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**INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES  
IN THE MILWAUKEE, WIS., AREA—Part 1**

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

—————  
MARCH 28 AND 29, 1955  
—————

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

(Index in part 2 of these hearings)



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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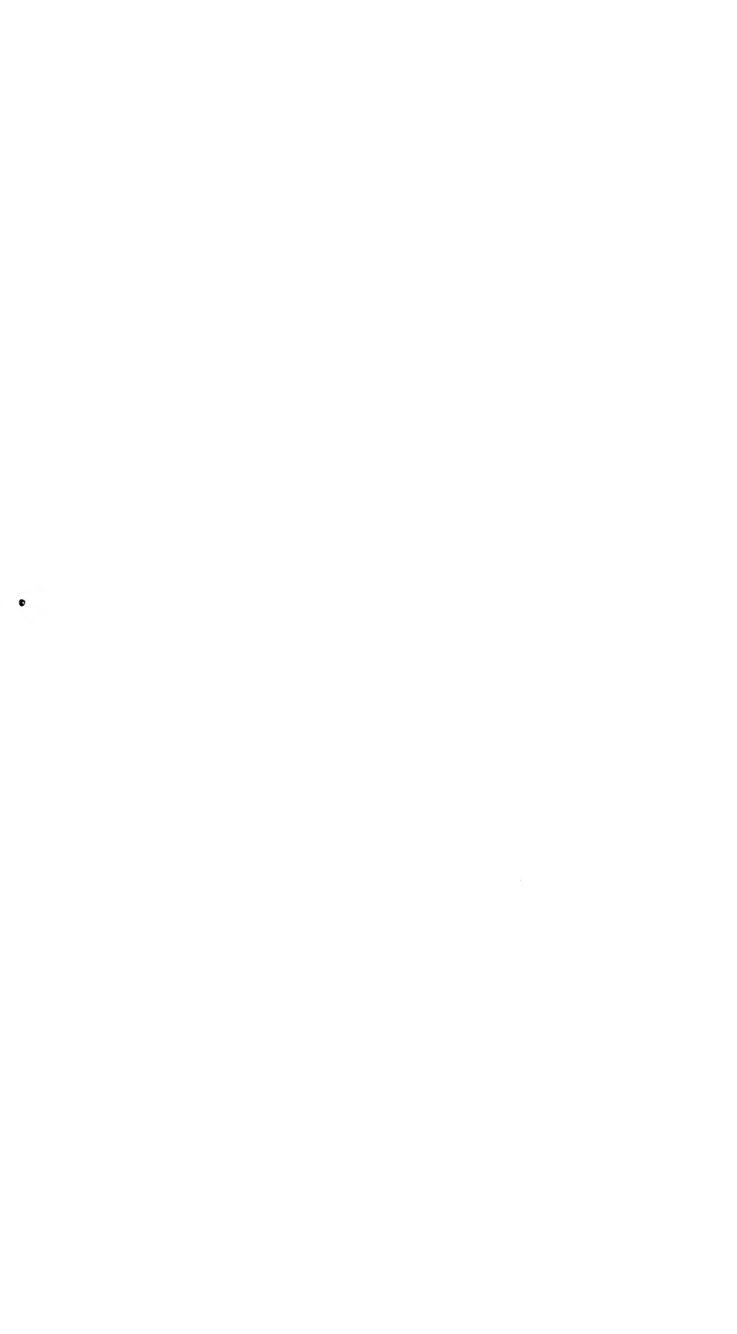


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## PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

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 84TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 5, 1955

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

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

\* \* \* \* \*  
(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 MILWAUKEE, WIS., AREA—PART 1

MONDAY, MARCH 28, 1955

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Milwaukee, Wis.*

PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a. m., in the Marble Courtroom, Federal Building, Milwaukee, Wis., Hon. Clyde Doyle (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Clyde Doyle (chairman), Edwin E. Willis, Gordon H. Scherer, and Donald L. Jackson.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel, and W. Jackson Jones, staff investigator.

MR. DOYLE. The committee will please be in order.

Let the record show that Hon. Francis E. Walter, chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 601, enacted in 1946, establishing this committee, duly appointed Representative Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, on my right, Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio, on my left, and myself, as chairman, Clyde Doyle, of California, as a subcommittee, to conduct these hearings in this beautiful city.

The full membership of the officially appointed subcommittee is present. Also present for 1 day is Hon. Donald L. Jackson of California, a member of the full Committee on Un-American Activities. We are pleased he is with us even though it is only for 1 day. Mr. Jackson sits on my extreme left.

The Congress of the United States has imposed upon this Committee on Un-American Activities the duty of making an investigation of the strength, character, and objectives of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instituted from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and which attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our United States Constitution; and all other questions in relation thereto, which would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

This committee is not a court. Its duty is to investigate as an aid to Congress for the purpose of more intelligently legislating.

This committee has devoted much time in the past few years to the investigation of the subject of communism, and the committee has

endeavored to keep Congress well-informed of the objects and extent of the Communist conspiracy within this country. We have held similar investigations in many of the most vital and industrial manufacturing cities of our great Nation.

In the performance of this huge task, the committee in its reports to Congress has made 48 recommendations for new legislation by Congress for the strengthening of existing legislation designed to aid in the fight against this Communist conspiracy. All but four of these recommendations by this committee in one form or another have been enacted already into law by the Congress of the United States.

In pursuing the statutory objectives of this committee, as outlined above, former investigations have disclosed a concentration of Communist efforts in many of the strategic defense areas of our beloved Nation.

The city of Milwaukee, your city, ranking 8th in size as compared to the other great industrial cities of our Nation, having in its area more than 2,000 manufacturing plants, representing 200 distinct lines of industry, and leading the whole world, if you please, in the manufacture of heavy machinery and electrical controls, important units and parts thereof, is of great strategic importance of our Nation as a whole, both in peacetime as well as in time of war.

The purpose of this present investigation, started this morning for 3 days, is to determine, first, whether there has been Communist activity in this important area and, if so, the nature, the extent, the character and the objects thereof. It is not limited to this brief statement, however. The committee is especially interested in ascertaining the methods used by the Communist Party of the United States in infiltrating local industrial units, civic organizations, or other groups, and the extension of its influence into the social, economic, and political phases of our society. Whatever information we obtain will better enable Congress to legislate more ably and comprehensively.

It is the standing rule of this committee that any person named in the course of committee hearings be given an early opportunity to appear before this committee, if he desires, for the purpose of denying or explaining any testimony adversely affecting him. This is part of the American way of doing right and justice. If this be a person's desire, he should communicate immediately with our distinguished legal counsel, Mr. Frank Tavenner, who has been our legal counsel now for over 6 years, as soon as possible.

The committee is deeply appreciative of the action of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the United States for changing the date of its hearing, previously arranged by them to be conducted in this very hearing room today, in order that this congressional committee could have this beautiful marble room available for these hearings.

I desire to take this opportunity to thank Superintendent E. A. Redlin, who is in charge of this magnificent Federal building, United States Marshal Clemens F. Michalski, Chief of Police Polcyn, and the capable members of their staffs for the help they have rendered this committee in connection with the plans for this hearing.

I also desire to thank on behalf of the committee Hon. Robert E. Tehan and his able secretary, Miss Myron Lynch, for their splendid cooperation in making it possible to have this room for this hearing.

I would remind those present in this hearing room that we are here at the direction of the Congress of the United States to discharge a highly honorable duty and a specific official obligation that has been placed upon us by Public Law 601, enacted by the 79th Congress. You are here by permission of this committee throughout the hearings. I trust that you will conduct yourselves as guests of this committee. A disturbance of any kind or audible comment during the course of testimony, whether favorable or unfavorable to any witness, will not be tolerated.

For infraction of this rule, the offender will be immediately ejected from this room and not allowed to return. I trust it is necessary to only call this matter to your attention once and it will not be necessary to have it repeated.

This committee wants it understood that in the conduct of this hearing it is not interested in any dispute between employers and employees or between one union and another union. Neither is it interested in the internal affairs of any union. It proposes to follow, however, and uncover, if it can, to the full limit of its abilities and resources the subversive Communist conspiracy and activities of any person as to whom reliable information indicates Communist Party affiliation and activities, whether that be in the field of labor or any other field, and regardless of who the person or group of persons may be.

The Committee on Un-American Activities consists of nine Members of the House of Representatives. Each member is also a member of one other major congressional committee. Since the workload of this committee is so constant and heavy, it has been found necessary to divide the committee into subcommittees of three members when the work takes attention away from Washington, D. C. Thus, the committee members are away from the Capitol on less occasions. This arrangement is also in the interest of saving expense as well as facilitating the necessary work of the committee. On such occasions the House of Representatives officially excuses our absence from our other daily duties at our Nation's Capital.

If any person in or about Milwaukee desires to cooperate with this committee during our brief stay here, we invite such person to promptly see our legal counsel, Mr. Tavenner, or our investigator, Mr. Jones. Before I terminate that comment, may I say that, being informed as we are that the Milwaukee Bar Association has appointed a panel of nine members of the Milwaukee Bar Association to represent before this committee any witness who is not able otherwise to have legal counsel, we want to very earnestly compliment the Milwaukee Bar Association for making that arrangement. Congress takes the position before this committee that every witness should, if he desires, have legal counsel.

May I make it clear that the fact that a lawyer appears before this committee as legal counsel for a witness should not be taken as any disparagement against that lawyer so doing. We invite counsel to be present.

However, may I state a positive limitation on the privilege legal counsel has before this committee? Since we are not a court, we do not follow strictly the rules of evidence. We permit no lawyer to address the committee. We do not have time, and it is not that sort of forum. The right of the lawyer to advise his client is limited to the

witness' constitutional rights. We do not expect an ethical member of the bar to put words in the mouth of the witness. We want the witness' testimony and not that of the lawyer.

Mr. TAVENNER. are you ready to proceed?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Will you please call your first witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. James R. Eggleston, will you come forward please?

Mr. DOYLE. Will you, please, raise your right hand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly promise to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Will you, please, be seated?

### TESTIMONY OF JAMES R. EGGLESTON

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. EGGLESTON. James R. Eggleston.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your last name?

