, but shortly after I got in, Junius Scales admitted publicly there was a Communist Party in Chapel Hill, and that he was the chairman, and let it go at that, and it was a party decision to bring Scales out in the open. He wasn't just being courageous. They decided they could recruit with one man in the open for them to come to, though most of us remained under cover.

Mr. CLARDY. When the existence of the group became known, or the existence of several became known, weren't any actions taken to get you off the campus or do something about it?

Mr. LONG. No, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean they would tolerate it, and it continued to exist?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir; as far as I know, the university made no investigation—at least we weren't aware of it at the time, and it wasn't made public.

Mr. DOYLE. That was back in the summer of 1946 and 1947? You joined in the summer of 1946?

Mr. LONG. In the summer of 1946, and Scales—well, I tell you something happened in late 1946, which some Communist in Winston-Salem exposed Scales and some amount of publicity he got, he told in testimony that some sort—that there was indeed a Communist club at Chapel Hill and Junius Scales was the chairman, so Scales hit the press in late 1946, and a statement answering it was made, and Nat Ross with the national committee was down at Scales' house and he helped Junius prepare it, the answer to it, and Scales didn't deny it then, so that he didn't admit it then, but later in 1947 he actually admitted it completely and widely to the press, leaving absolutely no doubt that he was a member of the party and there was a Chapel Hill Communist Party, and the literature sent by the party after Scales came out like that, I believe—I am not positive, but I believe before Scales came out, literature would be sent out under a letter-head, University of North Carolina Student Section Communist Party; something like that. I don't recall precisely what the letter-head was. But during late 1946 and 1947, and from the time I got out, every one knew there was a Communist Party at Chapel Hill and nobody knew who they were except Junius Scales—no outsiders knew who the Commies were.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of any veterans organization at that time?

Mr. LONG. Yes; of the American Veterans Committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were many of the members whom you knew to be members of the Communist Party, also members of the AVC?

Mr. LONG. Yes, the Chapel Hill chapter of the AVC.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give an estimate of the percentage?

Mr. LONG. Over half of it. I will put it this way: at a vote to expel Scales from the AVC, it was defeated actually. The AVC attempted to run Scales out of the group and the motion was defeated. Some one in the group proposed it and it was defeated and most of the people voted to keep Scales in—most of them Communists.

Mr. KUNZIG. Whom you knew to be Communists?

Mr. LONG. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you give us the names, some of the names of those you know to be Communist Party members, students or faculty that you personally knew to be Communists?

Mr. LONG. You are talking about the AVC?

Mr. KUNZIG. Generally, of the Communist Party.

Mr. LONG. At the University of North Carolina. Well, shall I start off with myself, Ralph V. Long and myself.

Mr. SCHERER. I assume he is naming students only at this time?

Mr. LONG. You just want students at the university?

Mr. KUNZIG. I asked for both, and he can identify which is which. You tell us whether they are students, townspeople or faculty. Give us an identification of the people to the best of your ability.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask, Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman is going to name students back in the year 1946 and 1947, who have not been named as Communists before this committee before in executive session or otherwise? I fear that some irreparable harm might be done to some of those students unless this witness can identify whether or

not he has knowledge of the fact that they got out of the party or stopped functioning as members of the Communist fronts after they left the university or during the university years.

My point is this, Mr. Chairman, I can readily understand how students in the American universities may unwittingly become members of the Communist front in a sincere effort to study, but I do wish, if this witness has any knowledge of the fact that any of the students got out of the Communist front or anything, that he so state and state pretty positively how he knows they were members of the Communist Party and when and where. I submit it is a rather hazardous undertaking to name students back in 1946 and 1947 without knowing what their activities may or may not have been since. I do not approve such procedure. He should give their names in executive session.

Mr. VELDE. If the gentleman from California will remember, we have had other students named before the committee; and I personally feel that the witness here is making a true picture of the Communist Party infiltration into the University of North Carolina. Certainly he should be allowed to give information as to the organization there of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. I don't question the veracity of this witness at all. I don't question his propriety.

Mr. VELDE. It appears to me it was questioned.

Mr. DOYLE. The chairman is wrong in assuming that. I want the record to speak clearly by this witness; that he positively knows any student who was a member of the Communist Party; where it was he knew he was a Communist; whether or not he knows if that student continued in the Communist affiliation. I think we owe it to the student under Rule 10 of our rules in which we are charged when given the name of a person the first time of promptly notifying him by registered mail of the fact that he has been named; and it is my purpose to make this record very clear. I do object to this witness naming these students in open session when they have not before been identified. I do want to be very sure that he can positively identify them as Communists so that our record can be very clear; and so that we can under rule 10 of our rule book send the student notice; and which charges us with the responsibility of notifying them when they are named as Communists before the committee at any time.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand the limitations that Mr. Doyle suggests apply to any witness whether he be a student or an adult. I concur with Mr. Doyle on those limitations, and I think we have always applied those restrictions.

Mr. VELDE. We can abide by rule 10.

Mr. CLARDY. We have an open invitation to any witness who cares to get in touch with the committee to come forward; and so far, we have had no luck; but we may have this time.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you have any knowledge of the activities or whereabouts of the persons you might name since you have left school?

Mr. LONG. You mean where they are right now since I got out of the party, their whereabouts and so forth?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes. I assume that your association and knowledge of those persons named is limited to the time you were enrolled at the university?

Mr. LONG. Yes; by the large; but some of them left before I did, and some of them were still there when I left in 1951.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you have knowledge of their present whereabouts?

Mr. LONG. Yes, but I wasn't going around taking down their precise street numbers, but I can remember where some were at certain dates after I left the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Long, I understand that you are naming people you knew during the period of time you were a member of the party during 1946 to 1948. Is that correct?

Mr. LONG. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Give us the names of the persons you know to be party members.

Mr. LONG. Joseph Franklin Blake and his wife, Dorothy Strausberg Blake.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were they students?

Mr. LONG. Joe was a student while I was there and he was a member of the party. As I mentioned before Joseph Franklin Blake was in the party when I got in; and he was still in when I attended the last meeting. Joe was from Chadbourne, N. C. He was the son of a physician.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. I attended Communist Party meetings with him.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is the same true of his wife?

Mr. LONG. I attended Communist Party meetings with her. She came down later. She was not there when I came there. In fact, Joe and her were married later. She was from Red Bank, N. J.; and she and Joe got married; and she said she was in the party up there; and they were in the party when I got out but I don't know whether they are today or not.

Mr. DOYLE. Where were the Communist Party meetings?

Mr. LONG. Chapel Hill, N. C.

Mr. DOYLE. During what period of time?

Mr. LONG. From 1946 to 1948 when I was in the party.

Mr. DOYLE. You haven't said whether they were closed party meetings.

Mr. LONG. Oh, positively. No one could get in but Communists; the ones I am talking about.

Mr. KUNZIG. Continue with the next name.

Mr. LONG. Dan Jackson and his wife, Betty Jackson.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were they students?

Mr. LONG. Dan was a student in physics and his wife Betty graduated from a school in New York City. She had a degree but she was only a housewife at the time. Betty was working as an educational director when I went with the party. As for workers' groups, she liked to work with the Negro group. She was quite adept with the theory or I got that impression. Both were expelled from the Communist Party in 1947.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have mentioned the student group and the workers' group. What type of organization would the graduates get into?

Mr. LONG. When I first went into the party at Chapel Hill around 1947 and in 1948, the number, due to recruits in students coming down and entering the university and so on, the group increased in size to where it was quite cumbersome and the student group was divided.

One group was the undergrads and it retained the old name of student group; and the others were placed in what was known as the graduate group which was something that would catch on; and this group was composed of some graduate students, some who were teaching, townspeople and so forth.

Mr. KUNZIG. In what group was Dr. Samuel Hirsch identified yesterday?

Mr. LONG. At the time of the breaking up of the student group into the second graduate division, Hirsch went into the graduate division in late 1947. It was in late 1947 when this division took place.

Mr. KUNZIG. You made some reference yesterday—

Mr. LONG. Wait. I would like to correct that last—my dates—let me see. It was the summer of 1947. I would like to correct that last date on the time of the breaking up of this group.

Mr. KUNZIG. We understand this is to the best of your memory at the present time.

Mr. MOULDER. You made some reference to persons you named as being expelled from the party. Can you give the reason for getting them out or expelled from the party and tell who the party officials were who presided and how this was accomplished?

Mr. LONG. That was Dan and Betty Jackson.

Mr. MOULDER. Yes.

Mr. LONG. I mentioned something in the organizational setup from 2 groups to 3 groups in 1947. These groups were called together to keep the whites together and the colored together. Some of the comrades decided there was some criticism here and some dissension in the party and they decided to throw them out. This meeting was called at Sanford Highway south of Chapel Hill at a Negro home; and the three clubs arrived there.

Mr. MOULDER. At a colored person's home?

Mr. LONG. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Go ahead.

Mr. LONG. At this meeting—we called this the unity city convention, which is an unusual thing; we got all the groups together in the city we had of the Communist Party. We usually stay with our own group; and at this meeting Betty Jackson took exception to the tactics of Junius Scales who was away on business. He wasn't at the meeting; and she accused Scales of being secretive and not democratic enough.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you use the word "democratic"?

Mr. LONG. Yes; we call the manner in which the group is run democratic centralism; and she felt the centralism was becoming too bureaucratic and she thought Scales was to blame; and she attacked him openly; and he was notified when he came back to Chapel Hill; and he told me and Joe Blake to get rid of the Jacksons. Another meeting was held at the home of the Jacksons, strange to say, off Columbia Avenue on Chapel Hill; and all the groups got together again; and Nat Ross came down from New York and Sam Hall who was directing the organizing work out of Winston-Salem at that time. It was pointed out that she had been a Texas Communist and that she had also gotten in trouble with the party and as a result the party was split down the middle on some issue; and Nat Ross made charges against her; and Scales made charges against her and as the result

of the meeting of the three groups, it was decided to set up a group of more impartial comrades and tell them what was to be done about the possibility of expelling the Jacksons. Nat Ross told us that as a member of the executive committee, he could wipe out all connections whether we liked it or not; and that struck me at the time as not being democratic centralism; but he said he could do that. I had gone to one party Communist school in New York for training and I had come back when this happened; and during the interim it was decided that I was to go back to another party school when this committee was being set up. I went back to the party school and when I came back, the Jacksons had been expelled.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you attend both meetings to consider the expelling of the Jacksons?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was Mr. Hirsch present at either of the meetings?

Mr. LONG. I know he was present at the last meeting. I remember his being sharply reprimanded by Ross for a remark he had made.

Mr. VELDE. At this time I shall declare a 3-minute recess.

The committee will be in order. It is obvious that the witness has a lot of information he can give the committee. However, we have a lot of other witnesses who can likewise give us information; and I respectfully ask the members of the committee to allow counsel to proceed and obtain this information the witness has without too much interruption; and we would like very much for Mr. Counsel to finish with this witness by 12:30.

Mr. KUNZIG. You were discussing whether or not Mr. Hirsch attended this expulsion meeting. You said he attended the second one. Can you go into that in detail, please?

Mr. VELDE. Will the reporter note for the record that I am appointing a subcommittee of Mr. Scherer, Mr. Clardy, myself and Mr. Doyle.

Mr. KUNZIG. Describe the expulsion meeting. You said already that Mr. Hirsch attended it as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. LONG. The expulsion meeting was held in the home of the Jacksons off Columbus Avenue.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were there only party members present?

Mr. LONG. Only party members. Very definitely. A party expulsion is a preclosed party meeting and only for the Communist committee set up to study their expulsion which effectualizes in a day or 2 or 3.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know of your own personal knowledge that Samuel Hirsch was present at the expulsion meeting?

Mr. LONG. Absolutely. He was reprimanded for a remark he made that sort of cooled the southern regional organizer, Nat Ross, who was present; and what happened actually, everyone was having a good time and having his way in a very riotous fashion; and the evening was going on and on; so, Mr. Hirsch suggested that the working class Negro and others of our working people would have to get up in the morning, and he suggested that they go on and we finish up; and Nat Ross jumped all over him and said the Communist Negro had an interest here as well as the white Communist, and "I don't want you or anybody else in the Communist Party to say a thing like that." It must be remembered that the party exploits the Negro. He has ready-

made issues, all good material for the party; and they insist in the party not to make remarks of the flavor.

Mr. KUNZIG. In your experience with the party, did they seriously help the Negro?

Mr. LONG. I never heard of the Communist Party helping anyone. Theirs is not a charitable way. The way of the party is organization, and nothing is charitable. Through the overthrow of government to establish the communistic type of economy, he can eat. I have never known of any charity.

Mr. KUNZIG. There was reference made yesterday; and we didn't go into it in detail, as to Samuel Hirsch's wife. Did you know her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. Rose was a member.

Mr. KUNZIG. Rose Hirsch?

Mr. LONG. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know them personally?

Mr. LONG. Yes; I have been in their home on Macauley Street in Chapel Hill.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have been in their home?

Mr. LONG. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were any of the Communist Party meetings held in their home?

Mr. LONG. No; unless it was a social meeting together, which included Junius Scales and other Communists I can name.

Mr. KUNZIG. You never attended any closed Communist Party meetings in the home of the Hirsches?

Mr. LONG. No; they sat in at many group Communist meetings at many houses; but they had social get-togethers at which Communists were present.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Long, do you recall any incident of possible expulsion of the Hirsches themselves from the time you went into the party? If so, will you relate it.

Mr. LONG. Oh, yes. We had a comrade come in in 1946; Leonard Bernstein, from Columbia University. He entered the graduate school. Leonard and 1 or 2 of the comrades felt that the Hirsches * * * the way Rose and Sam were set up, if one could go to the meeting the other would stay home with the baby. Sometimes Rose would come and sometimes he would come; and there were days when they would both make the party meetings; but, for most part, one or the other would have to sit at home with the baby. Bernstein felt that both should make every meeting. He was an overzealous type of comrade; and he suggested that they should be censured or even expelled.

Mr. KUNZIG. What did the Hirsches think about that?

Mr. LONG. They resented it very strongly. Rose pointed out that one of her relatives was an organizer and the idea of expulsion was preposterous; and Hall came to the rescue by pointing out that the word "expulsion" shouldn't be thrown around so lightly. So, the whole thing was quashed and Hirsches stayed in the party so far as I know until I got out.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you get out?

Mr. LONG. In 1948.

Mr. KUNZIG. Hirsch, then, knew Junius Scales?

Mr. LONG. Oh, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. They were friendly with him?

Mr. LONG. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Hans Freystadt?

Mr. LONG. Yes; I was introduced to Hans Freystadt when I got out in 1948.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew Hans Freystadt to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. Hans Freystadt admitted it to everyone; even where he was teaching physics at the university.

Mr. KUNZIG. He was teaching physics at the University of North Carolina? He was on the faculty?

Mr. LONG. Yes; and he was awarded an atomic scholarship. He was exposed and he didn't get the scholarship, I understand.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did he attend party meetings with you?

Mr. LONG. He came in about the time that I was transferred down. I actually never attended a party meeting with him; but he was introduced by another comrade when I was out of the party in 1948. I quit the party and attended the last party meeting; but the comrades try to get you back in and they still invite you and send out information; and in 1948 they tried to get me back in the party. Finally, they put the freeze on me in the late 1949; but he was speaking to me. I was never to a party meeting with him but he was openly a member of the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Mr. Milton and Minna Abernethy?

Mr. LONG. Well.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were they members of the party?

Mr. LONG. They were members of the party. For certain reasons Ab didn't come to the meetings anymore. However, meetings were held at their home and they gave a regular monthly payment to help support the party financially. Ab ran a bookstore which carried all the communistic literature; carried Marx, Lenin, and a whole line of international books.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you attend meetings with Milton Abernethy?

Mr. LONG. I attended district conventions.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did Hirsch attend meetings with Milton Abernethy?

Mr. LONG. He did.

Milton was from Hickory, N. C., and Minna was from Brooklyn.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever know Maria Diez?

Mr. LONG. I know her very well.

Mr. KUNZIG. Tell us about her.

Mr. LONG. She was a student in the French language from Habana, Cuba. One of the Communists got to know her on the campus and told us about her. He said she was a girl in the Communist Party in Cuba or the equivalent of the Communist Party; that she knows Marx and Lenin and all that; and what about presenting her and bringing her in. So she starts to attend the party meetings; and she was in the expulsion meeting and took the side of the Jacksons and almost got expelled herself. She was still in the party when I left.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know any other members of the faculty of the University of North Carolina who are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. Oh, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you name only those, please, whom you know to be definitely members of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. John Myers who taught French and Spanish. I recruited Myers. He taught me a course in French and I wound up giving him stuff to read and he came in late in 1947 when he returned to a New York school. He also was studying while he was teaching courses there.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any others?

Mr. LONG. In the French department, Robert Lewis. I just met Bob in late 1947. I don't know where he came from but he was teaching courses in French. He was getting his doctorate in the University of North Carolina; and at the same time he got the doctorate in the University of North Carolina, he joined the faculty in nearby Duke University; and taught French at Duke University. The last I heard of him, he was teaching in a boys' school in Connecticut.

Mr. KUNZIG. He is not at Duke anymore?

Mr. LONG. No. Anatole Valkov. He was teaching in the physics department, as I recall.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you know he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. I attended meetings with Valkov. He came in the Chapel Hill group after I came in. He didn't stay too long. The reason mentioned—Anatole was there and I am sure Hirsch knows Anatole Volkov. He left the party in late 1946 or 1947, but he left under peaceful means. He wasn't expelled. This we got from Junius Scales. The FBI talked with Anatole and Anatole told them he was going to withdraw from the group. This I got from Scales.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think the person you have just mentioned is the adopted stepson of [Nathan] Gregory Silvermaster who appeared before many committees and is mentioned in the Alger Hiss situation.

Were there any other teachers or professors you knew who were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. In the English department, Eli Friedland. Eli was a graduate student and teaching English at the University of North Carolina, and during this time I went there he was getting his degree, and he got his degree shortly after I left there. Then he decided to quit working for CIU and he wound up teaching English courses. As I recall, they refused to grant him his doctorate some time later. Why, I don't know.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir; he was from Brooklyn. Incidentally, I know the wives of some of these are members of the Communist Party, too.

Mr. KUNZIG. We would like you to tell us very briefly about your being sent to the Communist Party schools; just when that was and what they were.

Mr. LONG. Well, I joined the party I said in June 1946 and about June 1947 I was sent to this Communist Party school which was held at Camp Beacon near Poughkeepsie, N. Y. This was a summer camp which we understood was in the hands of friendly people to the party. All our expenses were paid by the Communist Party; our transportation there and back; and food was taken care of; all our recreation facilities and a place to stay. We stayed off by ourselves in part of

the summer camp and we were indoctrinated in party theory. I could give you that—

Mr. KUNZIG. We can get that at a later time. Tell us if any of the Communists you have named know this Camp Beacon?

Mr. LONG. You mean the students?

Mr. KUNZIG. The students.

Mr. LONG. At this Beacon School—it was a school confined solely to the southern Communists by the national committee; from North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama; but it was in the later school I went to in downtown Manhattan, N. Y., that I met other fellow students and leaders of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Tell us first about this other school. Can you name some southerners you knew in the camp?

Mr. LONG. Clara Hutchinson, of Roanoke, Va.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was she at this school where only the Communists were?

Mr. LONG. Yes; she told me her husband was an organizer of some Syrian descent and organized around Roanoke. Clarence Goforth, from Norfolk, Va. I never did know how to spell his last name. He was a trade unionist and a member of the party. Mary Major, from Asheville, N. C. The last time I knew she was in Winston-Salem distributing printed matter among the white workers at the Camel cigarette factory. Sylvia Bernard.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where is she from? Do you recall?

Mr. LONG. She was originally from Asheville, N. C. She had worked with United Electrical, CIO, in Winston-Salem. She discussed that and I heard other people discuss it. Grace Livingston, from New Orleans, and connected with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in New Orleans. Florence Castile.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where is she from?

Mr. LONG. She was originally from Westchester County, N. Y. The reason she came to this school, she was working in Birmingham with another Communist Party organization; the Southern Youth Organization.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you tell us briefly how you went back to school, then back to North Carolina, then you were sent to a second school of the Communist Party.

Mr. LONG. Yes; certainly. After the expulsion meeting I was talking about in which the Hirsches and the others were present; after this happened and the appearance by Nat Ross and the southern regional organizer of the party, Sam Hall and Junius Scales; they proposed to me that I go to a second school; and they told me it would last 3 months while the other lasted only 3 or 4 weeks. I was told this school was on a higher level by Sam Hall.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you attend?

Mr. LONG. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How long did it last?

Mr. LONG. Only 6 weeks. I had a schedule and about 6 weeks. Betty Gannett came in and said the school was to be disbanded and we were to go immediately to our districts.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you go immediately to your district?

Mr. LONG. I didn't explain why we were being disbanded. There was apparently some rumors among the students that the FBI was going to arrest the school in one swoop.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where was the school?

Mr. LONG. In a building housing the Jefferson School of Social Science; but we were not actually students of Jefferson School. We had a whole floor set off to ourselves and anyone could register at the Jefferson School of Social Science. This was a group school. Our tuition was paid for; and everything was paid for by the party. I am saying this, I didn't go to Jefferson School as you would say.

Mr. KUNZIG. Even in this relationship Jefferson School has been cited as an adjunct of the Communist Party by Attorney General Tom Clark in 1947; and by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities report for 1944.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you devote your time to the philosophical aspects of the Communist Party or to some sabotage and espionage?

Mr. LONG. No; we went through a very comprehensive study of what is known to the party as Marxism and Leninism. We went to study theory.

Mr. CLARDY. You studied the theoretical party instead of the everyday work of overthrowing the Government.

Mr. LONG. They didn't show us how to load rifles, sir; but they showed us the only way the communistic state could be established was through the working class overthrowing the capitalist state. Marx said—

Wait until the situations present themselves and you will have the key to solve the issues.

The situation will determine the exact form to be applied.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Long, very briefly, did you have anything to do with the communistic activities in Durham, N. C.

Mr. LONG. Yes; I organized the Durham Communist Party group.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you an officer?

Mr. LONG. I was chairman of that group.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was that?

Mr. LONG. I first set up the Durham group in the summer of 1947. Then I left for the other school and left it in other hands. Then I came back and rejoined it. Actually, I had a funny situation. I lived in Durham and I went to school in Chapel Hill 13 miles away; and in touching both communities I ran back and forth between the groups.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you have anything to do with the election in 1948 in the campaign of Henry Wallace who ran on the Progressive Party ticket at that time?

Mr. LONG. Oh, yes; I went out with petitions.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was the job of the Communist Party group in regards to the Progressive Party?

Mr. LONG. Well, I went to the convention of the Progressive Party and saw the same group that was in the Southern Conference of Human Welfare. All the comrades seemed to be in the new Progressive Party; and I saw the State office in our own home town staffed with the comrades and they were going out getting petitions and mimeographing.

Mr. KUNZIG. They were people you knew to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know Mary Price?

Mr. LONG. I knew her well.

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

Mr. LONG. Junius Scales told her at the Southern Conference for Human Welfare convention held in Greensboro in 1947 when I was chairman of the Durham party group that she could contact me and I would help her. She was head of the Southern Conference before she was head of the Progressive Party in the State.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LONG. The comrades say that she went to the Marxist and Leninist School of Social Science in Russia; but she has actually never been to a party meeting I have attended. But Scales told me about her in Durham.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you say she was educated in Russia?

Mr. LONG. That was the rumor among the comrades around Chapel Hill and Durham.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have any information on the recent conduct of the woman?

Mr. KUNZIG. We will definitely check that out.

Do you know of your own personal knowledge that the Communist Party united behind this woman in her campaign in North Carolina?

Mr. LONG. Oh, yes; two leading assistants were Laurent and Marjorie Frantz.

Mr. SCHERER. Where is she today, if you know?

Mr. LONG. I don't know where Mary is. I haven't seen her since 1948.

Mr. DOYLE. Is that to be sufficient to identify a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. VELDE. I think he has made it very clear.

Mr. DOYLE. I want to know for the record if this identification of a person as a member of the Communist Party is sufficient?

Mr. VELDE. Could the witness elaborate on—

Mr. KUNZIG. I want the record to show that the witness was identified by Elizabeth Bentley before this time.

Mr. SCHERER. Before this committee?

Mr. KUNZIG. Before this committee.

Tell us how you actually got out of the Communist Party.

Mr. LONG. As I said, I attended the last meeting in the spring of 1948. You just don't get out of the Communist Party. In 2 weeks there was a notice, and I found that they kept coming around. They even came to my house. I just quit going to the meetings, and they still kept saying to come around. I still kept up in the front group and instead of going to the Communist Party meetings, I was just a comrade withdrawn from the party over a period of time. Finally, in 1948, I decided on a course of action. I went to the FBI and identified myself. I told them I had been a member of the Communist Party, but as of now I had resigned; and will you please make a note of that in your records; or something to that effect. I didn't talk about anybody else. I left some time later. I will state there were no threats or duress on the part of the party on my turning information over. I did this entirely on my own and I was never asked to do so by anyone. I told the guy, "I am Ralph Long. I am a member of the party. You have probably heard of me." He said, "I have never heard of you before in my life."