Mr. EGGLESTON. E-g-g-l-e-s-t-o-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Eggleston, do you appear here before the committee in response to a subpoena served upon you?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes; I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that you are not accompanied by counsel. You probably heard the statement just made by the chairman indicating that every witness who appears before this committee is entitled to counsel if he desires.

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to be sure that you understand that. If you do not desire counsel now, you still have the opportunity of consulting an attorney at any time during the course of your testimony. Do you desire to proceed without counsel accompanying you?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I desire to proceed without counsel, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Eggleston?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I was born July 13, 1925, in Martinsville, Va.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, briefly what your formal educational training has been?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I attended high school in Martinsville, Va. From there I went to Virginia State College; from Virginia State College to the Milwaukee School of Engineering; from the Milwaukee School of Engineering to Chicago Tech.

Mr. TAVENNER. What degrees did you receive, if any, upon completion?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I am sorry to say I received no degrees.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you complete your educational training?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I haven't completed it yet.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you terminate your work at college, in what year?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Fifty-one I think would be correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in the vicinity of Milwaukee?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Since 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you lived continuously in Milwaukee since 1947?



Mr. EGGLESTON. For brief periods of 4 or 5 months I have been out of the city.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has information about the existence in Milwaukee of an organization known as the Young Progressives of America. Have you had occasion to have any knowledge of that organization?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I joined the Young Progressives of America in 1948. After hearing the political conventions of all the major parties in that year, I joined that organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee is desirous of knowing to what extent, if any, the work of that organization is being controlled, directed, or influenced by the Communist Party, so my first question to you about that organization is whether or not during the course of your membership you learned of any of its officers being members of the Communist Party.

Mr. EGGLESTON. During my membership in that organization the chairman of the Young Progressives of America was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the chairman?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Betty Gossell.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. EGGLESTON. G-o-s-s-e-l-l, I believe is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee on what you base your statement that Betty Gossell, chairman of the Young Progressives of America, was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Sometime after I became a member of that organization I was approached by Betty Gossell to join the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you fix the approximate time when that occurred?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I would say that occurred in August of 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee, please, just what occurred when she approached you to become a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. EGGLESTON. When she approached me to become a member of the Communist Party she presented me with an application blank to join the Communist Party, and I was reluctant to do so because she couldn't tell me what would happen to that application blank after I signed it, so I told her as soon as she found out where that application blank was going that I would join the party. During that time that she was trying to locate, I would assume, where this application was going, I made my first contact with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you became a member of the Young Progressives of America out of a conscientious decision on your part to join an organization for a definite purpose?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And after becoming a member of it you were approached to become a member of the Communist Party by one of its officers?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why did you go to the Federal Bureau of Investigation with that information?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I would say that was based on the fact that I got myself into a situation that I could no longer control; that what these people were doing not only to the country but to my particular

group of people, I couldn't feel that I was able to handle it myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. By a "group of people" are you referring to members of the Negro race?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes. So I went to them for, I would say, help, and I received the help because I was instructed to join the Communist Party and report to them regularly.

Mr. TAVENNER. You agreed at that time, then, to enter the Communist Party and furnish the Government important information it was interested in obtaining and that you had occasion to learn about?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Witness, is this the first time that it has been made public that you worked for the Federal Bureau of Investigation while a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. In other words, those associated with you in the Communist Party during the time that you were a member of the Communist Party up to this point did not know that you were an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were instructed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to become a member of the Communist Party. What developed to give you the opportunity to become a member?

Mr. EGGLESTON. During my association with the Young Progressives of America, I came to know a group of people who later turned out to be members of the Communist Party that I didn't know at the time that I was in this group, and while I was associating with these people I became very familiar with Mary Keith, who was then in charge of the bookshop on Eighth and Wisconsin. While I was attending school, I used to go down to the bookstore to relieve Mary Keith to go out and have lunch. On several occasions after relieving her, she came in one day and said, "No one can attend the bookshop without being a member of the Communist Party," and Mary Keith signed me up as a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. That afforded you an easy opportunity of becoming a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes; and she also paid the initiation fee of 50 cents.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what you know about the operation of that bookshop, to what extent it was operated by the Communist Party, if at all?

Mr. EGGLESTON. It was operated entirely by the Communist Party as a distribution center for their publications.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was the bookshop located?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Eighth and Wisconsin. It was known as the Peoples Bookshop.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how long it continued as a Communist Party bookshop at that location?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I don't remember exactly when it moved, but it left Eighth and Wisconsin and moved down to Sixth and State Streets.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did it continue in existence there?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I would say that it closed around the latter part of 1951.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did the Communist Party make use of this bookshop?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Selling its literature, making various contacts to individuals or to students who would walk into the bookshop just curious to buy literature, and they would be approached by the operator of the bookshop on different subjects.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean that it was used as a recruiting medium?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes; to a certain extent.

Mr. TAVENNER. To bring persons into the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether the Communist Party literature in this bookshop was distributed to different groups or cells of the Communist Party in Milwaukee for their use?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes; the educational director of the youth group which I was assigned to used to pick up the literature at the bookshop and bring it to the meetings and sell the literature, give education out of the literature and bring the literature back to the bookshop that wasn't sold.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee approximately the time when you were signed up as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I attended my first meeting in September of 1949. I would say I was a member approximately 2 weeks before that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain active in the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I said until the fall of 1951, the early fall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, to what group of the Communist Party you were assigned when you became a member in September of 1949?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I was assigned to what has been commonly called the youth group of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What membership did that group have when you became a member of it, as nearly as you can recall?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The first meeting that I attended, Bob Silverstine and Edith Gilman, at that time, were chairman and cochairman, respectively. Herb Major, Betty Gossell—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. I want to be certain about the spelling of these names. You gave us Silverstine and Betty Gossell. You said Herb Major, M-a-j-o-r.

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes. Victor Edelstein.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name, please?

Mr. EGGLESTON. E-d-e-l-s-t-e-i-n. That is correct. And Bernice Edelstein. Andy Reams, who was the State chairman, attended this first meeting that I attended.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. EGGLESTON. R-e-a-m-s. Helen Gillman, G-i-l-l-m-a-n. And this meeting was held at her home. That is just about all I can think of at the present.

Mr. TAVENNER. They were the members of the youth group when you first became a member of it?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Milton Spitz was also a member. S-p-i-t-z, I believe is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, at this point what you learned to be the Communist Party purpose or objective in having a youth organization of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I would say the purpose of the youth group, who were considered as the young leaders of the Communist Party, was a mere steppingstone to the Communist Party itself.

Mr. JACKSON. It was an effective training ground, was it not, for full and later membership in the party itself?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. What were the average ages of the members of this young Communist youth group, how young and how old?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The beginning age was 18, and I don't think there was any terminating age. It was just a matter of when you were completely indoctrinated enough to move up to the ranks of a full Communist that you were promoted to such.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attain a position of leadership in this youth group of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. My first meeting I was elected as organizational secretary.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any other positions at a later time?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Later I became chairman of that group.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period that you were a member of that group, did you have occasion to from time to time meet with other groups of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I met with the leadership of the Communist Party on a number of occasions and what you could probably call the executive board of the Communist Party, which never consisted of its full membership except at one meeting which I attended, which I doubt if it was the full membership.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you mean the executive board of Milwaukee or of the State?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The executive board of the State.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee why you, as a member of the youth group, were permitted to meet with the top level group of the Communist Party in the State of Wisconsin?

Mr. EGGLESTON. To discuss the plans of the youth group. They would formulate the plans that were to be carried out by this particular group, in fact, all the groups in Wisconsin, and we would discuss different matters to be carried out in this group plus into a newly formed organization called the Labor Youth League, the YPA, and so forth, and the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, about your attendance at that meeting, where it was held, and everything that you can recall about it?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The largest meeting of this body was held at Ester Eisenscher's place on 12th Street. She was the secretary of the Communist Party. Members present there were Josephine Nordstrand, N-o-r-d-s-t-r-a-n-d. Bill Herron H-e-r-r-o-n, Jack Kling.

Mr. TAVENNER. You told us that Ester Eisenscher was secretary of the Communist Party. Did you mean of the State organization?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Of the State, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In giving us the names of these other persons, I wish you would identify them, if you can, as to what position they held in the Communist Party besides being members of the executive board.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. I would think it would also be a good idea if the witness has any knowledge of their subsequent status to state whether or not they left the party or were expelled.

Mr. DOYLE. That would be very appropriate if the witness will do that, and I know counsel will give him the opportunity to do so.

Mr. EGGLESTON. The last gentleman that I named, Bill Herron, was the chairman of the Negro commission of the Communist Party, and he is dead at the present time, so I don't think we need to discuss him any longer. Jack Kling was at this meeting and he was the chairman of the Communist Party of the State. I was present at this meeting.

Mr. SCHERER. What happened to him?

Mr. EGGLESTON. He disappeared when the party began to go underground.

Mr. SCHERER. When did he disappear?

Mr. EGGLESTON. This was in the latter part of 1951, I would say, or the early part of 1952.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you still in the party at that time?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No, I left the party in 1951.

Mr. SCHERER. You haven't heard of him since?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No.

Mr. SCHERER. What was his occupation?

Mr. EGGLESTON. He was the chairman of the Communist Party of the State.

Mr. SCHERER. Did he have any other occupation?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No.

Mr. SCHERER. That was his full-time job?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. He and others active in the Communist Party disappeared at the time they went underground?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. What was the occasion that you know of for them going underground or what was the reputed reason for them going underground?

Mr. EGGLESTON. After the McCarran immigration bill was passed, I think that was the starting point for them to go underground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you referring to the McCarran Immigration Act or the McCarran Security Control Act?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I am sorry. Security Control Act which required registration of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is known as the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. That can be further identified as Public Law 831 of the 81st Congress, the Subversive Activities Control Act, which came to the House of Representatives on the bill H. R. 9400 and was recommended by this committee.

(Representative Jackson left the room.)

Mr. DOYLE. I might at this point read from the text of the act.