Mr. KUNZIG. I respectfully request that this witness be kept under subpoena because he has a great deal more information to give to this committee.

Mr. VELDE. I think the members would like to ask Mr. Long some more questions after lunch; so, at this time we adjourn and recess until 2.

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

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 2 p. m., of the same day, the proceedings were resumed, the same parties being present, except Representative Morgan M. Moulder, who was not present.)

Mr. VELDE. The hearing will be in order. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Long, one more question I wish to ask. Would you explain to the committee why you left the Communist Party, the reasons for breaking?

TESTIMONY OF RALPH VERNON LONG—Resumed

Mr. LONG. Well, my reason for leaving the Communist Party was my realization that it in fact advocated the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence. I learned this in its straight form, its strongest form, at this Communist school, the second one I attended, in New York City, in late 1947. After that, for the first time, I came occasionally to miss a meeting, and finally I discontinued meetings altogether. But I think it was the doctrine in its really comprehensiveness that woke me up and led me by steps out of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. I believe Mr. Clardy had certain questions.

Mr. CLARDY. Yes; I do. Witness, earlier in your testimony you said there had been some indoctrination or discussions about the policy this Government should follow in withdrawing its troops in various places, and you specifically mentioned Korea. Were other specific points on the globe where we have troops mentioned in that discussion?

Mr. LONG. Indonesia and other areas around—China, Burma, and others. I don't recall the areas. We were in the Pacific, and being Pacific GI's, naturally Pacific areas, the withdrawal of troops from Pacific areas, under what I feel to be a falsehood of "Let's just get the soldiers home," was mainly in that area, but it was mainly a catch-all resolution, which was unanimously passed and Lichstein, and Nat Petashnik, and these other people that were working and setting the thing up to begin with, and they all wore arm bands with "DAC" on them, and quite a few of those guys were Petashnik's friends, and on it was "DAC," which was Demobilization Action Committee, which was the name cooked up and put on it.

Mr. CLARDY. What year was this?

Mr. LONG. This was the latter part of 1945.

Mr. CLARDY. So that even as early as 1945, it was evident the Communists were laying plans for the taking over of Korea and all the other southeastern countries you have mentioned?

Mr. LONG. That, sir, is a conclusion which I draw now, but actually I heard no such discussion as to the reason.

Mr. CLARDY. I did not mean to imply that.

Mr. LONG. That was my conclusion.

Mr. CLARDY. It is evident, in retrospect, that even in that date of 1945 they had their plans carefully laid and were using the Armed Forces of America to help further the selling of the idea to leave them a clear field to do what they have done since then?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir; and through the withdrawal of our troops, it, in effect, laid the basis for the national liberation movements which the Communists foster in backward countries to probably be able to move in. That would be part of it. What I say is a conclusion on my part.

Mr. CLARDY. But from a factual standpoint, you do know as early as 1945 they were attempting to indoctrinate the troops and the folks back home, so that we should get out then and leave that part of the world to them?

Mr. LONG. Later in 1945. Actually, I met my first Communist in early 1945.

Mr. VELDE. I am moved to make this statement, since Churchill has made the statement of what he planned to do to stop the Russians in Germany, now the Russians are bellowing of bad faith, that we did not trust them. I think it is evident we shouldn't have trusted them.

Mr. LONG. About this time the Communist Party, in 1945, about the time I was becoming indoctrinated, was actually undergoing a change; Browderism was being changed.

Mr. VELDE. You mean the tactics were being changed to fit the purposes of the party?

Mr. LONG. I wasn't in the party. I read about Browderism.

Mr. CLARDY. Browder had served his purpose of selling a bill of goods of one kind, and the scene changed, and they kicked him out.

Mr. LONG. They accused him of having deprived Marxism of its revolutionary core.

Mr. CLARDY. That era was at an end about that time?

Mr. LONG. About the time I was meeting these people in 1945, Browder was being deposed, and the CPA was turning into the CP.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you suppose very many men in your outfit and other outfits with which you came into contact, really understood the deep, hidden purposes of the Communist world in promoting these meetings you are talking about?

Mr. LONG. Absolutely not. At that time, I did not understand it.

Mr. CLARDY. You can see it plainly now, can't you?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Long, in the early part of your testimony, you told us about some rather subtle indoctrination to which you were exposed during the time you were in the Army. Do you have any knowledge whether or not such indoctrination was practiced generally throughout the Armed Forces?

Mr. LONG. You are referring to orientation, lectures, and so forth?

Mr. CLARDY. That is right, that to which you referred in the early part of your testimony. Do you have any information as to whether or not that situation existed in other areas of the Armed Forces?

Mr. LONG. No; I can't say that I do.

Mr. CLARDY. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman, except I do wish to say that after listening to the testimony of Long, I will have

no hesitancy when this committee is in executive session of moving that the testimony of Samuel Hirsch be referred to the Department of Justice for possible perjury prosecution.

Mr. DOYLE. I know, Mr. Long, you remember this morning the form of my question, the statement criticizing you for being indoctrinated in the Communist philosophy while you were in the uniform of a United States soldier? You remember that?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I think your testimony shows you were being indoctrinated in 1945, and joined the Communist Party, actually, in the summer of 1946?

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. And you got out of the party in 1948?

Mr. LONG. That is right, spring.

Mr. DOYLE. Why did it take you 2½ years approximately to discover that the Communist Party philosophy and doctrine was actually the use of force and violence if and when the time came?

Mr. LONG. The only thing I can say is that the learning process varies with different people, and in most people consumes a certain amount of time, and I began knowing a little more each day.

But it was only in 1947, I think, I brought together the loose ends into the central philosophy of communism, and what it is and what is inevitable under it. In fact, no words were minced at this Communist school in the latter part of 1947, or the one I went to in the summer of 1947. No one minced their words, and I would be glad to go into it thoroughly and tell you who said what, about certain aspects of the theory, if you are interested in that.

The Communist Party tries to Americanize their doctrine. They have their own interpretation of American history, and other things, so they can actually delude you into feeling patriotic, oddly enough.

It is only when you go along in the party, as I went to New York, and dealt with hardened and seasoned Reds who had been in the party for many years and who did not mince their words—you really go into the theory with thorough theoreticians of the party, such as Siskin and Howard Zilzel; it is only then I feel a man can really see what it really is. I am not giving that as my complete reason for getting out of the party. I probably was a little, what you might call scared. I probably was maybe scared of my future. I was scared of many other things. I am sure in many ways I am an exploded idealist, as the saying goes, but I don't think there is a real apology for my having got in the party, and I wouldn't attempt to make an apology.

Mr. DOYLE. I appreciate the time you have to deal with this committee this afternoon, and have stated I will have to be very brief, briefer than I would like to be, but this morning I wrote down this, as you spoke, and I think it is almost the exact language: "They taught us the only way to acquire a Communist State was through an armed"—

Mr. LONG. Through an armed working class proletariat.

Mr. DOYLE. You mean you were taught in the Communist Party a time would come when it would be necessary to arm the working people of America?

Mr. LONG. Proletariat was a word that Marx and the theorists used to define the working class, as opposed to the owning class, or bourgeois. The struggle, they maintain, goes on between the working class

and capitalists, or bourgeois. The proletariat, through necessity, will be driven to destroy the bourgeois, to lighten the working class—

Mr. DOYLE. When that time came?

Mr. LONG. To organize it, and to lead it, and, finally, to smash the bourgeois state.

Mr. DOYLE. By force of arms?

Mr. LONG. The only way it can come about is through an armed revolution on the part of your armed working class. They point out that no state ever came into being peacefully; Russia did not, Germany did not.

Mr. DOYLE. When were you first taught that doctrine so you comprehended it?

Mr. LONG. I would say in the second school, when I comprehended it completely, though in the first school, Comrade Siskin was dealing with a younger group which were not in the party quite as long, and he wasn't quite as brutal as he and his fellow associates were who took us in the second school.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask you this, Do you recall other students with whom you discussed that subject and who also came to the same conclusion as you came to, or were you the only one in the class?

Mr. LONG. Sir, at these schools, I wish you would remember they consisted of comrades picked from different sections of the country, brought together, and when the school was over, everyone went back to his district. I went back to my district, and Ruth Koenig went back to hers in Texas, and Frank Boche went back to his in Illinois, and so forth, and I really don't know how Frank came out, whether he is in the party or not today, or how Ruth came out, and so on.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, no American citizen, a young person at the school with you, where you heard them teach the justification of the use of arms and force and violence to overthrow our Government, by the working class against the capitalist class, you have no other knowledge of any other persons who were in those classes, who got out of the party?

Mr. LONG. I have a list of students. I could go over that and see. I don't recall right offhand, if I would read in the paper where so and so has defected in Iowa, or something like that.

Mr. DOYLE. The purpose of that question is to bring out the hold the Communist Party has on these young people at the time they get to the stage of the second school where they are taught the use of force and arms.

Mr. SCHIERER. The thing is this young man got his indoctrination in the United States Army, and I think it is perhaps the duty of this committee to find out who the individuals were that permitted this indoctrination.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Our distinguished counsel asked you why you got out of the Communist Party. You stated this comprehension by you came to be such you finally woke up. In other words, it took you two years and a half to wake up?

Mr. LONG. That is right; to realize.

Mr. DOYLE. To realize their teaching? This morning when I criticized you, and I did it deliberately, of course, because to me it is most shocking, always, when any member of the Armed Forces is so unpatriotic as to join any conspiracy, or which he had any idea was a

conspiracy, when he was in the uniform of the United States Army. But may I say this in answer to my criticism of you, you said, "I probably had a chip on my shoulder."

Mr. LONG. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. What chip did you have on your shoulder? As an American boy, 20 years of age, against the Government of the United States, that justified you, in your mind, at that age, to be willing to be indoctrinated in a Communist conspiracy? What complaint did you have against the United States Government?

Mr. LONG. My father died when I was 3 years old and my mother had to bring up myself and sister. She had a hard time. I was brought up in the depression, in the South.

Mr. VELDE. We all had chips on our shoulder.

Mr. LONG. My indoctrination began in the United States Army; it by no means ended there. As I have already tried to say, I did not consider myself an enemy of the people of the United States, and I did not realize the Communist Party, as a matter of fact, was not elected into office. When I was in the United States Army, though, the gentleman was bringing it along, and I found out very quickly after getting in the party there, that the whole thing isn't elected in the bourgeois framework.

Mr. DOYLE. I hope, Mr. Chairman, it might be possible to have Mr. Long at a later date.

Mr. VELDE. I certainly do too, because there is a lot of information he has.

Mr. DOYLE. My other question was this. As you know, one purpose of this committee functioning under Public Law 601, Mr. Long, is that we have these investigations, one purpose being to get facts and information which would equip us to recommend to the United States Congress legislation, either in the main, or to be incorporated in other bills, dealing with the problems of subversive activities in the United States.

Now that subversive activity might be in the Communist Party, or it might be in some other group, because by no means is the Communist Party the only totalitarian group in the Nation. There are hate groups just as subversive as the Communist Party. They are also totalitarian.

Now, what recommendation have you, if anything, to this committee, in the field of new legislation, or revising legislation, amending legislation, what suggestion have you to make to us that we could take back to the United States Congress, come January, with us, in this important field of subversion?

May I state this, Mr. Long; I am sure the other members of the committee feel as I do—at least, I will state my own position. I think that you as an American citizen have the right to think as you please, do as you please, and be as you please, provided you do it within the four corners of the United States Constitution.

I want to make this clear, I am not interested in people merely because they differ in opinion. It is the subversive level I am interested in. The level where people say it is all right to forcibly overthrow our constitutional form of government, Communists, or any others, who subvert law, who subvert constitutional government; that is the level of thinking I am seeking facts about for Congress.

With that in mind, what suggestion do you have to make to us in the field of legislation?

Mr. LONG. I am very handicapped, because actually I am not familiar with available legislation. I don't know what has been done. All I know is I read it in the paper, and I don't read it too carefully. I got out of the Communist Party. I told the Government, anyway, I could cooperate with them, and I did, but I have gone on trying to live my life, and it is painful to me to actually read and to study the problem, because I feel that studying communism, to begin with, was the whole problem.

Mr. DOYLE. Only because time is so short, I just wish to say this: you state you actually don't read too carefully, and I wish to urge you to read very carefully.

I want to compliment you on finally getting the gumption and backbone and courage to come to this committee. I criticized you this morning, but I compliment you on finally arriving at the patriotic level which impels you to help your Congress.

I want to urge you to use the available fund of information you have to help young America, and all people of the Nation. I want to urge you to place your ability on that level of the dynamic and positive, and try to make up for the damnable damage you have done as a Communist.

Mr. LONG. Thank you, sir.

Mr. VELDE. May I say to you, Mr. Long, you have been cross-examined by a very brilliant lawyer and a very fine Congressman, Mr. Doyle of California, and as far as I am concerned, you have been telling the absolute truth about your connections with the Communist Party. I know you have other information and the committee regrets we have other witnesses to be called at this time so we cannot hear your further testimony regarding all of the associations you had in the Communist Party.

Let me say this to you, Mr. Long, of all the witnesses we have heard, you have been one of the most outstanding and patriotic, and have given more information to this committee than any other witness I have heard.

I want to wish you the best of luck in anything you have to do in the future.

Mr. LONG. Thank you, sir.

Mr. VELDE. With that, you are dismissed, with the committee's thanks.

Mr. KUNZIG. We would like to keep the witness under subpoena.

Mr. VELDE. You will remain under subpoena, until you are contacted by the committee.

Mr. LONG. I want to thank the committee for giving me a chance to compensate in some small way for what I did.

Mr. VELDE. Let the record show Mr. Long is continued under subpoena until further notice.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mariano Rodriguez?

Mr. VELDE. In the testimony you are about to give before this committee, do you solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Rodriguez, give us your full name.

TESTIMONY OF MARIANO RODRIGUEZ

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. Mariano Rodriguez.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell that for us, please?

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. M-a-r-i-a-n-o R-o-d-r-i-g-u-e-z.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your present address, Mr. Rodriguez?

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. 2020 12th Avenue, Tampa, Fla.

Mr. KUNZIG. You live in Tampa, Fla.?

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your occupation there, sir?

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. Cigarmaker.

Mr. KUNZIG. And where do you work as a cigarmaker?

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. Vilazon & Co.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Rodriguez, I note you are here not represented by counsel. You know, of course, your right to have counsel. Are you willing to testify without counsel?

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. I am a poor man. I am a worker, and all the money I earn, I need it to support my family. I am married and have got two children. Besides that, I am being under the doctor's care for the last 2 years, due to heart trouble.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you willing to continue testifying?

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. I have not much to say.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, the situation now is that this witness, when asked whether or not he had an attorney, states he is a poor man. I presume he means by that he does not have the funds for an attorney.

As you know, the United States Congress does not have funds to furnish attorneys. That is the situation at this moment.

Mr. SCHERER. Does he say he wants an attorney?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir; he wants an attorney.

Mr. DOYLE. I believe, in view of the witness' statement, we ought to see to it that he has counsel, and suggest to the Miami Bar Association if they wouldn't gratuitously furnish a lawyer.

Mr. VELDE. We are all lawyers, and I believe, of course, the bar here is patriotic, and I ask now that the president of the bar association here in Miami appoint some man to represent this witness, before we proceed with further questioning.

Mr. CLARDY. Hadn't we first make certain he wants an attorney? Do you feel you need an attorney, or are you willing to go forward, without an attorney?

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. Well, I don't know how far I can go; how far, I don't know. I think an attorney is always a help.

Mr. CLARDY. You haven't made any attempt to get an attorney up to now, I understand, is that correct?

Mr. RODRIGUEZ. No, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course the precedent in other cities is that the bar association has done a similar thing.

Mr. VELDE. And I am satisfied they will do it here.

Mr. DOYLE. In Seattle, the bar association not only furnished one lawyer, but several, as a patriotic duty.

Mr. VELDE. The witness will be excused at the present time, under continuing subpoena.

Call your next witness, please.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Raul Vidal.

Mr. VELDE. In the testimony you are about to give before this committee, do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. VIDAL. I do, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give your full name, please, sir?

TESTIMONY OF RAUL VIDAL

Mr. VIDAL. Raul Vidal.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your present address, Mr. Vidal?

Mr. VIDAL. 730 Southeast 5 Place, Hialeah.

Mr. KUNZIG. I note you also, are not accompanied by an attorney. Is it satisfactory with you to testify without an attorney?

Mr. VIDAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Vidal, where are you presently employed?

Mr. VIDAL. Pan American Airways.

Mr. KUNZIG. In what capacity, sir?

Mr. VIDAL. Commissary helper.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your function? What do you do?

Mr. VIDAL. We check the commissary equipment that goes to the planes, and we supply the pillows and blankets.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you born in this country, Mr. Vidal?

Mr. VIDAL. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where were you born?

Mr. VIDAL. Habana, Cuba.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you now a naturalized citizen?

Mr. VIDAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you become a naturalized citizen?

Mr. VIDAL. 1938.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you come to this country?

Mr. VIDAL. 1924.

Mr. KUNZIG. And in 1938, when you became a naturalized citizen, where did that naturalization proceeding take place?

Mr. VIDAL. Miami, Fla.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you give us a very brief background of your education?

Mr. VIDAL. Well, I went up to the sixth grade in Cuba. I went about 3 years in night school in Miami. I also went to a school in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mr. KUNZIG. What school was that in Cincinnati, Ohio?

Mr. VIDAL. Automotive trade school.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, can you give us a brief summary of your employment, where you worked?

Mr. VIDAL. I have worked in Miami as a grocery clerk, and I moved to Cincinnati, Ohio. Over there I worked for Manischetz Mataco.

Mr. KUNZIG. What function, or what work did you do?

Mr. VIDAL. I was a packing machine operator.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then where did you go, after Cincinnati, Ohio?

Mr. VIDAL. I came back to Miami.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was that?

Mr. VIDAL. The latter part of 1936.

Mr. KUNZIG. 1936? What sort of work did you do from 1936 on?

Mr. VIDAL. I worked in a grocery store. Then I worked in a tire place, cement tire factory. Then I worked for Miami Shipbuilding Corp. Then I was in the Navy.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you go in the Navy?

Mr. VIDAL. 1944.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was that prior or after you worked for the Miami Shipbuilding Corp.?

Mr. VIDAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. What were you in the Navy?

Mr. VIDAL. I was seaman, second class.

Mr. KUNZIG. How long were you in the Navy?

Mr. VIDAL. I was in the Navy until 1945.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you receive an honorable discharge?

Mr. VIDAL. Yes, sir; I had a medical discharge.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where have you worked since you got out of the Navy in 1945?

Mr. VIDAL. I worked at Pan American Airways.

Mr. KUNZIG. You worked for them the entire time, right up to and including the present?

Mr. VIDAL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Vidal, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. VIDAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. VIDAL. About the latter part of 1938.

Mr. KUNZIG. How long were you in the party?

Mr. VIDAL. Well, off and on, I have been up to the latter part of 1948.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who recruited you into the party, Mr. Vidal?

Mr. VIDAL. A man by the name of Joe Carbonell.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let the record reflect this was the witness who testified here yesterday.

How did Joe Carbonell get you in the party?

Mr. VIDAL. We became very good friends, and he took me to Miami Beach to private parties, and other parties in Miami, and at those parties he introduced me to people who were supposed to be Communist Party members, and I finally had a party of my own, at home, and he brought some of these people from Miami Beach, and one of the people who went to my place at that time was Charlie Smolikoff, who later was the one who took my membership.

Mr. SCHERER. Did the witness yesterday, Carbonell, take the fifth amendment to all pertinent questions?

Mr. KUNZIG. I asked him repeatedly this question, whether he had recruited this witness, and he took the fifth amendment, with obvious good reason, it now appears.

Did you go to Communist Party meetings in Miami or Miami Beach?

Mr. VIDAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you recall the names of any of the people with whom you met at these meetings, who were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. VIDAL. The names I am going to mention now, these people, I am sure they are Communist Party members, because we met in closed meeting. There are other people whom I know were party members,

but I do not recall their names, and if I see them personally, I might be able to recognize them.

Mr. KUNZIG. As we talked before, we know this gentleman has been most careful and most anxious in his conversations with me that he only desires to name those people he knew to be members of the party, because he doesn't wish to hurt anyone.

Now, with that in mind, will you give us the names of persons you met with in closed Communist Party meetings?

Mr. VIDAL. Joe Carbonell.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is the man you said.

Mr. VIDAL. James Nimmo.

Mr. KUNZIG. Identify him a little further.

Mr. VIDAL. He was an organizer for the laundry workers.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was he a Negro?

Mr. VIDAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. VIDAL. Charlie Smolikoff.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is the man you already mentioned?

Mr. VIDAL. Ed Waller.

Mr. KUNZIG. Ed Waller, we don't need any further identification. He has testified before this committee. You knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. VIDAL. He was an organizer.

Max Shlafrock.

Mr. KUNZIG. How did you know Max Shlafrock to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. VIDAL. As I said before, these people I mention now, I met with them in closed Communist Party meetings?

Ted Segal.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you identify Ted Segal further?

Mr. VIDAL. He was a man who came here from New York, and I was told he was a lawyer in New York.

Sara Segal, his wife.

Phil Scheffsky.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you identify him further?

Mr. VIDAL. At one time he was president of local 500, TWU. He worked for Pan American Airways.

Jack Osman.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was he?

Mr. VIDAL. Mr. Jack Osman, he worked as a store window decorator.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where did he work?

Mr. VIDAL. When I used to know him, he used to work at Lerner's Shop, I believe it was.

Mr. KUNZIG. In Miami?

Mr. VIDAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Vidal, what period of time was this you knew Jack Osman to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. VIDAL. I don't remember exactly the date.

Mr. KUNZIG. Roughly?

Mr. VIDAL. I would say around 1940, 1941, 1942.

Mr. KUNZIG. In what period, in the early period of time?

Mr. VIDAL. In the early period; yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. VIDAL. Louis Popp. He worked as a porter at Pan American Airways.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any others?

Mr. VIDAL. Dave Lippert. He worked as a mechanic for Pan American Airways. He was one of the union organizers, too.

Dave Spicey, a colored man, who worked as a porter for Pan American Airways.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any other names of anyone else you can recall you met with as Communists while you were in the party?

Mr. VIDAL. Offhand, I don't remember of anyone. As I said before, I know I met with other people, but I can't remember their names, and I would have to see them to recognize them.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Vidal, what took place at the meetings of the Communist Party you attended? What happened?

Mr. VIDAL. There was discussions about the political situation of the country, and there was lectures on communism. They asked every member to try to recruit new members and to sell party literature, like the books and pamphlets and the Daily Worker.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of the Communist Party during the time you were in the Navy?

Mr. VIDAL. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you join up again when you got out?

Mr. VIDAL. Let me explain. When I first got into the party I attended regular meetings for some time. Then I kept away from them for a while. It seems many times I went to the meeting, and I did not like what was going on, and I quit, and this man Carbonell came back to my house and invited me out, and took me to Communist Party meetings.

Mr. KUNZIG. Carbonell kept coming back and taking you to meetings?

Mr. VIDAL. Yes; in 1942 Charlie Smolikoff organized the shipyard workers union, and I attended some meetings with him. Then, in 1944, I went in the Navy, and when I came back, in 1945, I went to work for Pan American. In 1946 Smolikoff was named the organizer of the transport workers union in Miami, and I attended several party meetings at 730 West Flagler Street, at union headquarters.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you telling us Communist Party meetings were held in Union Hall?

Mr. VIDAL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. You attended them personally?

Mr. VIDAL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was that, in period of time?

Mr. VIDAL. 1946 to 1948.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were Communist meetings held there with approval of union officials? Did they know about it?

Mr. VIDAL. Much of the union officials were part of the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. The union officials were the same as the Communists?

Mr. VIDAL. Some of them.

Mr. KUNZIG. The meetings were held right there in the meeting hall?

Mr. VIDAL. Not in the office, but on the second floor.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were they secret meetings? There wasn't a sign that said, "This is where the Communist Party is meeting"?

Mr. VIDAL. No, no.

Mr. KUNZIG. It was secret on the second floor?

Mr. VIDAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Why did you finally break and leave the Communist Party, Mr. Vidal?

Mr. VIDAL. Well, sir, really, the only reason, when I was invited by Smolikoff, when Smolikoff took over the office, he invited me to party meetings. He never asked me, he never issued me a card, and he used to ask me to pay dues, which I never did, and I found myself in a position—I saw the union was controlled by the party, and at that time I just came out of the Navy and I feared if I failed to join the—

Mr. KUNZIG. You feared—

Mr. VIDAL. I felt more secure in my job if I joined the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are suggesting to us when a union is controlled by Communists, it sometimes forces a union man to join them in order to feel secure in his job?

Mr. VIDAL. If you want to put it that way, yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Why did you get out?

Mr. VIDAL. I kept myself out of the meeting, and I tried to keep away from the meetings as much as possible. They went to my house several times to pick me up, and another time Carbonell and this man Nimmo came over to my house and they told me the executive committee of the party wanted to know why I did not attend party meetings, and why I did not pay dues, and I told them at that time to please get out of there and don't bother me in my home, and finally when all this came up, after the committee was here and all this propaganda that came out in the papers, that was when I stopped going to the meetings.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are referring to the House Committee on Un-American Activities that came here in 1948?