SEC. 2. As a result of evidence adduced before various committees of the Senate and House of Representatives, the Congress hereby finds that—

(1) There exists a world Communist movement which, in its origins, its development, and its present practice, is a worldwide revolutionary movement

whose purpose it is, by treachery, deceit, infiltration into other groups (governmental and otherwise), espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and any other means deemed necessary, to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in the countries throughout the world through the medium of a worldwide Communist organization.

Thank you, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed, please, with the statement of identification of other persons present at that meeting?

(Representative Jackson returned to the room.)

Mr. EGGLESTON. Fred Blair was present at this particular meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you, please, tell us who Fred Blair was?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Fred Blair was the vice chairman of the Communist Party of the State.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what his subsequent activity was in the party, what he did after that time or where he is now?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I have no idea as to where he is now. Of course, his subsequent activities, I don't know of any except that he devoted full time to the party.

Mr. SCHERER. Would you consider him one of the Communist leaders that went underground the same as Kling?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of others that were present at that meeting?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Not at this time. I think that is about the bulk of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall at this time the names of any other persons who attended similar meetings, that is, other meetings of this top-level executive committee when you were present?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I am sorry. There is one other name that should be on that list, Douglas McCain, M-c-C-a-i-n, who was at this particular meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold in the Communist Party besides being a member of this particular committee?

Mr. EGGLESTON. He was the chairman of the sixth ward group of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was meant by the "sixth ward group of the Communist Party"?

Mr. EGGLESTON. It was a section of the city. The city is broken up into wards, and he was in charge of that particular ward.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you know anything of his subsequent activities?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No, I don't.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I think it might be interesting and apropos to state at this time that there is abundant testimony to indicate that the leadership echelon of the Communist Party did indeed commence to go underground in 1951 and 1952 upon instructions from the Communist Party of the United States. I think you will recall, Mr. Chairman, the witness Barbara Hartle in Seattle, who was a cooperative witness before this committee, had been instructed by the party to leave Seattle and to take up her residence in a small community in Oregon where she was employed as a waitress. Previously she had held a top-drawer job with the party in King County, was a Phi Beta Kappa, but without question she accepted her assignment to leave the city and go elsewhere. Contact was maintained with her by a courier system directed by the Communist Party of King County. Unquestionably the matter to which this witness is referring is exactly the same as that found in the Northwest.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you, Mr. Jackson.

May I ask you, for purposes of identification on the record, to further identify Mrs. Hartle, what happened in the jury trial at Seattle and where she now is.

Mr. JACKSON. Mrs. Hartle, who was a top Communist functionary in Seattle, was indicted under the provisions of the Smith Act together with a number of other leaders of the Communist Party in King County. They all were convicted. Following the conviction, Mrs. Hartle broke with the Communist Party, gave extensive testimony to this committee during a week-long hearing in the Seattle area. She was attended at all times by a United States deputy marshal during the course of the testimony and is now serving her sentence in the Federal Reformatory at Alderson, W. Va.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you, Mr. Jackson.

As I recall, Mr. Jackson, as a matter of record, that was another case where an American jury and a United States court found the defendant guilty in connection with advocating or teaching the use of force and violence to forcibly overthrow the American constitutional form of government, isn't that correct?

Mr. JACKSON. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, may I state, in elaboration of what the Congressman said about the testimony of Barbara Hartle, that she gave this testimony to this committee, not only after she was convicted, but after she was sentenced, and that she assigned the reason for her not making known her willingness to talk about her experiences until after she had been sentenced the fact that she was afraid if she spoke before she was sentenced the public might believe she was testifying out of a desire to have the sentence be made more lenient as far as she was concerned, so she did not testify until after she was sentenced.

Will you tell the committee, please, just what the interest of the Communist Party was as indicated to you in this top-level meeting of the Communist Party in youth work?

Mr. EGGLESTON. One of the main things that was discussed at this meeting was my position as chairman of the youth group, whether I was to become chairman of this particular youth group or not and, after the leadership had approved me as being chairman, it was just a matter of filtering the word down to the members to elect me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you could not be elected to that position of leadership by the members of your own group until it had been approved by the top-level functionaries of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you given at this meeting or any other meetings of this top-level group any views of that group with regard to other work of the Communist Party among youth in this area?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Not at this particular meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any meetings of this top-level group at which organizational work among mass organizations or youth groups generally was discussed?

Mr. EGGLESTON. There were meetings but it didn't consist of this large a number. There were 4 or 5 people present in which we discussed the elections in the Labor Youth League, in the YPA—

Mr. TAVENNER. By YPA you mean Young Progressives of America?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes—and the Civil Rights Congress as to what action would be taken in those organizations on certain issues and how they would go about them and formulate the plans for these particular groups.

Mr. SCHERER. The purpose of the Communist Party, then, was to infiltrate various youth groups so that they would be controlled and dominated by the Communist Party, is that right?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. And the Communist Party would set the programs and objectives of these organizations?

Mr. EGGLESTON. That is correct, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this of the witness: You just related that there were not as many in these other meetings of the top leaders of the Communist Party in Milwaukee as there had been at this larger meeting?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. When the Communist Party top-level leaders from the whole State of Wisconsin were present?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Well, you say the whole State of Wisconsin. To my knowledge all the people on the executive board of the Communist Party were from Milwaukee.

Mr. DOYLE. You mean the full membership of the Communist Party for the State of Wisconsin were all residents of the Milwaukee area?

Mr. EGGLESTON. On this executive board all that I knew were from the Milwaukee area.

Mr. DOYLE. What year was that?

Mr. EGGLESTON. 1950 and 1951.

Mr. DOYLE. It looks as though Milwaukee was rather a hot spot.

Mr. EGGLESTON. I would say so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were the headquarters for the Communist Party for the State of Wisconsin located?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I think it was 622 North Second Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was in the city of Milwaukee?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is a fact, is it not, that membership on high functionary groups of the Communist Party was selected for qualifications rather than from geographical areas?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told us that this top-level group was interested in the work of these various groups that you named. But before going into that, let me ask you what the activities of this young Communist group of the Communist Party were, how did you meet, where did you meet and what did you do?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The action taken by the young Communist Party was filtered out into other organizations. I don't recall taking any positive action on any particular issue as a Communist Party group. It was all filtered out into the Labor Youth League, Civil Rights Congress, and the Young Progressives of America.

We met at various homes and in different meeting halls and discussed these various things, but the activity was actually carried out in the front organization.



Mr. SCHERER. Were the young Communists actually successful in infiltrating these organizations you mentioned? We understand that was your program.

Mr. EGGLESTON. To answer that question, I have to give you an opinion.

Mr. SCHERER. That is what I want.

Mr. EGGLESTON. As far as the Communist Party was concerned if they got one person in an organization it is a victory. In my personal opinion, I don't think it was successful. If they got one person into an organization, that was a great accomplishment for the party.

Mr. DOYLE. You mean that the Communist Party estimated that if they succeeded in getting one of their top-level young people into a non-Communist organization that then they had been successful as Communists?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes, they had been. They would work from that person on to go through. In fact, I can cite one incident, since you brought it up. Victor Edelstein was working at Allis-Chalmers, and people who were working into shop groups or working into auto factories were not assigned to work into any other organizations but to concentrate in their unions. But Victor Edelstein wanted to take on some extra activity so he went into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the party considered that a great victory because he was accepted into that organization.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand, then, that a policy of the Young Communist group in Milwaukee at that time was directed by the State executive committee which had its headquarters in Milwaukee, and their policy was to try to get one of the Communists in each organization and in each labor union?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I would say not each labor union but as many as were working in these particular factories to get into these unions.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, in each factory where members were working it was their direction and assignment to infiltrate into the labor union which was representing the workers in that particular industrial plant?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. And they figured it was a victory if they could get just one Communist in that group?

Mr. EGGLESTON. They would, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. How could one Communist in such a group do anything that would be considered a victory by the Communist Party? Do you mean that one Communist could influence the whole union?

Mr. EGGLESTON. There is a method of operation that when a Communist goes out into a labor union or into any other organization that if they meet another individual who thinks along the same lines as they do on any particular issue they will work with that particular individual to bring him over into their line of thinking.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask you to speak just a little louder? I cannot quite hear you.

Mr. EGGLESTON. If the Communist member will meet one non-Communist who thinks on one issue, political or nonpolitical, the same, they will work with that individual until they bring him over to their way of thinking.

Mr. DOYLE. As a Communist?

Mr. EGGLESTON. As a Communist. So one Communist in one labor union can be very dangerous.

Mr. SCHERER. It only takes one individual to report classified information to the Communist leaders, doesn't it?

Mr. EGGLESTON. That is all, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, whether it be one individual with whom the Communist Party will parallel a cause, the extension of that, of course, is the minority group where the Communist Party will take up a cause within a minority party for the purpose of winning support amongst that group.

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. You advised us that the principal activity of the youth group of the Communist Party was to go out into other organizations and work?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have named those organizations. What were they? I want to be certain to get them in the record here.

Mr. EGGLESTON. I think the organizations that I previously gave you were organizations you could classify as being front organizations for the party.

There were some organizations that they were sent out to work in that you couldn't classify as front organizations. One was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Jewish Center, church groups. Those were the three main outside groups that you couldn't classify as front organizations.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of course those were organizations which were not in any sense Communist organizations?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Without going into detail, was there any marked measure of success in any of those three groups that you mentioned?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I would say the biggest accomplishment came in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told the committee about this class of organizations which were mainly not Communist organizations which the young group of the Communist Party had endeavored to infiltrate. There were other groups, however, which were of a Communist origin, or, at least, Communist-front character, where you did considerable work, I believe?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were those organizations?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The organizations in which we did considerable amount of front work within were the Labor Youth League, the Civil Rights Congress, and the Young Progressives of America, plus a lot of other peace committees that were formed out of the growth of these three other actual front organizations. I don't recall the name now of this particular peace committee, but it was going very strong during the time of the Korean war.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us go back to the Labor Youth League. Will you tell us, please, about the work of the Communists in that group?