Mr. VIDAL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And after that was all in the newspaper about Communist activity, you quit?

Mr. VIDAL. It was some time after that the union split, and I was given a number and said you are supposed to meet with Popp and Spicey and some other man who is dead now, and he said, "You will go, instead of using your name, you will be known by numbers," and that was, I mean, after that, I never went to any meetings.

As I said before, they used to come to my house to pick me up.

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

Mr. DOYLE. About how many men were in the Communist Party in Miami that you knew were Communists at that time?

Mr. VIDAL. Sir, I did not have any idea, because there were separate groups.

Mr. KUNZIG. How many in your group?

Mr. VIDAL. There might be about 7 or 8, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Let me say to you, sir, you, too, have rendered a very valuable and patriotic service to your country by giving us the information you did about Communist activities in this area.

With that, you are dismissed, with the committee's thanks.

The committee will stand in recess for 10 minutes.

(Thereupon, at 2:53 p. m., the hearing was recessed for 10 minutes.)

(Representative Morgan M. Moulder was absent at the conclusion of the recess.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order. Let the record show I have appointed a subcommittee consisting of Mr. Clardy, Mr. Scherer, Mr. Doyle, and myself as chairman for the purpose of this hearing. Will you call your next witness, please?

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Max Shlafrock.

Mr. VELDE. In the testimony you are about to give before this committee, do you solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I do.

Mr. DIXON. My name is Howard W. Dixon. My address is 606 Seybold Building. The witness would like to request—

Mr. CLARDY. Counsel, you were told yesterday that you were not permitted to make arguments and address the Chair. If you want to advise your client, you have a right to do it, but you are not going to make this a forum. Now, will you sit down?

Mr. VELDE. You again request for your client that you make a statement?

Mr. DIXON. Yes, sir; I have a request to make for my client.

Mr. VELDE. If you care to submit a written statement to the committee, the committee will receive it and take it into consideration.

TESTIMONY OF MAX SHLAFROCK, MIAMI, FLA.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you state your name, please, Mr. Shlafrock?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. My name is Max Shlafrock.

Mr. KUNZIG. And your present address?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. 1857 Northwest 38th Street.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your employment, sir?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I was a general contractor. Through the publicity I have gotten, I have been reduced to a carpenter.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give us a brief résumé of your educational background, sir?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I would like to make the request that my picture not be televised, and I will continue.

Mr. VELDE. You are familiar with the rules. You were given a copy of the rules of the committee; were you not?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I was busy, Mr. Chairman, and I didn't have time to read it thoroughly and understand it thoroughly.

Mr. VELDE. There is no live television here on this program, as you probably know. Our rules only cover live television. As far as the use of press cameras and newsreels, we cannot make any rule to prevent them from giving the information to the public. I would, however, if the witness will promise to answer the questions that are presented to him without taking the fifth amendment, I would then ask that the news photographers desist taking pictures while you testify. Does the witness agree to that?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I am not willing to sell the Bill of Rights for my personal safety and liberties.

Mr. CLARDY. The press has the right to report the activities of you or anyone else appearing before this committee and we do not want to let the witness prescribe the rules under which the free press shall operate.

Mr. VELDE. The gentleman has made a very fine statement, but the gentleman knows in the past we do not want any demonstrations from the audience, either favorable to the committee or unfavorable to the committee. This hearing should proceed as other hearings have in the past.

Mr. CLARDY. I am sorry I invoked it, but I can't say now I am really sorry down in my heart.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Shlafrock, would you answer the question, please, which was, Would you give us a brief résumé of your educational background?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes, sir; I had about 2 weeks of learning to read and write prior to my coming to this country in 1921.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where were you born, sir?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. In Poland. I came here at the age of 12. I knew no politics. I knew no nothing, and I imported nothing except myself and my services.

Mr. KUNZIG. Tell us where you went to school?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I went to various schools in the city of New York—kept moving from place to place. I attended various elementary schools. I did not graduate from elementary school. My schooling consisted of actually about 4 or 5 grades of elementary school.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you a citizen today?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you become a citizen?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I was a citizen when I came here, through derivative citizenship.

Mr. KUNZIG. Give us a brief résumé of your employment, please, Mr. Shlafrock.

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Well, I was doing general contracting from 1939 until here of late, and now I do carpenter work—whatever work I can get. I am a carpenter by trade.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you ever, Mr. Shlafrock, been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that, Mr. Chairman, on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you in the courtroom when Mr. Vidal identified you as, a short time ago, someone he knew to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that, Mr. Chairman.

(At this point Mr. Shlafrock conferred with Mr. Dixon.)

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You were in the courtroom, right here in this room, and did you hear Mr. Vidal identify you?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was that identification correct?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KUNZIG. On the same grounds?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. On the same grounds, that it would tend to incriminate me.

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

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that, Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever connected with the Florida Press and Educational League?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that, too, Mr. Chairman, for the reasons previously mentioned.

Mr. KUNZIG. As has already been stated in this hearing, the Florida Press and Educational League is cited as a subversive branch of the Communist Political Association by Attorney General Tom Clark in 1949. Were you ever a member of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that, Mr. Chairman, for the same reasons.

Mr. KUNZIG. The International Workers' Order is cited as subversive and communistic by Attorney General Tom Clark in 1947 and 1948, by Attorney General Francis Biddle as early as 1942, and by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, and this committee, and has perhaps more citations than any organization in the book.

Were you ever a member of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that, too, Mr. Chairman, on the ground it would tend to incriminate.

Mr. KUNZIG. The Civil Rights Congress was cited as subversive and communistic in 1947 and 1948; cited as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party and controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it, by the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947. You refuse to answer?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. My answer is the same.

Mr. KUNZIG. And that, of course, as I have cited today, is a cited organization. Let me ask you, Mr. Shlafrock, if it isn't true that Communist Party meetings were held in your own home?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever hear of the name Jack London, and I don't mean the writer?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KUNZIG. Isn't it a fact you have gone under the name of Jack London?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that.

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

Mr. VELDE. Certainly the Chair concurs and you are directed to answer that question. There is nothing in the answer to that question that could possibly incriminate you.

Mr. SCHERER. Unless that name was used by him as a member of the Communist Party, then he would have a right to invoke the fifth amendment. We know many party members used another name.

Mr. VELDE. It is my understanding he asked the question was he acquainted with Jack London.

Mr. SCHERER. He asked if he ever used that name.

Mr. CLARDY. I don't think he is entitled to the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE. In either case, you are still directed to answer the question as to whether you ever used the name of Jack London.

Mr. SHLAFROCK. It may be a chain in the link of evidence that would tend to incriminate me. I therefore refuse to answer that.

Mr. CLARDY. That complete answer was suggested to you by counsel sitting at your left; was it not?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Just what I thought. I think counsel should be advised he has a right to advise him on his legal rights, but not to put the answer in his mouth.

Mr. SCHERER. I respectfully disagree with the Chair's ruling. I think the man has a right to invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. CLARDY. But counsel has no right to put the answer in his mouth.

Mr. SCHERER. I am not talking about counsel.

Mr. CLARDY. I am. I think counsel is not performing the functions of counsel and is going beyond those he is entitled to. If it persists, I intend to make a point of it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever connected, Mr. Shlafrock, with the northwest section of the Communist Party here in Miami?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that, Mr. Chairman, on the grounds previously mentioned.

Mr. KUNZIG. Isn't it a fact that the Northwest Section Club of the Communist Party held meetings here in Miami in your home?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. KUNZIG. For the same reason?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. For the same reason, yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever in the Armed Forces of the United States?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I was rejected for physical reasons.

Mr. DOYLE. May I have that answer?

Mr. KUNZIG. He was rejected for physical reasons. Have you ever worked on any Government projects of any kind?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. What kind?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Various Government projects during the war.

Mr. KUNZIG. What type of Government projects?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Building.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were working for the Government projects during the war?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. SCHERER. The fact is, you were a member of the Communist Party at that time; were you not?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you notify the Government in any way, any papers or contracts or anything that you filled out, that you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I don't recall that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you recall whether you ever told the United States Government, "I am a Communist"?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. I am not sure I understand the nature of the employment that you were engaged in, except that it had some connection with the Government.

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I did some work in this very building.

Mr. CLARDY. What kind of work?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. The construction work.

Mr. CLARDY. Is that the only type of work you engaged in that had any connection with the Government?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. That's right.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you work directly for the Government or for some contractor?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I had a contract.

Mr. CLARDY. You had a contract with the Government?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. You were not called on at any time to sign an application form for work in the Government, were you?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I don't recall.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you recall ever signing anything in the nature of a non-Communist oath?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I don't think so.

Mr. CLARDY. You are not sure of that, however?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. What is your answer?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. That is correct; I am not sure.

Mr. CLARDY. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. Pursuing Mr. Clardy's questions a little further, what other construction project, Government construction projects, did you participate in?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I remodeled this recruiting station right here next to this building.

Mr. SCHERER. Were there any connected with the defense effort directly?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I should think it would be.

Mr. SCHERER. Which?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Pardon?

Mr. SCHERER. What other projects were connected with the defense effort?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I worked as a carpenter during the war for various contractors.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand you have your own business; is that right?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. What is the name of that business?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. The name of my business is M. S. Construction Co.

Mr. SCHERER. My question was, Did you ever have any contracts with the Defense Department?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I don't think so.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. When you did the contract work on the recruiting accommodations next door to this building, as I understand it, what department of the United States Government did you deal with?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I think it was the—

Mr. SCHERER. To refresh your recollection, was it General Services Administration?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I think it was GSA.

Mr. DOYLE. About how long ago was that?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I think it was about 2 years ago.

Mr. DOYLE. With what office of that department of the Government did you deal? The Miami office, or the Washington office, or some other office?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I think it was the regional office in Atlanta, if I'm not mistaken.

Mr. DOYLE. Atlanta, Ga.?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Now, in connection with your offer—did you do that by offer of bid?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Competitive bidding?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. In connection with that operation, were you requested or required to file any statement in connection with that bid as to your loyalty?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I don't think so.

Mr. DOYLE. I haven't asked my question yet. I mean I haven't completed it. Were you required or requested to file any statement on your own behalf in connection with that bid as to whether or not you were then or ever had been a member of any party or organization that advocated the forceful and violent overthrow of our form of government?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. To the best of my recollection, no.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, your recollection ought to be pretty clear after only 2 years, should it not?

Mr. SCHERER. I am on the Public Works Committee, Mr. Doyle, and my best recollection is there was no such requirement of any independent contractor.

Mr. DOYLE. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, if there isn't any requirement by the United States Government, that there should be, whether they are independent contractors or not. It seems to me every department of government ought to require an affidavit by any person bidding with the Government, if they are not now or ever have been members of any organization advocating the forceful and violent overthrow of our form of government. Don't you agree with me, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. The Chair certainly concurs. Of course, that will be up to the next Congress.

Mr. CLARDY. I am not so sure, Congressman, but what one of the dozen or so bills we have something to do with might cover that. Just running through hastily here, I think at least one of them slants in that direction.

Mr. DOYLE. If we don't have one, I'll see one is offered in January when we get back there.

Mr. CLARDY. I think it is a laudable idea.

Mr. DOYLE. In connection with your work as an independent contractor, are you a member of the contractors' association? Do they have such in Miami?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes; they have such, but I didn't belong to it.

Mr. DOYLE. You don't belong to it. Did you ever?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. No, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. How long ago were you rejected from the service in the military, on physical reasons?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I don't know the exact date, but it was somewhere about 1944.

Mr. DOYLE. Somewhere about 1944. Were you called before a board more than once?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. For examination?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I don't remember. I was examined at Camp Blanding and sent home.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you remember the number of the board?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. No, sir; I don't.

Mr. DOYLE. In what city was that board located?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. In Miami.

Mr. DOYLE. In connection with your statement to your exemption board, did you state in that identification sheet which they asked for the fact that you ever used the name of Jack London?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Mr. Chairman, I don't recollect anything like that.

Mr. DOYLE. At that time, had you used the name of Jack London?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. You understand my question, do you? I want to make sure that you do. I'm asking you whether or not at the time you filed your identification papers with your own exemption board in connection with military service in the United States Government, for the protection of your own country, you filed the information that at that time you were also known by the name of Jack London, if you were?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. DOYLE. What year did you file that statement with your exemption board?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I don't recollect the exact year, but it was somewhere in the area of 1944 or 1945.

Mr. DOYLE. Not very long ago. Have you now any application or showing before any department of the United States Government in connection with any bid?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. At present, I'm not bidding any work.