Mr. EGGLESTON. At one meeting of the Young Communist Party, Victor Edelstein was the chairman of that group at the time, and he came in and he said, "We are going to consider this meeting as being a Labor Youth League meeting. This was regularly called as the

Communist Party group." He said, "We are going to consider this meeting as the Labor Youth League meeting; and when we have Labor Youth League meetings, you can bring in anyone you like to come to these meetings."

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, it was another instance in which the youth group of the Communist Party just adjourned as the Communist Party and became a meeting of the Labor Youth League, in effect?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the type of work that the Labor Youth League engaged in?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Peace petitions, passing out leaflets, picket lines.

Mr. SCHERER. When you said passing out leaflets, of course, you mean Communist Party leaflets?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No Communist Party leaflets, but Labor Youth League leaflets.

Mr. SCHERER. Yes; but carrying the Communist Party line?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Actually written by members of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Carrying the Labor Youth League label?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Label?

Mr. SCHERER. As having been issued by the Labor Youth League?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you completed describing the nature of the activities of that organization?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I would say that that is about the extent of the activities.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state the names of the officers of the Labor Youth League who were known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I think it is going to be pretty hard for me to actually pinpoint that question because I can name members of the Communist Party who were in the Labor Youth League but I am not sure whether they all held positions except one.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, on that point, the Labor Youth League has been found by the Subversive Activities Control Board to be a subversive organization. Without any connotation as to the membership of these officers, it is a matter of public record somewhere, and I will suggest that the names of the officers of the Labor Youth League, without connotation as to membership, be entered into the record.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes; I think that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, will you give the committee the names of the officers of the Labor Youth League, irrespective of whether you knew them as members of the Communist Party or not?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Mark Berman, B-e-r-m-a-n. He was the founding chairman of that group.

Mr. SCHERER. In what year was that?

Mr. EGGLESTON. This was in 1950. And Ted Silverstine held a position in that group, too. I don't recall what it was. Lil Rody was also a member of that group. R-o-d-y. That is about the bulk of

the leadership that I can recall of people who had offices in that organization.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, may I make an observation at this point?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. I think it should be noted in the record that only last week a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities heard testimony or lack of testimony from five present officials of the Labor Youth League, all of whom availed themselves of their privilege under the fifth amendment of the Constitution to avoid answering any questions having to do with their activities in the Labor Youth League or activities within the Communist Party.

Certainly, if there is any fuzzy thinking today on any campus in this country with respect to the activity of the Labor Youth League, it can be put at rest by reading the transcript of the testimony of the national officers of the Labor Youth League.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you, Mr. Jackson.

That meeting was held at the Capitol; was it not?

Mr. JACKSON. It was in Washington last week.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether any of those persons you named were known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. All that I have named were members of the Communist Party. I collected dues from them as the organizational secretary.

Mr. WILLIS. I think you misunderstood awhile ago when you were asked to name people who were officers as well as members of the Communist Party. I think what you are trying to indicate to us was that you knew them all as being Communists, but you did not know them as officers. Was not that what you were trying to tell us?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes; but he threw the question back at me the same way.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of other persons, irrespective of whether they may have been officers or not, who were members of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. EGGLESTON. All Commies who were in the Labor Youth League?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. EGGLESTON. Bert Levine; I don't think I have mentioned him before.

Mr. SCHERER. Where is he today?

Mr. EGGLESTON. He is in Milwaukee. I don't know where he is or where he is working, but he is still in Milwaukee. Bert Levine, Mark Berman, Sidney Berger. B-e-r-g-e-r. Phyllis Berger. Harriett Berger.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are either of the two related to Sidney Berger?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Harriett is Sidney's sister and Phyllis is his wife. Ted Silverstine, Bob Silverstine, Edith Silverstine, Herb Major, Jack Killian, Gloria Killian. I think that is the extent of it.

Mr. WILLIS. You mean that those are the ones you can remember at this time?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. And I note for the record by the way that you have been testifying here this morning without any notes of any kind. Is that right?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask one question?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. In line with the question of the gentleman from Louisiana, have you been promised any inducement or reward of any kind for your appearance before this committee?

Mr. EGGLESTON. None whatsoever.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you being paid for testifying before this committee?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Not unless you are paying me. I don't know a thing about it.

Mr. JACKSON. He is not.

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

(Recess was taken from 11:20 to 11:28 a. m.)

(Those present: Representatives Doyle, Willis, Scherer, and Jackson.)

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will come to order, and the record will please show that the same Members of Congress present at the opening of the hearing this morning are now personally present.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Eggleston, as the committee adjourned for the 5-minute recess, you came forward to my desk to state that you wanted to explain part of the answer that you had given to the other question because there might have been some ground for misrepresentation. I tried to get the committee back immediately, but all except one had left the hearing room. What is the matter that you wanted to explain?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The two names that I mentioned last I think were Jack and Gloria Killian. While they were members of the Labor Youth League, I have no direct knowledge of them being members of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Thank you very much for making that explanation. You said one of the other groups in which the youth of the Communist Party was active was the Young Progressives of America. Explain that, please.

Mr. EGGLESTON. In our youth group meetings of the Communist Party we discussed the leadership of the Young Progressives of America and we assigned certain members of this group to work in that organization, and one person that was a member of the Communist Party at the same time that I was that we discussed as being the chairman of that group was Mike Ondrejka.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. EGGLESTON. O-n-d-r-e-j-k-a, I think is correct. Betty Gossell was the chairman and Mike Ondrejka. Those were the only two chairmen that they had while I was in the group.

Mr. TAVENNER. They were chairmen during the entire period that you were in the group?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And both of them were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know at that time that Mr. Ondrejka was in the Communist Party under a relationship with the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I had no idea, sir, that he was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Mr. Ondrejka knew that you were?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I doubt seriously if he did.

Mr. SCHERER. Still they didn't have sufficient appropriations that year to give you the 50 cents to join the party. Did you say you borrowed that or did she pay it?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I told her I didn't have the initiation fee. I was a student at that time and all students are poor, so I used the excuse that I didn't have the 50 cents.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean that the Federal Bureau of Investigation didn't give you the 50 cents to join the party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I didn't ask them for it, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I think that the least the Bureau should do would be to pay the dues of its agents to join the Communist Party even if it requires an increased appropriation.

Mr. SCHERER. They will be back next year after this testimony for increased appropriations.

Mr. EGGLESTON. I might add, sir, that while I was in the Communist Party, I paid my own dues.

Mr. DOYLE. I think it is at least a little evidence, Mr. Jackson and members, of the unselfish and patriotic devotion to our country in these men that do volunteer to the FBI to go into the Communist Party as agents and pay their own dues. I think that is wonderful.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the nature of the activities in which the Young Progressives of America engaged?

Mr. EGGLESTON. To classify these organizations into, say, stepping-stones, the Young Progressives of America was at the bottom of the list. They would take in members who came in with a common interest on any subject, very broad. When you came into YPA you were just another member. You had no special qualifications whatsoever. After staying in that organization for some time you could elevate yourself to a Labor Youth League and then from the Labor Youth League you would go right into the party. It was merely a training program as one of the Congressmen pointed out.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of the training program that was offered?

Mr. EGGLESTON. To find out or a feeler to find out how the individual felt on certain issues, as to whether they could work on peace petitions, whether they would go and pass out leaflets, and so forth. If you could do all of those things, you automatically elevate yourself to these other organizations.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether there was an effort to teach Marxism in the Young Progressives of America?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Only in its broadest sense. I doubt if anyone could actually detect the teaching in this group as being Marxist or Leninist.

Mr. SCHERER. It was purposely not defined as Marxism or Leninism, was it not?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes, it was not.

Mr. SCHERER. Because if it were revealed that that was what they were teaching, the teaching might stop?

Mr. EGGLESTON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you offered any course of training in Marxism or Communist Party ideology from the time of your first membership in the Communist Party while a member of the Young Progressives of America on through to the time of the termination of your membership?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I attended classes on socialism held at the Milwaukee Hall and at a residence on West Vliet Street. This particular class in socialism was taught by Murray Wolfson, who is under subpoena from this committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell the last name?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I doubt if I can. W-o-l-f-s-o-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is the first name spelled M-u-r-r-y or M-u-r-r-a-y. Do you know?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I think it is M-u-r-r-a-y.

Mr. TAVENNER. Under what auspices was this school, which you attended, being conducted?

Mr. EGGLESTON. This was under the auspices of the Communist Party and only Communist Party members attended.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you attend that school? Can you fix the date?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I doubt if I can pin it down, sir, to any particular date.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any other teachers there besides Murray Wolfson, while you were in attendance?

Mr. EGGLESTON. He was the only teacher at this particular class. There were other classes, one that Andy Reams taught at the Milwaukee Hall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this a school or were these study groups?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I really don't know now.

Mr. TAVENNER. There might be a difference between whether it was conducted as a school or just as a class or group.

Mr. EGGLESTON. I would say it was just a class.

Mr. SCHERER. A series of lectures or something like that?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes. I think the book we were studying out of was Political Economy by Eaton.

Mr. DOYLE. Might I ask whether they were day or night classes?

Mr. EGGLESTON. All night classes.

Mr. WILLIS. How many days a week?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Once a week.

Mr. DOYLE. What was the average attendance, please?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The average attendance I would say approximately 10.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did I understand you to say it was conducted exclusively for members of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of others who were in attendance at these classes?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Mary Keith attended the class. Agnes Slater attended this class. I think Grace Eisenscher attended the class. Sig Eisenscher visited the class.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said "Sig." Does that mean Sigmund?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Sigmund Eisenscher visited the class.

The place that the class was taught was the duplex of Sig and Grace Eisenscher. It was upstairs. I don't know who lived upstairs and who lived downstairs now, but it was in the same residence. My memory is pretty vague on the rest of the members there.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you have to pay anything for these lectures?

Mr. EGGLESTON. There was a fee involved in these lectures. If I remember correctly it was \$2 and the \$2 paid for the book and the fee for the class.

Mr. SCHERER. Did the lecturers or teachers whom you mentioned receive any compensation for lecturing or teaching?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I am not sure about this statement, but I think that at the time Murray Wolfson was staying in Madison, he was compensated for his travel expenses. I am not sure about that.

Mr. DOYLE. About how many weeks did this class continue its sessions?