Mr. DOYLE. I'm not sure if that answers the question. Have you now any application pending in connection with any offer to bid, with any department of the United States Government, either under the name of Max Shlafrock or Jack London, or any other name?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. To the best of my—

(At this point Mr. Shlafrock conferred with Mr. Dixon.)

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I don't know of anything about any other names, but under my name I don't think I have any bids or applications for bids now.

Mr. DOYLE. You mean you don't know whether you have an application?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I don't think so.

Mr. DOYLE. Filed with any department of the United States Government, in any other name but Max Shlafrock?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. That is the only name I have operated under.

Mr. DOYLE. You came to this country at the age of 12, as I understand it?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. That's correct, approximately 12 years of age.

Mr. DOYLE. Your father or mother had preceded you?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. My father. He is an ex-serviceman, First World War.

Mr. DOYLE. Of the United States Government?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I think that is all, Mr. Chairman, on account of the short time.

Mr. VELDE. Mr.—Shlafrock—is that right?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. That is near enough.

Mr. VELDE. Have you determined in your own mind not to give us any information whatsoever concerning your past communistic activities?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Just a moment, please.

(At this point Mr. Shlafrock conferred with Mr. Dixon.)

Mr. SHLAFROCK. Mr. Chairman, I know of no activities that I can reveal to this committee.

Mr. VELDE. Well, are you willing, then, to say you were not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. VELDE. It is very apparent to me that the witness will not give us any information concerning his Communist Party activities.

When the gentleman from California asked concerning whether or not he had an application in for any contract with the United States Government, I now direct our investigators to determine whether or not he has any application for a contract with the United States Government, either under his name or under any other name, so that we might be able to reveal this testimony to the proper authorities.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, may I ask one further question.

Do you have a partner at the present time?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you working in collaboration or together with any other person?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you working through any other person? Is there any other person who is getting a contract, through whom you are working?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Remember, you are under oath.

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I know, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. All right.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, the witness has claimed the privilege as to himself being now a member of the Communist Party, or having been.

In view of the fact, Mr. Shlafrock, you have benefited monetarily apparently by contracting with the United States Government in building the recruiting station, or helping to, which deals with our national defense exclusively, and in view of the fact that it has been well established that the Communist Party program is an international conspiracy designed to forcibly overthrow our constitutional form of government, and I believe you heard Mr. Long so testify within the last hour here in this very courtroom, I'm going to ask you whether or not you have any knowledge of Communist Party activities in the Miami area.

That isn't asking you, sir, whether or not you were or are a member, but possibly you have some information you would want to impart to your own congressional committee, in order to help uncover the subversion of the Communist Party that certainly would blow to hell if it could be the very recruiting station which you helped build.

Have you any such information, dealing with Communist Party activities in the Miami area?

Mr. SHLAFROCK. There is nothing that I know of that would help this committee, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. That is your own conclusion. Have you any information about the activities of the Communist Party in this area? Give us the fact honestly, please, and then let us say whether or not we can tie it in with some other facts.

Mr. SHLAFROCK. I refuse to answer that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I'm going to see to it, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that no other man that claims the fifth amendment is ever going to get a chance to contract with the United States Government.

Mr. VELDE. Any further questions? If not, the witness is excused. Dismissed. Call your next witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Jose Tamargo.

Mr. VELDE. Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you are about to give to this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TAMARGO. I do.

Mr. VELDE. Would you give your full name, please sir, and spell it?

TESTIMONY OF JOSE DOMINUEZ TAMARGO, JR.

Mr. TAMARGO. Jose Dominuez Tamargo, Jr.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where have you lived, Mr. Tamargo?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, sir, I wouldn't like to give my address, where I live.

Mr. KUNZIG. What city do you live in?

Mr. TAMARGO. New York State.

Mr. KUNZIG. What part of New York State?

Mr. TAMARGO. The Bronx.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you wish to testify here and have a counsel? You understand, of course, you have a right to counsel. Or are you perfectly willing to testify without counsel?

Mr. TAMARGO. Willing to testify without counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where were you born, Mr. Tamargo?

Mr. TAMARGO. Habana, Cuba.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your present employment?

Mr. TAMARGO. I'm a free-lance painter.

Mr. KUNZIG. What type of painter?

Mr. TAMARGO. Inside.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you come to this country?

Mr. TAMARGO. To the best of my knowledge, it was 1923.

Mr. KUNZIG. When were you born?

Mr. TAMARGO. April 1, 1921.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you derived citizenship, did you, through your parents?

Mr. TAMARGO. My father is American-born citizen.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see. Could you give us just a few facts about your education, sir?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, I went to school to the ninth grade.

Mr. KUNZIG. And where did you go to school to the ninth grade?

Mr. TAMARGO. Tampa, Fla.

Mr. KUNZIG. And how have you been employed, Mr. Tamargo?

Mr. TAMARGO. While I was living in Tampa I was employed as a cigarmaker.

Mr. KUNZIG. How long were you employed as a cigarmaker, from when to when?

Mr. TAMARGO. From—I'm not positive about the date I came there. To the best of my knowledge, 1936 to about 1946.

Mr. KUNZIG. And when did you move to New York State?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, I left some time in 1946. Came back in about 1948, and then moved again in 1951.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where did you work from 1936 to 1946 as a cigarmaker, what company?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, most of the time I worked in Regensburgh & Sons.

Mr. KUNZIG. In Tampa, Fla.?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. And what type work did you do in the cigar business?

Mr. TAMARGO. Cigarmaker.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. Tamargo, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you join?

Mr. TAMARGO. To the best of my recollection, it was sometime in 1943 or 1944.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever connected with any union when you were working as a cigarmaker?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. What union?

Mr. TAMARGO. Local 500 and local 462.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where was that?

Mr. TAMARGO. Tampa, Fla.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, how did you become—how, specifically, did you become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAMARGO. You want to know how I went about it?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, I talked to a fellow there named Julio Casuela. I don't buy that as his real name. I knew him by that name.

Mr. KUNZIG. You don't know whether it is his real name; that is the name you knew him by?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was he an American citizen, Cuban, Puerto Rican, or what?

Mr. TAMARGO. He was Puerto Rican.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was he a member of the party?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You found out later, I presume. Did you know then?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, I heard he was a member. That is why I talked to him.

Mr. KUNZIG. What did he tell you?

Mr. TAMARGO. He told me I had to talk to Alfredo Rodriguez and Frank Fernandez and Mariano Rodriguez.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is Mariano Rodriguez the man who testified just a short time ago?

Mr. TAMARGO. I don't know.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is Mariano Rodriguez in the room at the present time? If so, please stand.

Will you turn around and see if that is the man you know?

Mr. TAMARGO. That is both Mariano Rodriguez, and Frank Fernandez with the eyeglasses, in the corner.

Mr. VELDE. You are identifying two of them?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir. Frank Fernandez is the man with the glasses, and to his right is Mariano Rodriguez.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know those two men as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, then—

Mr. KUNZIG. Not then, but at any time.

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, we will go back and take it up in chronological order.

You said Casuela said you would have to talk to these people you mentioned, Alfredo Rodriguez, Frank Fernandez, and Mariano Rodriguez.

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then what happened?

Mr. TAMARGO. I talked to them, and then he told me to come on Wednesday, on Wednesday of that week. And I went in there, and they told me I had to pay some dues. He asked me how much I made a week. I told him. He said the dues were computed depending on how much the workers made. He said that was a workers' party, and everybody had to pay for it.

Mr. KUNZIG. How much did you have to pay?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, I believe I had to pay \$2; what I was making at that time, about \$2 a month.

Mr. KUNZIG. You had to pay, based upon what you were making at that time, you had to pay \$2 a month?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. To the Communist Party as dues?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did Casuela ever tell you you could become a member of the party?

Mr. TAMARGO. He told me I had to talk to them. He asked me a lot of questions, how come I wanted to join the party and why, and who had sent me to him, and all those questions, before he told me I had to talk to them.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you actually then become a member, and how?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, it was like I told you; to the best of my knowledge, 1943 or 1944, when I talked to him. I went in there to a meeting they had upstairs.

Mr. KUNZIG. Upstairs where?

Mr. TAMARGO. In the Labor Temple, 8th Avenue and 16th Street.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that a labor-union building in Tampa?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, it belongs to the workers there. The labor union has different offices there.

Mr. KUNZIG. But it is not publicly known as a Communist Party building, is it?

Mr. TAMARGO. No, sir; it is a union building, belonging to the workers.

Mr. KUNZIG. But the Communists have meetings there?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir. I believe they pay rent for that particular room that they have.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, now, you were taken to a meeting. Were you then admitted to the party? How did you actually become a member?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, like I told you, they asked me a lot of questions, and then they told me I had to pay the dues, and they gave me a card.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you paid the dues and got the card, and then you became a member?

Mr. TAMARGO. That's right.

Mr. KUNZIG. To whom did you pay dues?

Mr. TAMARGO. I paid dues to different individuals there.

Mr. KUNZIG. To which ones?

Mr. TAMARGO. Alfredo Rodriguez, Mariano Rodriguez, Frank Fernandez, and sometimes when I'm overdue, you know, they ask anybody that is overdue while the meeting is going on, they ask you, "Anybody behind on dues come forward and pay dues," so whoever is there at the table I pay.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Frank Fernandez and the Mariano Rodriguez you mentioned, to whom you paid dues at various time, are the same two people you just identified in this room; is that correct?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you met with them in closed Communist Party meetings and know you paid dues to them?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Communist dues. Now, can you tell us, keeping in mind, as we have already said to you, we are only interested in the names of those people whom you know of your own personal knowledge to have been members of the Communist Party—will you tell us the people you met, the names of the people you know to be members of the Communist Party when you were in it at Tampa, Fla.?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, I will name only those I know. I have been with them in closed Communist meetings.

Mr. KUNZIG. That's right. We don't want anybody you are not sure of.

Mr. TAMARGO. Lou Ornitz.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you identify him further, please?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, it is my belief he was an organizer for the CIO at one time, and then for the A. F. of L. He is a heavy-built man, maybe shorter than I am, with heavy-lens glasses. I believe he is nearsighted.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes; and at one time he said he had also fought in the civil war in Spain.

Mr. KUNZIG. Whom else did you know?

Mr. TAMARGO. Frank Diez.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAMARGO. During these same years.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you meet in Communist Party meetings with him?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. TAMARGO. George Nelson.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was George Nelson?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, I believe he was southern organizer or some big shot in the party. That is my belief.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did he come down and address some of your meetings?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. He has already been identified here, of course. Who else, Mr. Tamargo?

Mr. TAMARGO. Lucas Rodriguez.

Mr. KUNZIG. This is another Rodriguez—Lucas?

Mr. TAMARGO. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is he still in this country?

Mr. TAMARGO. He was deported from New York City.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know why?

Mr. TAMARGO. For being a Communist.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. TAMARGO. Violeta Rodriguez.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who is she?

Mr. TAMARGO. She is Mariano Rodriguez' wife.

Mr. KUNZIG. The man you just identified, in the back of this room?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew not only Mariano Rodriguez, but you knew his wife, Violeta Rodriguez, also, to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Counselor, at this point the chairman will have to leave, and I appoint a subcommittee consisting of Mr. Clardy to take the chair, and Mr. Doyle, for the purpose of further hearing.

I also want to announce that the Miami Bar Association has offered to give us assistance, or rather give the witness who requested legal assistance, and we are very grateful for their offer to assist this witness. We are very grateful to the Miami Bar Association that they have cooperated with this committee in this manner.

Proceed, Mr. Clardy.

(Representative Harold H. Velde left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, would you please continue? You had mentioned Frank Diez, George Nelson, Mariano Rodriguez, Violeta Rodriguez; who else did you know as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAMARGO. Mirta Cruz.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where was she born; if you know?

Mr. TAMARGO. I believe she was born in Habana, Cuba.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know whether she was a citizen?

Mr. TAMARGO. I couldn't tell you, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You don't know? Could you describe Mirta Cruz any further, any more identification as to who she is?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, she is a young girl. I imagine about 36.

Mr. KUNZIG. Does she work in Tampa?

Mr. TAMARGO. I don't know whether she worked or not, but I knew her then in the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know where she lived, by any chance?

Mr. TAMARGO. No, sir; I don't.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is she big, tall, short?

Mr. TAMARGO. No; she is slender, small, nice looking.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well now, after Mirta Cruz, are there any others you knew as members of the Communist Party with you?

Mr. TAMARGO. Felicidad Hernandez.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where did she live?

Mr. TAMARGO. I don't know where she lived.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you describe her any further?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, she was old; be about 58 or 60. She is gray-haired, wears glasses.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did she work over there in Tampa?

Mr. TAMARGO. I believe she did, but where she worked, I don't know. I know her brother was foreman in one of the cigar factories.

Mr. CLARDY. That age, as I understand, is as of now, or some other period?

Mr. TAMARGO. Beg your pardon, sir?

Mr. CLARDY. You said Felicidad Hernandez was 58 or 60. Do you mean now, or some other date?

Mr. TAMARGO. I believe she is 58 or 60 now.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was any other member of her family a member of the party?

Mr. TAMARGO. She had a son. She introduced him as her son there, a young fellow. I believe his name was Joe Hernandez.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any other members, now, you knew in the party?

Mr. TAMARGO. Ophelia Garcia.

Mr. KUNZIG. Tell us more about Ophelia Garcia.

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, Ophelia Garcia, the last I heard of him, he was in the immigration hearing here in Miami. He was scheduled for deportation.

Mr. CLARDY. When was that?

Mr. TAMARGO. Some time this year; I believe he will be deported January 4. That is the information I have.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any others?

Mr. TAMARGO. Julio Sanchez Alonzo.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who is Julio Sanchez Alonzo?

Mr. TAMARGO. They call him "Red." That is all I know. He is always making speeches out at the Labor Temple. It won't be hard to see him there.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is he still there: do you know?

Mr. TAMARGO. The last I know, he was still hollering over there.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, you knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAMARGO. That's right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was he a union leader?

Mr. TAMARGO. Not that I know of.

Mr. KUNZIG. Why was he, as you put it, hollering in the union temple?

Mr. TAMARGO. Every time he read the press, he said the "reactionary press," and he start hollering every time something come out in the press about the war in China or anything.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mentioned he was in the union temple. Was he in just one of the rooms?

Mr. TAMARGO. No; he goes in and out. He was always there, outside.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean he was hollering, as you call it, about the local newspapers, or any newspapers?

Mr. TAMARGO. The only paper he didn't holler about was the Daily Worker. All the others were reactionary and capitalistic newspapers.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else did you know as a member of the party?

Mr. TAMARGO. Alfredo Rodriquez.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think you have already mentioned him. Who else?

Mr. TAMARGO. Gerado Sanchez.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know him under any other name?

Mr. TAMARGO. Jerry Sanders.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where did he use the name Jerry Sanders?

Mr. TAMARGO. He used to write sometimes in the workers' paper.

Mr. KUNZIG. What paper was that?

Mr. TAMARGO. That is the union paper.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where?

Mr. TAMARGO. In Tampa.

Mr. KUNZIG. And he wrote under the name of Jerry Sanders?

Mr. TAMARGO. That's correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. His real name is Gerado Sanchez? Do you know his address, what he looks like? Can you describe anything further about him?

Mr. TAMARGO. He is short. I would say about five, seven, tan complexion, has chickenpox holes all over his face.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any other names, now?

Mr. TAMARGO. Leopoldo deLamas.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who is he?

Mr. TAMARGO. He was a member of the party, too.

Mr. KUNZIG. And what identification can you give of Leopoldo deLamas?

Mr. TAMARGO. He worked there one time, in King Bee.

Mr. KUNZIG. He worked where?

Mr. TAMARGO. King Bee cigar factory. He was shop steward there.

Mr. KUNZIG. And roughly when was this, during the war?

Mr. TAMARGO. No. Maybe during the war; before I joined the party he was shop steward there.

Mr. KUNZIG. He was shop steward before you joined the party?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, and then while I was in the party he worked at Regensburgh & Sons.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else did you know as a party member?

Mr. TAMARGO. Kathleen Lindian.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was she?

Mr. TAMARGO. I believe she was the recording secretary of the party in 1943 or 1944.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you identify her any further, address or work, or anything like that?

Mr. TAMARGO. The last I heard of her she was in Texas. She was married to Saquina Lindian, who was also a member of the party. He is now dead.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you know whether Kathleen Lindian is still in the party?

Mr. TAMARGO. No sir; she has appeared as a witness for the United States Department of Justice in its immigration hearings.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else do you know? Any other names?

Mr. TAMARGO. Mario Spetia.

Mr. KUNZIG. He was at one time secretary of local 500, and now I believe he is still international president of CIO.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know whether he is still a member? Was he still a member when you got out, in other words?

Mr. TAMARGO. No, sir. I started missing him a few meetings. After I started missing him, he left.

Mr. KUNZIG. You think he left the party?

Mr. TAMARGO. It is my belief he left the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Why did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, sometime in 1940 or 1939 an FBI agent talked to me and asked me what local I belonged and if I knew anything about the Communist conspiracy. I told him I had heard but that I didn't know. He said if I could get in it, but I tried and I couldn't get in, and then later was when I joined the party in 1943 or 1944. I went to the post office in Tampa, Fla., to the FBI there and I talked to an FBI agent and I told him about that agent having come and spoke to me about it, about the party, and I explained everything to him, and he said that he will let me know.

I didn't hear from him for awhile and then one day while I was working an agent come and he showed me his credentials and started asking me questions and told me if I could join the party, so he told me any dues, anything I pay, that they will reimburse me.

Mr. CLARDY. So you actually joined the party at the request of the Government?

Mr. TAMARGO. Under the suggestion of the FBI agent; yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever have any information about the Communist Party ordering strikes among cigar workers?

Mr. TAMARGO. Yes, sir. While I was shop steward in Regensburgh & Sons, one of the cigar factories over there, Santiana, raised the price of the cigar workers there by just changing from American-grown tobacco to Havana tobacco, they raised the price, so 3 or 4 come to me and ask me about getting the boys on strike. I told them I couldn't do that, so if they wanted, they could get them out themselves but I couldn't—as a union delegate, I couldn't get them out so Violeta Rodriguez, Mariano's wife, was among them and another fellow by the name of Jesus Chapu, so she told me before they could pull the factory out they would have to talk to Mariano Rodriguez and she called Mariano—where I don't know—and she said it was all right, he could get them out, so they got the workers out and after they were out for about a week, the Communists called me and told me I had to

send them back to work, so I told them, "How come you tell me to take them out and then they just come out and push them in." I said, "What do you think I am, a chicken chaser, I will tell them 'Get out' and then 'Go in'?"

So they told me it was the order of the party, that I was under the orders of the party; I couldn't do anything without the party's order and I had to do everything they told me, so I told them, "If you want to push them in again——"

So Lou Ornitz made a speech and a couple of them made a speech, but the workers didn't believe it; they didn't go in until they got their pay increase.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was there ever any attempt that you know of to organize Negroes in the Communist Party?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, sir; in one of the Communist meetings there was talk about organizing the colored citizens over there in Tampa and it was brought out that maybe they could approach a colored minister over there. If they could approach him to come to the meetings and got him to be a Communist, that it would be easy to have the other colored people join the party because they would follow whatever the minister would say, they would follow it.

Mr. KUNZIG. To your knowledge, was that done?

Mr. TAMARGO. I don't know whether they accomplished it or not.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was there ever any discussion with you about recruiting burglars into the party?

Mr. TAMARGO. Once I told them there was somebody in the party that didn't look too good to me and they told me they have to use everybody, sometimes you need burglars to open a safe or you have to recruit burglars, too. Suppose you have to shoot somebody, so you need a torpedo; that is what they told me.

Mr. KUNZIG. If the Communist Party has to shoot somebody, they need, as you said, a torpedo?

Mr. TAMARGO. A gun man, so you have to use everybody you can; it don't make much difference who he is as long as you can use him; you have to use him.

Mr. CLARDY. That is what you call being democratic. Small "d."

Mr. KUNZIG. How did you get out of the party and why?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, in 1946, I believe it was, 1946 I left and then I came back, I believe it was in 1948 and they had already left the Labor Temple. Somebody run them out of there, so I asked where the meetings were held and they told me at different places. Once they told me some garage on 16th Street, and then I attended once some private house on 17th Avenue.

Mr. KUNZIG. This is in Tampa?

Mr. TAMARGO. In Tampa, so one was going this way, and the other was going this way, so I didn't——

Mr. KUNZIG. One was on 16th Street and the other 17th Avenue. Why did you get out? Why? Did you lose interest, or what happened?

Mr. TAMARGO. I lost interest the first day I got in there, but I stayed.

Mr. KUNZIG. You stayed an awful lot of years, if you lost interest. Did you stay because it was safer for your union job or position?

Mr. TAMARGO. No, sir. I stayed during the time that I was in the party; I took the information to the FBI most every week or 2 weeks. They told me, "Don't take no notes, no pictures." Whenever they wanted to contact me, they called me, or I called them, but—

Mr. SCHERER. The reason you stayed, you were an undercover agent for the FBI during that time.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is correct; is it not?

Mr. TAMARGO. That's correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have no further questions.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions except to say that we are grateful for people like Mr. Tamargo who are willing to serve the Federal Bureau of Investigation in a capacity such as this man served so ably.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. Were there any men in the communistic group that you were in who were other than Cubans or immigrants from other countries? I noticed practically every name you gave seemed to be of men with Cuban ancestry.

Mr. CLARDY. He mentioned a woman's name, Kathleen. I wondered if that was an Irish girl.

Mr. TAMARGO. She is Anglo-Saxon.

Mr. DOYLE. Were there other Anglo-Saxons?

Mr. TAMARGO. There was others, but I don't remember the names; I can't identify them by name.

Mr. DOYLE. About how many were in that Communist group that you joined; how many people?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, they had sometimes more or less, I believe, about 60. They had sometimes more and more at other times. They bring a bunch in, the next week the same bunch you don't see them. I guess they didn't like it too much; they didn't appear again.

Mr. DOYLE. Did they hold meetings at which they discussed the ways in which they could control the unions at union meetings? I mean, did you folks as Communists hold meetings when you decided what to do at union meetings?

Mr. TAMARGO. Well, sir, the idea all the time was to get as many Communists as they could in union office to take the leadership of the union and everytime they could get one to be president or shop steward or secretary, they tried to get him in the union.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Witness, I know that you have appeared here at some considerable inconvenience to yourself and possibly at some expense, which our Government may or may not be able to reimburse. I am not sure, but I want you to know that the committee does appreciate, as Mr. Scherer has said, your sacrificing your time and your energy and your intellect in helping your Government, both the FBI and this committee.

We appreciate it very much, and we want you to know that we shall not forget it. You are now excused. Call your next witness.

May I suggest to the audience, it is a rule of the committee that we do not permit demonstrations of either approval or disapproval. I am genuinely sorry that I touched a match to something a little bit earlier, but I would appreciate very much if you would refrain from expressing your thoughts in this matter.

I think I know where most good American citizens stand, so you may take it for granted, we understand your feelings.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Fernandez.

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

Mr. FERNANDEZ. I do.

Mr. CLARDY. You will be seated. As I understand, Counsel, you have been appointed at the suggestion of the president of the bar association?

Mr. ELDRED. Yes, sir. I am the chairman of the legal aid committee of the Dade County Bar Association.

Mr. CLARDY. I think we should make it very abundantly clear—we try to every time, wherever attorneys appear on behalf of witnesses before this committee—we don't want the public to draw any unfair implications or any ideas that are unfounded, but in this case particularly, we want to emphasize the fact that since you are more or less an officer of the court, as we are up here, that you are appearing to do something that we lawyers are bound to do when we are called on.

Mr. ELDRED. I might say, Mr. Congressman, I have been drafted.

Mr. CLARDY. Yes; you have.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you state your name and office address?

Mr. ELDRED. Quentin T. Eldred, 517 Security Building.

Mr. CLARDY. Perhaps I may inquire, Counsel: Do you feel that the short time you have had to confer with your client is adequate to enable you to advise him on his constitutional rights, or do you have some suggestion that we should listen to?

Mr. ELDRED. I would like to move, Mr. Congressman, that his testimony and that of Mr. Rodriguez be postponed until in the morning, at least. I haven't spoken to them 5 minutes, to be truthful.

Mr. CLARDY. Having practiced law for pretty near 30 years, I know the difficulty under which you operate, even when sometimes you have months to confer with a client, and this is a trying condition.

If counsel have no objection, we will dismiss this witness and recall him at 9:30—not 10:30, 9:30—tomorrow morning.

Mr. ELDRED. Thank you.

Mr. CLARDY. The other witness—Mariano Rodriguez, will you communicate with him, if he is not in the room at the moment, that both of them are to appear at 9:30 tomorrow morning.

Mr. KUNZIG. May we also say, Mr. Chairman, while we are on this subject, that any witness who was not called today is continued over until 9:30 a. m. That doesn't mean that you can go yet. We are not through yet.

Mr. ELDRED. May I take those two with me?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes. Mr. Louis Popps.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. POPPS. I do.

Mr. CLARDY. You may be seated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you state your full name?

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS JAMES POPPS

Mr. POPPS. Louis James Popp.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Popp, where were you born?

Mr. POPPS. Melbourne, Fla.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you speak a little louder and as clearly as you can because it is difficult to hear.