Mr. EGGLESTON. That I couldn't say, sir, because I dropped out of it. I think I attended about 6 sessions.

Mr. DOYLE. You attended for at least 6 weeks?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. You reported regularly to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, did you not, the subjects that were under discussion?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The subjects that were under discussion as long as they were pure socialism I didn't report them but remarks or statements that deviated from socialism or had any implications whatsoever I did report them.

Mr. SCHERER. You reported to the FBI practically everything you did in connection with Communist Party activities, did you not?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you selected for this training or did you request the right to attend this class?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I was approached by Andy Reams to attend these classes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names, please, of any persons who were members of the Young Progressives of America who were also known to you to be members of the Communist Party in addition to the two who acted as chairmen?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Helen Gilman and John Gilman were members of that group that I knew as party members. In fact, I think it would be very safe to say, and I am positive it is correct to take all of the members of the Communist Party and say they were YPA members. I don't recall anyone now who wasn't a member of the Young Progressives of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know how many organizations of the YPA there were in the State of Wisconsin?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I know of a branch in Madison and they tried to form a branch in Racine, which I don't think was very successful.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether there were organizations of the Labor Youth League in any places in the State of Wisconsin in addition to Milwaukee?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I only knew of Madison and Milwaukee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a meeting of the group at Madison?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No.



Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever meet any members of the group from Madison?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I only heard reports given at meetings by the secretary of the Communist Party as to what was going on in Madison.

Mr. TAVENNER. If you can recall what the reports were, we would like to hear them, but do not mention the names of any persons that were given to you in the nature of a report.

Mr. EGGLESTON. The reports that I remember were very general, just stated that the organization was forming and what was going on in Madison that they were recruiting members and so forth.

Mr. JACKSON. Was this on the campus of the university?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you ever travel to any other part of Wisconsin in connection with your Communist Party activities?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I made trips to Racine and Madison.

Mr. DOYLE. What type of work did you do in each of those places for the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I spoke at a founding meeting they called at Racine for WPA and the work that I did in Madison was in connection with the sharecroppers workers coming to Madison. They had some trouble up there, and we went up to do some work on that. That was in connection with the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. DOYLE. Was that while you were identified with the FBI?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you not find it rather difficult to preach communism and also be an FBI agent?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I didn't find it too difficult out of the city, sir, because I wasn't afraid of any of my friends knowing me, but in the city it was pretty hard.

Mr. SCHIERER. You said there was some difficulty in Racine?

Mr. EGGLESTON. In Madison.

Mr. SCHIERER. What was that difficulty?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The sharecroppers had been brought to Madison under false pretenses and they were complaining about the conditions that they had to live under.

Mr. SCHIERER. Why did the Communist Party interest itself in that situation?

Mr. EGGLESTON. It was an opportunity for the party to explore or publicize the situation. These sharecroppers were Negroes coming to Madison to work on this particular farm and they saw an opportunity to publicize it.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, Mr. Witness, the Communist Party was capitalizing upon a temporary emergency in the field of labor to propagandize?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. On their own behalf as contradistinguished against what they claimed was unfair handling of the problem; is that correct?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHIERER. You found out from your experience that they were not actually interested in the problems of these sharecroppers but merely wanted to exploit the problem, as Mr. Doyle said, for the advantage of the party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Well, the answer to that question, since this particular group were Negroes, I can state that I found out that the party wasn't interested in the Negroes at all.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you mean in this instance or in other instances?

Mr. EGGLESTON. In any instance.

Mr. SCHERER. They pretended to be interested in problems of the Negro race, did they not?

Mr. EGGLESTON. They did.

Mr. SCHERER. For the purpose of gaining converts?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. They still do, do they not?

Mr. EGGLESTON. They still try.

Mr. JACKSON. It has again been abundantly evidenced before this committee in other hearings by Negro citizens who have gone in with high hopes that here was the answer, here was really an organization which had their best interests at heart, only to come out a year or 2 years or 3 years later thoroughly disillusioned with what they found as compared to what they expected or hoped to find.

Mr. WILLIS. That was exactly your experience, as I understand, and was a motivating cause for you to go to the FBI because you thought they were simply exploiting your race.

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Did it come to your attention while you were in the Communist Party that they were ever advocating the teaching, directly or indirectly, that there should be a Negro state or a Negro nation at sometime in the future?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes, sir; there has been talk of that. I wouldn't say there was general information through the sense that everyone was told at once, but I was told that by the chairman of the Communist Party in a dinner meeting at his home.

Mr. DOYLE. May I explore that, then, because I did not know what your answer would be when I asked it? I have had distinguished Negro citizens tell me in some previous meetings that they were taught that the Communist Party advocated a separate Negro state in the United States of America. Who was the Communist leader that discussed that in his home?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Andy Reams.

Mr. DOYLE. In approximately what year?

Mr. EGGLESTON. This was in the latter part of 1949 or early 1950.

Mr. DOYLE. What was the occasion of this Communist Party leader telling you that the Communist Party favored the establishment of a separate Negro state in the United States? Was it at a Communist meeting or just a conversation between you and him?

Mr. EGGLESTON. It was just a conversation between Andy, his wife, and myself.

Mr. DOYLE. Can you tell us the substance of the conversation? What did they say and what did you say?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I do remember. It is very important. To reveal such is strictly confidential between the FBI and myself.

Mr. DOYLE. Then you cannot answer?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, I do not know. What was strictly confidential?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The method that he asked me about.

Mr. SCHERER. I think we should get that method in executive session.

Mr. EGGLESTON. There I could probably reveal it, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. I am sure you could.

Mr. DOYLE. But for the purpose of this record, we are to understand, Mr. Witness, that Andy Reams told you that. Did he tell you that on more than one occasion?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No; just on this particular occasion.

Mr. DOYLE. There is no question in your mind now that he made it clear that the Communist Party in the United States advocated the establishment of a separate Negro state or republic in the United States of America?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Was Andy Reams a Negro?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No; he wasn't.

Mr. SCHERER. Establishment of a separate Negro state is entirely contrary to what the Negro leaders in the country want, is it not?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Exactly, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. And you learned that the idea for the establishment of a separate Negro state came from Russia where they did not understand the attitude of the Negro leaders or the Negro people in this country with reference to the establishment of such a state?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Didn't the Communist Party soon abandon the idea of having a separate Negro state when they found that they just could not sell that idea to the American Negro?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I don't know about the abandoning of the idea, but this was told to me as an idea in the latter part of 1949 or the early part of 1950 or 1951. If they abandoned it, it was after that.

Mr. SCHERER. I believe we had some testimony to the effect that the Communist hierarchy abandoned that idea when they found out that the Negroes in the country just would not be sold on such a proposition.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Scherer, you are emphasizing that the American Negro was so patriotic and loyal to the United States of America that the false Communist program to establish a Negro State in our country did not get anywhere.

Mr. SCHERER. That is true.

The Communist Party was perhaps less successful in converting Negroes to its cause than converting any other group. That has been the testimony before this committee. I think it also demonstrates the fact that some of these programs do originate directly from the Kremlin, because I do not believe that any responsible Communist in this country would have thought of such an idea because they would have realized that it was directly contrary to anything that the Negro people in this country would go for.

Mr. DOYLE. They may not have thought of it in this country, but they certainly tried to put it across.

Mr. SCHERER. They had to because of orders.

Mr. DOYLE. From Moscow.

Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any other facts in mind which were important to you in your conclusion that the Communist Party was endeavoring to use the members of your race for their own objectives

as distinguished from accomplishing something for the good of the people of your race?

Mr. EGGLESTON. When certain Negro organizations were working to get Negroes into the brewery here in Milwaukee a reliable source informed me that if the Communists had kept hands off, the Negroes would have been hired months before but they delayed the situation by publicizing and passing out leaflets, and so forth.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes. And I can well understand that they were harming your cause.

Mr. EGGLESTON. Harming the cause instead of helping it.

Mr. WILLIS. Harming it because they really had to?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us come now directly to the activity of the youth group of the Communist Party within the Civil Rights Congress. That is the third group that you mentioned.

Mr. EGGLESTON. Out of the youth group into the Civil Rights Congress I would say that I was the most active individual out of this group and in this group we would write leaflets and collect fund drives, and so forth, for different issues, peace petitions, and so forth.

Mr. SCHERER. You did those things, however, as the result of directives that you received from higher ups in the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes. And my higher up in the Civil Rights Congress was Josephine Nordstrand. They directed me to write different leaflets for different things.

Mr. WILLIS. Where was she from?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Milwaukee.

Mr. TAVENNER. She, as I understand it, was the head of the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. In Milwaukee or in Wisconsin, or do you know?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I would say Wisconsin, because there were chapters in Racine, and I think they tried to form a chapter in Madison, and she was in charge of all of them.

Mr. SCHERER. What I am trying to point out is that you, as an undercover agent of the FBI, did not initiate these programs yourself.

Mr. EGGLESTON. No.

Mr. SCHERER. You were merely carrying out a directive from above?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I was merely following the lines of the other individuals in this party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many individuals were members of the Civil Rights Congress who were known to you to be members of the Communist Party, according to your best estimate at this time?

Mr. EGGLESTON. In numbers instead of names?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I want the names, too.

Mr. WILLIS. You might be able to give, first, the number, if you have an opinion based on experience; then give the names.

Mr. EGGLESTON. Just to throw out a round figure, I would say I know of 10.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall the names of some of the 10 at this time?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Andy Carlson. C-a-r-l-s-o-n.

Mr. SCHERER. Before we go any further, where is Andy Carlson today?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I have not the slightest idea where he is.

Mr. SCHERER. Was he a member of the Communist Party at the time you left the party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes. I mean all these people I name, I have no contact with them whatsoever at this time.

Mr. SCHERER. But they were still members at the time you got out?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Tavenner, it is 12 o'clock. I suggest that perhaps we had better adjourn until 1:30.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. We will stand adjourned until 1:30.

(Whereupon, at 12 noon, the subcommittee was recessed, to reconvene at 1:30 p. m. the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

Committee members present: Representatives Doyle, Willis, and Scherer.

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will reconvene.

Let the record show, please, that the full personnel of the subcommittee appointed by Chairman Walter is present, Mr. Scherer, of Ohio, on my left, Mr. Willis, of Louisiana, on my right, and myself, Mr. Doyle, of California, subcommittee chairman. Mr. Jackson is absent, but is not designated as a member of this particular subcommittee. He is doing what we often do. We often sit with the subcommittee, and we are always glad to have the additional members present.

Let us proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Eggleston, will you come forward again, please?

#### TESTIMONY OF JAMES R. EGGLESTON—Resumed

Mr. DOYLE. Let the record show that we are starting at 1:30.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Eggleston, at the time of the noon recess you were giving us the names of persons who were members of the Young Progressives of America who were known to you to be members of the Communist Party. I am not certain whether or not you completed the listing of those names.

Mr. EGGLESTON. Jerry Rose was a member of the Young Progressives of America and a Communist Party member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Give the committee more descriptive information regarding Jerry Rose.

Mr. EGGLESTON. As to his party affiliation?

Mr. TAVENNER. As to his party affiliations and activities.

Mr. EGGLESTON. Well, as the organizational secretary for the youth group of the Communist Party I collected Jerry Rose's dues.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall at this time the nature of his activities generally in the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No more than the rest of the members in that particular group. I think I mentioned John Rody. Mike Ondrejka. Mark Berman was a member of the Young Progressives. Bernice Edelstine, Victor Edelstine, Phyllis Berger, and Sydney Berger, Ted Silverstine, Harvey Silverstine, Bob and Edith Silverstine, John Gilman, Helen Gilman, Bert Levine, Lila Cricklas, C-r-i-c-k-l-a-s, I think is the spelling. Sally Mattson. M-a-t-t-s-o-n. I think I am at a halt there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the principal activities that the Civil Rights Congress was engaged in while you were a member?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The Civil Rights Congress was engaged in fund driving campaigns to raise what they call a bail fund to have money available to bail out mostly members of the Communist Party who were caught in some subversive act.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of any instance where the bail funds of the Civil Rights Congress were used to bail out any person who was not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No, I don't.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you mean, Mr. Tavenner, Communists arrested for alleged violation of some Federal statute or State statute, and then bail was ordered by the court and the Civil Rights Congress provided the bail? Is that what you refer to?

Mr. TAVENNER. That was my question, yes.

Mr. EGGLESTON. When I say that the money was used only for bailing out Communists I don't know of anyone else who got into any particular trouble at that time where it could have been used for.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall any instances at this time where the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress was used in any particular case?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No, I have to go back to hearsay that the money was being raised here in Milwaukee and was being sent to the national headquarters. That was given to me by Mrs. Nordstrand.

Mr. WILLIS. I think, Mr. Counsel, that in this case the hearsay rule would not apply. The program was created and the instructions were given to raise the money for Mr. So and So, and that is part of the program.

Mr. SCHERER. We are not restricted from taking hearsay. We do it in the identification of individuals.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us what you learned about the use of the bail fund.

Mr. EGGLESTON. A quota of \$60,000 I believe was the national fund drive, the goal to reach.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean the quota for the State of Wisconsin?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No, the quota for the country was \$60,000 and Milwaukee was to collect \$2,500 of that amount. I don't know how much was collected, here in Milwaukee, but that money did go to the national headquarters.

Mr. TAVENNER. What means were used by the Civil Rights Congress here in Milwaukee to raise the money?

Mr. EGGLESTON. They organized a finance committee and this finance committee was to go out and contact different people whether party members or not for the purpose of raising this money, and they would have parties, programs, and so forth, to raise money.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what extent was the Communist Party active in those matters, that is, the conducting of the financial drives for the funds?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Mostly party members, well, in fact all of the party members that I know of that were in the Civil Rights Congress were on these committees.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall at this time what Communist Party members were on the finance committee to raise these funds?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Josephine Nordstrand was on that committee; Andy Carlson was on the committee. Matt Perker was on the committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he known to you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes, he was. I can't associate the names with the faces I am remembering now.

Mr. TAVENNER. You know that there were others but you are unable to recall their names at this moment?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any knowledge personally or otherwise of how they made private solicitation for funds for this purpose?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No, I don't. How the individual members made their contacts I do not know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever see a list of contributors to this fund?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I have seen a list of contributors to a number of funds, not only this particular one, but a long list of names who contributed to different fund drives at different times and made different contributions for different causes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were those lists kept?

Mr. EGGLESTON. In the office of the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there anything you could tell us about the list of contributors for this bail fund drive?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I am afraid not, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what other activities the Civil Rights Congress was engaged in?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Publication of leaflets and bulletins in which I was to write a monthly bulletin with the help of Jack Killian and Harriet Berger. We were on a committee to write this monthly bulletin.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is this Jack Killian that you refer to the same person that you referred to as being a member of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. EGGLESTON. One and the same, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. But a person that you had not identified as a member of the Communist Party to your own personal knowledge?

Mr. EGGLESTON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of this magazine that you have described or the bulletin which you were to edit?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Merely propaganda, sir, the subjects or individuals that the Civil Rights Congress were interested in that we thought the membership should know about, we would write about.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you given directions as to what to write about or did you use your own initiative to choose the subject?

Mr. EGGLESTON. At times we were given directions as to who or what to write about. Other times we would choose our own subjects but I might add that when we were given a choice it was up to Josephine Nordstrand. She was the sole judge of this. Anything that didn't suit her taste or was too strong along the Communist line would be extracted.

Mr. SCHERER. The material in the bulletin followed the Communist Party line, did it not?

Mr. EGGLESTON. In the milder sense.

Mr. SCHERER. Did it have to be disguised?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes, sir; it was disguised.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell the committee from your present recollection what some of the Communist Party propaganda was that was used in this magazine or bulletin?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I don't remember any specific party cases now, but it was generally to defend the Communists who were on trial, to defend those who were up for deportation and just protesting against this so-called police state that we have in this country.

Mr. WILLIS. Wasn't that the real heart of the matter, the promotion of the Communist cause and using the individual as a vehicle to spread out that cause?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of this bulletin?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The Civil Rights Champion.

Mr. SCHERER. You would go to the defense of the Rosenbergs, for example?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes; and the Willie McGee case, and so forth.

Mr. WILLIS. Who was Willie McGee?

Mr. EGGLESTON. He was the Negro who was executed in Mississippi; I think on rape charges.

Mr. SCHERER. You would not care what the facts were in those cases, would you? You did not try to determine, first, the right and justice of the position you took, did you?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No; every case that came up of that nature was a frame.

Mr. SCHERER. That is what I mean.

Mr. EGGLESTON. It was automatically a frameup every time you heard about such cases.

Mr. SCHERER. You would accuse the official authorities of framing the individual?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. You did not care too much about the justice of the cause?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No.

Mr. SCHERER. You rose to the defense of the individual merely because he represented a certain group, came from a certain minority group or was being tried for violation of perhaps the Smith Act or one of the other Federal acts?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. Probably for the most electrifying effect from that point of view, the Civil Rights Congress would take a lynch case, irrespective of whether the man involved was guilty or not guilty. That was not too important to the selection of the cause?

Mr. EGGLESTON. That is right, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you mean that you or one of the three editors of the Civil Rights Congress deliberately propagandized a frameup regardless of what the truth was, or a charge of frameup? Which was it?

Mr. EGGLESTON. It was actually a charge of frameup, sir. There is one particular case that I may be a little familiar with. It was the Martinsville Seven. That is my particular home. I was home right after this incident happened. I can't say whether the people were guilty or innocent because when I got home everything was quieted down. But when I got back to Milwaukee they were definitely innocent. They were framed. So I took my pencil and paper and said they were framed, too.



Mr. SCHERER. Do you mean that when you got back to Milwaukee insofar as the Communist Party was concerned, they were framed?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, your papers had no regard for what the truth was? It was to put out propaganda?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes. And if it would promote the cause of the Civil Rights Congress and the Communist Party, it was used.

Mr. DOYLE. That is the practice of Communist papers, as far as you know it?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes, it is. In my writing I was writing for a paper in California in which I followed the same line.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you remember the name of that paper in California? I would like to have it identified.

Mr. EGGLESTON. The California Eagle, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. That is published in Los Angeles.

Mr. EGGLESTON. I might add that all that I wrote for that paper was first approved by either Andy Reams or Josephine Nordstrand.

Mr. DOYLE. It has to be or it would not be printed, isn't that correct?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you write at their direction?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I wrote it and they took out or put in words. It was merely my byline by the time they got through.

Mr. TAVENNER. Part of the representation made by the Communist Party in the case of the seven in Martinsville was that in the punishment inflicted, there was gross discrimination against members of your race. Is that part of the line they were attempting to carry?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't suppose you ever saw in the Communist press that there was a white man punished in exactly the same way on exactly the same offense?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No; I didn't.

Mr. DOYLE. Was that a fact, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes, sir; that was a fact.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; that was a fact. There was an execution of a white man for the same offense on the same day.

Mr. SCHERER. Not to labor the point, again the purpose of this type of propaganda was to attract members of minority groups to membership either in the Communist Party or in the Civil Rights Congress. Is that right?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Also I would suggest, Mr. Scherer, that another purpose was to stir up antipathy and ill will toward the administration of justice in our Nation. Wasn't that true, Mr. Witness?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I would say so, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. You said a while ago that one of the ideas was to portray the police state. Was that one of the ideas behind it?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the time that you were working on this bulletin, were articles carried in support of the Communists in the trial or immediately after the trial of the 11 in New York for conspiracy under the Smith Act?

Mr. EGGLESTON. This bulletin came after that, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that Jack Killian was one of those who served on this paper with you. What did he do? What was his connection with the book?

Mr. EGGLESTON. To write, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the same capacity as yourself?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of the third person that you mentioned?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Harriet Berger.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she perform the same type of services that you performed?

Mr. EGGLESTON. She did, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. I think we should make this observation at this time, that Communist Party front organizations had similar bulletins and newspapers and publications all over the country and that they were very effective as evidenced by what happened in the Rosenberg case. Many well-meaning people throughout this country actually fell for the propaganda which came from literally hundreds of sheets like the one you are describing.