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Melbourne, Fla., and when were you born?

Mr. POPPS. May 16, 1918.

Mr. KUNZIG. 1918. You are then 36 years of age?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see that you are not accompanied by counsel. You have a right to have an attorney at your side. Do you wish to be accompanied by counsel?

Mr. POPPS. No; I don't.

Mr. KUNZIG. Your answer is "No." You are satisfied to testify without counsel?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Popp, where were you educated?

Mr. POPPS. In the public schools of Florida.

Mr. KUNZIG. How far did you go?

Mr. POPPS. Ninth grade.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where was that, what city or town?

Mr. POPPS. Deerfield, Fort Lauderdale, and Belle Glade.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell us a brief résumé of your employment? Where have you worked since you finished school, the main places.

Mr. POPPS. For a while I was an ice-truck driver for Nathan Mack.

Mr. KUNZIG. An ice-truck driver? Where?

Mr. POPPS. Here in Miami for Nathan Mack and for a while I was a delivery boy at a drug store here in Miami, and after that for the Red Top Cab & Baggage Co. here in Miami as a driver of storage cars, pickup and delivery service.

Mr. KUNZIG. Driver for what?

Mr. POPPS. Storage cars, pickup and delivery for storage cars in their storage garage.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you go to any other city?

Mr. POPPS. Then into New York—no, after that I was a sailor on a private yacht to New York.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you come back to Miami?

Mr. POPPS. In 1940, November—1939, at least.

Mr. KUNZIG. What did you do here in Miami when you got back?

Mr. POPPS. I worked for a while at Sears & Roebuck.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then where did you go to work?

Mr. POPPS. Back to the Red Top Cab Co., same thing.

Mr. KUNZIG. From there, where?

Mr. POPPS. To an apartment house, I think, in the northwest section here in Miami.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where did you work then? Did you ever work for Pan American Airlines?

Mr. POPPS. I started to work for Pan American Airlines in January 1943.

Mr. KUNZIG. What work did you do for them?

Mr. POPPS. I was a porter, loading and unloading airplanes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever in the Armed Forces of the United States?

Mr. POPPS. Yes, from 1949 in February—I mean 1945 in February through November in 1945.

Mr. KUNZIG. What service were you in?

Mr. POPPS. I was in the Navy, served a while overseas.

Mr. KUNZIG. You were in the Navy? Did you have an honorable discharge?

Mr. POPPS. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, were you ever a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Popps?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you join?

Mr. POPPS. Sometime in 1946.

Mr. KUNZIG. That was after you got out of the Navy?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. You were not a member of the party when you were in the Navy?

Mr. POPPS. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who got you to join the Communist Party?

Mr. POPPS. Charley Smolikoff.

Mr. KUNZIG. Charley Smolikoff. What was his position?

Mr. POPPS. International director of the Transport Workers Union of America, CIO.

Mr. KUNZIG. Why did he get you to join the party?

Mr. POPPS. I don't know why, but it happened at a meeting of the section cleaners and porters and truck drivers and handymen section at the union hall. The discussion there stumbled around the eating facilities at Pan American for Negro workers and it was handled kind of wishy-washy by the chairman and I hit the floor about it and told about the conditions there where we had to eat in the kitchen and pretty poor conditions, while they had the air-conditioning, terrazzo floors for the whites and at that meeting he said he would see what he could do about getting comparable facilities for us to eat in, and after the meeting, he came over to me and told me that he was to the left of left, if I knew what that meant.

Mr. KUNZIG. He told you he was to the "left of left"?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. If you knew what that meant?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What did "left of left" mean?

Mr. POPPS. I can only tell you what happened following that and you can judge for yourself.

Mr. KUNZIG. All right, go ahead.

Mr. POPPS. I saw him sometime later at the airport on his way out to some place aboard a plane and he asked me if I would like to subscribe to the Daily Worker, at least the Sunday Worker, which is a paper. He said it might orientate me with the problems that confronted workers and so forth, it would be very helpful to the workers.

I told him I didn't mind, and I gave him \$1.50 and he asked if I would like to join the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you raise your voice a little?

Mr. POPPS. He asked also if I would like to join the Communist Party, and I told him I would, and sometime later he gave me a card to sign and he gave me a party card.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you pay dues?

Mr. POPPS. To the Communist Party? Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How much?

Mr. POPPS. About 35 cents a month; the dues were based on your earnings.

Mr. KUNZIG. Based on your earnings. Now, what were the activities of the Communist groups with which you were connected?

Mr. POPPS. For a while in the trade union club, the airline club, we mostly discussed problems into the union itself since we all were connected with airline work.

Mr. KUNZIG. What other activities did the Communist Party have?

Mr. POPPS. Well, selling the paper, recruiting of members.

Mr. KUNZIG. Raising of funds?

Mr. POPPS. Well, probably, but not so much in our group.

Mr. KUNZIG. Not so much in your group. Now, where were the meetings held. Did you attend Communist Party meetings.

Mr. POPPS. For a while at 730 West Flagler and then at other homes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was that the union hall?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And where else?

Mr. POPPS. At different one's homes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were they ever held in automobiles?

Mr. POPPS. For a while they were.

Mr. KUNZIG. Why was that?

Mr. POPPS. Well, it was a form of security measure.

Mr. KUNZIG. What did you do, just get in an automobile and pile them in any have the meeting as you drove around?

Mr. POPPS. Well, that was the way it was supposed to have worked but we went through the stages of that but nothing much ever happened about meetings, just orientating us with the method of meeting in automobiles.

Mr. CLARDY. I can hardly hear you. Do I understand you to say that you held meetings in cars because of security reasons?

Mr. POPPS. Yes, for security reasons; yes.

Mr. CLARDY. You were apprehensive, or the group became apprehensive that someone was about to discover and uncover them; is that what you mean?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. How long did you have meetings in that fashion?

Mr. POPPS. Well, I only made a few meetings of that type.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Popps, can you recall the name of any person at whose residence a Communist Party meeting was held?

Mr. POPPS. Dave Lippert's and at several other people's homes, I know.

Mr. KUNZIG. You went to Communist Party meetings at the home of Dave Lippert?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know where that was, roughly?

Mr. POPPS. Somewhere on 84th Street NW.

Mr. KUNZIG. Here in Miami?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was that, to the best of your recollection?

Mr. POPPS. Somewhere in 1949 or 1950; 1949—I imagine, the first of 1950.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, were you ever connected with the city committee of the Communist Party of Miami?

Mr. POPPS. Yes, for a while.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was your connection with the city committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. POPPS. To represent the airline group of that committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of that committee?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you recall the names of any of the others who were on the city committee of the Communist Party with you?

Mr. POPPS. Joe Carbonell, Bobby Graff.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was Bobby Graff; will you identify him further?

Mr. POPPS. That is a lady.

She is a member of the city committee; that's all I know. The city committee was composed of different groups of the Communist Party.

Mr. CLARDY. A representative from each of the several Communist groups; is that what you mean?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you describe Bobby Graff, where she lived, or where she worked?

Mr. POPPS. I don't know her address or where she worked. She used to live somewhere in the southwest section; I don't know her address.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew her, of course, as a member of the Communist Party and of the city committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mentioned Bobby Graff and Jose Carbonell. Who else?

Mr. POPPS. James Nimmo.

Mr. KUNZIG. James Nimmo; was he a Negro?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. We have had him identified here before. Did you know Leah Benemovsky?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was she a member of the city committee?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you describe her further, and what her function was?

Mr. POPPS. I believe she was treasurer or some form of secretary.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of the city committee. Do you know where she lives or where she works?

Mr. POPPS. No.

Mr. KUNZIG. During the period when you were a member of the Communist Party, were you a member of any veterans' group?

Mr. POPPS. For awhile I was a member of the American Veterans Committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where?

Mr. POPPS. Here in Miami.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were any other members or people whom you knew to be members of the Communist Party also members of the AVC?

Mr. POPPS. I think myself and Vidal were members.

Mr. KUNZIG. Raul Vidal? Who testified here today?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Give us the names of the people whom you knew who were members of the Communist Party, being careful to name only those, of course, whom you knew definitely to have been members from your own personal knowledge—you met in secret meetings with them.

You mentioned Dave Lippert, Nimmo; name the others. You can look at any of your own notes, of course.

Mr. POPPS. Emmanuel Graff.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mentioned Bobby Graff.

Mr. POPPS. Emmanuel Graff.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who is Emmanuel Graff?

Mr. POPPS. That is her husband.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know where he works or anything about him?

Mr. POPPS. He is a painter.

Mr. KUNZIG. Emmanuel Graff, a painter. Any others?

Mr. POPPS. Myron Marks.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who is Myron Marks?

Mr. POPPS. I believe he handled the literature for the party, if I remember correctly.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any others?

Mr. POPPS. Charles Smolikoff; I named him before.

Mr. KUNZIG. Charles Smolikoff, yes.

Mr. POPPS. Jose Carbonell, Leah Adler Bemenovsky, Dave Spicy. He dropped out sometime before I did; so did Tom Early.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dave Spicy and he dropped out, you say?

Mr. POPPS. Yes, so did Tom Early.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who is Tom Early?

Mr. POPPS. He works at Pan American and he joined the party about the time I did and dropped out sometime following the first congressional investigation here.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dropped out following the congressional investigation of the House Committee on Un-American Activities here in 1948?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Why did he drop out; do you know?

Mr. POPPS. I don't know his exact reason. He just—

Mr. KUNZIG. He just got out?

Mr. CLARDY. Was he a witness before this committee?

Mr. POPPS. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. POPPS. George Nelson.

Mr. KUNZIG. George Nelson. He, of course, has been identified here.

Mr. POPPS. James Nimmo. Phil Sheffsky.

Mr. KUNZIG. He has been identified before here today. Who else?

Mr. POPPS. Ed Waller.

Mr. KUNZIG. Ed Waller, who testified yesterday? Did you know an Arthur Mallard?

Mr. POPPS. Yes. A. Mallard.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was he?

Mr. POPPS. He was employed at Pan American somewhere in the hangars and he left employment some years ago. I don't know where he moved to.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you remember the names of some of the groups, the Communist Party groups here in Miami?

Mr. POPPS. The Airline group, Northwest, the trade union group.

Mr. KUNZIG. The Northwest group?

Mr. POPPS. Business and professional group. That is about all I can remember, offhand.

Mr. KUNZIG. Those groups—you remember those names because they had representatives in the city committee, I presume?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know any group called the Southwest group?

Mr. POPPS. I believe there was a group of that description.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about the trade union group?

Mr. POPPS. Yes, there was.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, why did you yourself leave the Communist Party?

Mr. POPPS. Well, there were several reasons. The incident that I actually went out on was a discussion with Dave Lippert about a trip that I was supposed to take to New York to go to a school, and I didn't want to go.

Mr. KUNZIG. They wanted to send you to a special communistic school?

Mr. POPPS. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you didn't want to go?

Mr. POPPS. No, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was this—about 1950?

Mr. POPPS. Yes, 1950, and if I didn't want to go, they told me, "Well, you can always tell how interested a person is in the party by the way he contributes money to it," and asked me if I would make a contribution, and I told them I would, and I would do it on the pay day—Friday, the following pay day—and something happened that Friday, that I was short of funds. They shorted me in my check, and I could not. I told them I was sorry I didn't have it.

Then sometime later, he saw me and told me they had been informed that a group of us would be picked up for investigation, naming himself and me and some other person, and told me he was going to New York and advised me to get a ferry flight out also, and I thought that was a method of trying to get me to go to New York to go to the school, and since I was already on the verge of moving out, I didn't like the method and at the time I told them to go tell them I am through with the party and if anybody comes around to look for me, I will be living at this address, and I wasn't going to start running and hiding, and that I was finished.

Mr. SCHERER. No questions.

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, the committee deeply appreciates your cooperation and the helpful information you have given us. We know it takes a considerable amount of courage and intestinal fortitude to do what you have done.

Out of this hearing already, as you have heard today, some ideas have been suggested to us for further legislation and some of the things you have said have suggested some ideas to others and so the committee wants to thank you for the help that you have given to your Government.

The witness is excused.

Now, it is about time to adjourn. Before we adjourn, however, there are a couple of things I want to call to the attention of those here. If there has been in the audience, anyone identified thus far by any of the witnesses, identified as a member of the Communist Party, and desires to be heard, who wishes to deny the testimony that has been presented identifying him or her as a member of the party, I suggest that you get in touch with the staff, particularly with the counsel for the committee.

We are hopeful that we will be able to conclude the hearings tomorrow, so I suggest that this be done this evening, if there are any of those who have been identified within the range of our voice and desire to be heard.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have nothing further, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. The committee will stand in recess until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:30 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, December 1, 1954.)

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