Mr. EGGLESTON. I might add, sir, that the idea for this paper in Milwaukee came from Michigan, came from Detroit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you pinpoint it more definitely than that?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No, I can't because it happened in Chicago at a convention there and some members from the Detroit ranks of the Civil Rights Congress were discussing this paper and how they had been successful with their paper; so we came back to Milwaukee and started one.

Mr. SCHERER. There were literally hundreds of papers like yours all over the United States, in every community, were there not?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. And you sought to get as wide a circulation as possible among people whom you hoped to influence?

Mr. EGGLESTON. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether the success, failure, or lack of progress of this bulletin was discussed in Communist Party meetings that you attended?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I don't recall, sir, that it was discussed in those meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe to the committee, please, any other activities that you can recall, in which the Civil Rights Congress was engaged in?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No, I think I have covered them all, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You spoke of fund drives?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. And for one particular purpose, that is the bail fund. Were there fund drives for other purposes?

Mr. EGGLESTON. There were fund drives for other purposes. There was a fund drive for Harold Christoffel for his defense, fund drives for Willie McGee and the Martinsville seven. I would say for practically every issue that came up they had a fund drive for it.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Tavenner, isn't it a fact that some of the more notable fund drives took place after this witness left the party?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, I think that is particularly true with regard to the bail fund drives.

You have described your activities in these three organizations in response to the general direction from the Communist youth group to get out into these organizations. What activity did you have within the Communist Party itself, if any, which you have not already covered?

Mr. EGGLESTON. To infiltrate other organizations.

Mr. TAVENNER. First work within the Communist Party. Did you attend meetings from time to time within the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes, I attended my own group meetings. Of course general meetings of the Communist Party which you attended only by written invitation, and these invitations would come from the party office headquarters here to the chairmen of the various groups, and they would pass them out to the members to attend these meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. How do you know that was the system they used?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Because I was given the invitations to pass out.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a chairman of your particular group?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were those meetings held, usually?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The Milwaukee Hall, I think it is Sokol's Hall on 13th and Walnut Streets.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were those meetings for Communist Party members only?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall any business conducted in any of those meetings that would be of interest to this committee?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Most of those meetings were speaking meetings where different members would get up and speak. One in particular, held on 13th and Walnut, was when Jack Kling was taking over the chairmanship of the party here and he was introduced at that meeting by Andy Reams, I believe, who was the outgoing chairman at that time. There was a discussion of an atomic bomb and warmongers who were going to use it. There was discussion on supporting the coal miners' strike in Pennsylvania and West Virginia at that time. We were to collect food for the coal miners. By the way, this was a task by the Communist Party itself where they were to go out and knock on door to door to collect food to send to Pennsylvania and West Virginia to give to the coal miners.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether or not truckloads of food were sent to the coal miners, and when the coal miners found that accompanying the food was Communist literature, they wouldn't accept it?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No, I didn't know that.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is the testimony before this committee.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean a loaf of bread in one hand and the Daily Worker in the other?

Mr. TAVENNER. They would not accept it with the label attached.

Do you recall any other particular business discussed at any of those meetings in which the committee would be interested?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I don't think so at this time, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names, please, of any persons that you learned to know as members of the Communist Party in those meetings, whose names you have not already given us?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Harry Virgil.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell us anything more about Harry Virgil by way of identification?

Mr. EGGLESTON. He was very active in the Peoples Progressive Party. I couldn't describe his activity in the Communist Party. I just know he attended these meetings through invitation and his wife also attended them.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall his wife's name?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Ida.

Mr. WILLIS. Where is he now, do you know?

Mr. EGGLESTON. He should be in here, sir. He is subpoenaed.

Mr. WILLIS. I am sorry. I did not mean to ask the question.

Mr. EGGLESTON. Nick Stess. S-t-e-s-s. He was working in the Civil Rights Congress as more or less an errand boy for the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you go back a moment to this man Virgil? Did you say you couldn't give us any more detailed information about his activities?

Mr. EGGLESTON. In the Communist Party.

Matt Perker. P-e-r-k-e-r. Mort Altman. A-l-t-m-a-n, I think is the spelling.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know if Mort is an abbreviation for Mortimer or whether that is his full name?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I could assume that, sir; but I don't know. Jerry Rose was at these meetings. Sidney and Phyllis Berger attended these meetings, and Andy Carlson. I think that is about all that I haven't named before, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become acquainted with a person by the name of Merle Snyder?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes, I did, sir. Merle Snyder was in my group.

Mr. TAVENNER. In which group?

Mr. EGGLESTON. In the Communist Party group, in the youth group of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether or not he was finally expelled from the Communist Party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes; he was, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. This morning one of the members of the committee asked you various questions about teachings in the Communist Party which drew from you an answer regarding the plan of the Communist Party to assign a certain section of the country to your race. You told the committee at the time that you felt you would have to restrict your testimony on that subject because you felt it was of a confidential character. During the noon hour did you satisfy yourself that you are under no restriction in that regard?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have before me a book entitled "Negro Liberation" by Harry Haywood, put out by the International Publishers, New York City. Is that the general subject that you were discussing?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me hand you the book, and I will ask you to tell the committee, please, what use was made of it by the Communist Party in this area, and any other knowledge you have of a Communist Party source as to the project in mind by the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will stand in recess for not more than 10 minutes and the witness in the meantime will be finding the reference that he has in mind.

We will convene again within 10 minutes. The committee stands in recess.

(Whereupon, at 2:10 p. m. a recess was taken after which at 2:20 p. m., the hearing was resumed.)

Committee members present: Representatives Doyle, Willis, and Scherer.

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will, please, reconvene.

I was asked three questions during the noon recess. I was asked how many members of this subcommittee are lawyers. Eight members of the full committee are lawyers. Mr. Jackson, who was here this morning, is the only 1 of the 9 who is not a lawyer. So Mr. Scherer, Mr. Willis, and myself were all lawyers in active practice before we came to Congress.

The other question I was asked was why there is more than one committee member here at this subcommittee hearing. Our committee, the Un-American Activities Committee, in July 1953 adopted a regulation that three members should constitute a subcommittee for a hearing. Up until last week, however, the House of Representatives had no rule specifying how many members of a committee of investigation constituted a quorum of that committee. Last year we passed a rule, unanimously, that requires not less than 2 members shall constitute a quorum for any subcommittee, so hereafter no investigative committee of the House of Representatives on an investigation has authority to sit unless 2 members are present. In other words, we unanimously did away with 1-man committees in the House of Representatives.

Are you ready, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Will you give to the committee, please, Mr. Eggleston, just what it was you had in mind with reference to the movement described in the book that is before you?

Mr. EGGLESTON. The discussion I had with Andy Reams and his wife in their apartment concerned this book here, Negro Liberation. During our discussion he pointed out to me a certain section of the United States which is this dark portion here of this map. This shaded portion would be taken by the Communist Party for the Negroes.

Mr. DOYLE. On what page of that book does the map appear?

Mr. EGGLESTON. This is the first page. It is not numbered, sir. It is just a map on the inside.

Mr. DOYLE. What States generally would be included in this shaded portion which this Communist told you would be taken by the Communist Party for the Negroes?

Mr. EGGLESTON. All the Southern States, except Florida.

Mr. SCHERER. Was Louisiana included?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. I would say that they were undertaking a great job. I will say, further, that that probably is one of the sections where this kind of hearing is needed the least.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the area given a name?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes; he referred to it as the black belt.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it to constitute a separate government than that of the rest of this country?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. I suppose you have to exercise a lot of restraint not to open up in a discussion like that?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Well, when he made that statement, believe me, I was dumfounded. I couldn't question him as to how or when this was going to take place. You just have to take those guys' word that what they say is law without questioning it because once you become suspicious you are out automatically.

Mr. DOYLE. Who was this Communist official who was telling you that this black belt would be taken by the Communist Party for the Negroes?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Andy Reams, who was the chairman of the Communist Party for Wisconsin.

Mr. DOYLE. Did that discussion occur in Milwaukee?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. In what year?

Mr. EGGLESTON. My best recollection is that this thing happened after this Mosinee in Madison—this sharecrop incident that I mentioned this morning.

Mr. DOYLE. That would have been about when, sir?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I would say in the summer of 1950.

Mr. DOYLE. Did he tell you what he meant by being "taken"? How was the Communist Party going to take over this area and set up a separate government?

Mr. EGGLESTON. That wasn't explained to me, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Why didn't you ask him?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I couldn't question him.

Mr. DOYLE. Why?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I was afraid I would cast suspicion on myself.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right. You were an FBI agent at the time.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you think they were rather stupid in advancing such a thing to the colored people of this country?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I think they are stupid, period.

Mr. SCHERER. Particularly in this respect. Because, as I understood it, the Negro leaders, particularly those connected with NAACP, are opposed to any type of segregation?

Mr. EGGLESTON. They are, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer in evidence at this place in the witness's testimony the front advertisement piece of the book and also the picture referred to by the witness and ask that it be marked "Eggleston Exhibit No. 1," for identification purposes only, and to be made a part of the committee files.

Mr. DOYLE. It is so ordered.

Mr. TAVENNER. With leave to withdraw the document after photostating it and return it to its owner.

Mr. DOYLE. Without objection leave is granted.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you told us in your earlier testimony that you withdrew from the Communist Party in 1952 or was it 1951?

Mr. EGGLESTON. In 1951. I didn't withdraw in the true sense of the word; I was expelled.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee about that, please?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I was expelled from the party for the reason that was given to me that time because I couldn't convert my wife into being a Communist Party member.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of that you were disciplined by being kicked out of the party?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had the party at the time that you got out broken down into smaller groups for the purpose of going underground?

Mr. EGGLESTON. At the time that I was out of the party there were no group meetings under the banner of the Communist Party. They were just individual meetings with different members.

Mr. TAVENNER. What size group of members?

Mr. EGGLESTON. One or two members would meet you and you would have a conversation with them and you would go to the bookshop and pick up your literature and papers, but there was no actual sending out and calling a business meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. With whom did you meet in that type of meeting?

Mr. EGGLESTON. I met with Mary Keith. We discussed things while the party was in this small group; the gentleman I named earlier in my testimony, whom I said was dead at this time, well I mention him again. Bill Herron, I met with him; Douglas McCain, I met with him; and I also met with Mort Altman.

Mr. TAVENNER. After the termination of your Communist Party membership, how were you employed? What have you been doing?

Mr. EGGLESTON. You mean when I got out of the party altogether?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. EGGLESTON. I went to work at Seaman Body for a while. I went to build my house. I was unemployed for about a year building my house. Then I went to work for a couple of architects, being self-employed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now self-employed?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. As an architect?

Mr. EGGLESTON. As a designer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I believe I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you want to question, Mr. Willis?

Mr. WILLIS. No, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. You say they told you that you were expelled from the party because you failed to convert your wife to communism; is that right?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you think that that was the real reason?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Well, I can't say. I mean at that time.

Mr. SCHERER. Who notified you of your expulsion?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Bill Herron.

Mr. SCHERER. And he told you that was the reason?

Mr. EGGLESTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. If that was the real reason—which I doubt—they don't understand wives any more than they understand the Negroes.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Eggleston, did they not give you a hearing and a chance to explain or defend yourself before you were expelled?

Mr. EGGLESTON. No, sir. I went to the bookshop one day to pick up my literature and I met Bill Herron there. He said, "I want to talk to you." We went out in my car. He told me. I said goodby and drove off.

Mr. DOYLE. I thought they believed pretty strongly in civil rights.

Mr. EGGLESTON, we could take quite a few minutes of time in thanking you for your cooperation. I will not do so. Speaking on behalf of the committee, I want to thank you very earnestly and sincerely for this cooperation with your United States Congress. We appreciate it very, very much.

Mr. EGGLESTON. You are welcome.

Mr. DOYLE. I am sure that if more American citizens, under circumstances such as you met when you discovered the Communist conspiracy, would take steps to reveal and expose it, as you did, we would not be so worried about the conspiracy to forcibly overthrow our country. I want to compliment you and thank you.

Mr. EGGLESTON. You are welcome.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that the witness be kept under subpoena?

Mr. DOYLE. So ordered.

Call the next witness, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Sigmund G. Eisenscher.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF SIGMUND G. EISENSCHER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, IRVIN B. CHARNE

Mr. DOYLE. Are you ready, Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, sir?

Mr. EISENSCHER. My name is Sigmund G. Eisenscher.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that you are accompanied by counsel. Would counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. CHARNE. Irvin B. Charne.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your address?

Mr. CHARNE. 135 West Wells Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. Milwaukee?

Mr. CHARNE. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Eisenscher?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I was born in Poland; Cracow, to be exact.

Mr. TAVENNER. What date?

Mr. EISENSCHER. On July 24, 1911.

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

Mr. EISENSCHER. I was an infant at the time. I am not sure of the exact age, but I was under 1 year old.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I am a citizen by virtue of the law which prevailed during one period which granted citizenship under conditions when a minor's parent became a citizen.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is derivative citizenship?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I am not sure what it is called, but that is the circumstance.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you secure that citizenship?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I couldn't say. It is in the record as far as that goes. I don't have that information at my fingertips.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was your father naturalized?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I couldn't tell you that offhand either.



Mr. TAVENNER. Where was he naturalized?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I am not sure at the moment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was your father living when he became naturalized?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I am not even sure of that, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Under what name was your father naturalized?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Well, I can only conclude that he was naturalized under his own name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which would be what?

Mr. EISENSCHER. That name is Isaac Eisenscher.

Mr. TAVENNER. When you came to this country where did you take up your residence?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Well, I can only speak of this by hearsay, Mr. Tavenner, since I was too young to recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is quite adequate.

Mr. EISENSCHER. You are satisfied with that?

Mr. TAVENNER. Certainly.

Mr. EISENSCHER. I will have to spend a little time to recall the circumstance.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not asking the circumstances. I am just asking you where you resided when you arrived in this country.

Mr. EISENSCHER. If I am not mistaken, I think the first period we lived in New York, but I am not sure of that. In other words, I cannot speak conclusively of this period of time.

Mr. TAVENNER. From there you moved to what place?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Massachusetts.

Mr. TAVENNER. What place in Massachusetts?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I think at one period we lived in a town called East Dedham. I think it is near Boston. But I am not sure of that either.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you and your family reside at that place?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I couldn't say that for sure, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. About when did you leave that place?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I think I must have been about 5 years old, but of this I am not certain either.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what part of the country did you move?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Long Island, N. Y. Wait. I am sorry. At first we lived in Manhattan in New York and after that we moved to Long Island.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you move from Long Island?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I am not certain of this date, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. About how old were you when you left Long Island?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I think I must have been somewhere about 6 or 7 years old.

Mr. TAVENNER. From Long Island, to what section of the country did you move?

Mr. EISENSCHER. To Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you move from Brooklyn? Can you fix that time?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I am sorry, I couldn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. From Brooklyn, to what section of the country did you move?

Mr. EISENSCHER. To New Jersey.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you live in New Jersey?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I lived there until 1933.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live in New Jersey?

Mr. EISENSCHER. A town called Chatham.

Mr. TAVENNER. How old were you in 1933? I have forgotten the date of your birth.

Mr. EISENSCHER. I must have been 22, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Well, I went through school as most other kids have done, I suppose. I went through grammar school and through junior high school and then high school, and I had a few months at Rutgers University at the New Jersey State Experiment Station. That is an agricultural school. That was for a brief period, just a short course.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what year was that?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I think that was in the winter of 1928 if I am not mistaken.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, how long you lived in New Jersey?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I lived there, if I can recall exactly, from about 1925 until I left the State in 1933.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what State did you move upon leaving New Jersey?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I came to Wisconsin.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what section of Wisconsin did you take up your residence?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I lived in Madison for about a year and a half then moved to Milwaukee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any formal educational training in addition to what you have told us?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Well, not that I would count as such because I entered the University of Wisconsin for a brief period, but I dropped out because I found myself unable to continue for lack of funds, but I wouldn't count that, because I never got any credit for it.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was in Madison?

Mr. EISENSCHER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you in attendance at the university?

Mr. EISENSCHER. A very short time, for a few weeks only. I thought I could make plans to assure the continuation of my schooling there, but I found myself unable to do so.

Mr. TAVENNER. What year was that?

Mr. EISENSCHER. 1933.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then in about a year or year and a half you moved from Madison to Milwaukee?

Mr. EISENSCHER. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed while living in Madison?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Oh, I had a couple of jobs. I sold advertising for a newspaper there on the campus. I sold it for the Cardinal and I sold advertising for another newspaper in town, and then I got a job with the Madison Gas & Electric Co. I was selling appliances, you know, stoves and refrigerators, and whatnot, merchandise that they have on sale.

Mr. TAVENNER. Upon moving to Milwaukee in—would that be 1934 or 1935?

Mr. EISENSCHER. 1935.

Mr. TAVENNER. How did you become employed?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I believe that this question may tend to incriminate me, Mr. Tavenner, and therefore I will refuse to answer it.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to answer.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct the witness to answer that question.

Mr. EISENSCHER. Mr. Doyle, I must persist in my refusal to answer this question based on the grounds that I believe that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you become employed by the Communist Party?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Sir, the same answer goes for this question.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. DOYLE. You have refused to answer the question asked you by Mr. Tavenner after I directed you to answer. That is correct, isn't it?

Mr. EISENSCHER. That is correct, definitely correct.

Mr. DOYLE. And you have given your grounds for refusal to answer?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I said, and I will repeat, I refuse to answer that question because I believe that that answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Eisenscher, where do you now reside?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I live at 1860 North Prospect Avenue in Milwaukee.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived there?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. I lived there from about the middle of August until the present date. I am still living there.

Mr. TAVENNER. The middle of August of what year?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Of 1954.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to the middle of August 1954 where did you reside?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I believe that the answer to this question might also be incriminating and therefore I refuse to answer it. I refuse to give you any information which may be used to incriminate me, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question as to where he lived prior to his present address.

Mr. DOYLE. I certainly do instruct you to answer that question and in doing that, sir, we believe it is entirely reasonable and right and within the law for us to ask you to identify yourself. We see no justification in you claiming incrimination merely because you lived some place. The purpose of the question is to identify you, and Congress has a right to know who you are and where you have lived. I instruct you to answer.

Mr. EISENSCHER. Mr. Doyle, I still refuse to answer that question on the grounds which I have stated, that I will not incriminate myself or even endanger myself to possible incrimination by any information or answers given here in this room.

Mr. DOYLE. Even as to where you lived; is that correct?

Mr. EISENSCHER. If I think there is a possibility that the answer may incriminate me, I will refuse to answer—and I am the sole judge of that.

Mr. SCHERER. That is where you are wrong. You are not the sole judge of that.

Mr. DOYLE. We will let the record speak for itself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Eisenscher, I have before me a clipping from the Milwaukee Journal of August 18, 1954, entitled "Another Spurt by Local Reds. Reasons Are Studied." The article begins with this statement:

What is the significance of the reappearance of Sigmund G. Eisenscher and an openly functioning Communist Party in Wisconsin?

The former Milwaukee County Communist chairman popped up Monday announcing that he had been elected State Communist chairman and a write-in candidate for lieutenant governor in the November 2 election. Eisenscher had vanished from Milwaukee, along with other State Communist leaders, on September 4, 1951.

It was believed then that fear of prosecution under the Smith Act on charges of conspiring to overthrow the Government by force had led to their disappearance.

Then a heading in the article, "Possibility Still Exists" and continuing with the article, it reads as follows:

Inasmuch as that possibility still exists, there must have been some strong reason for the emergence of Eisenscher at this time.

One theory, partly confirmed Tuesday by Eisenscher himself, is that the Communists discovered that working underground had disadvantages. Particularly, it made recruitment of members almost impossible and propagandization difficult.

Authorities say that the Communist Party here has slipped badly since its leaders disappeared. It has lost touch with the workers, from which it hopes to gain recruits, and has not been able to defend itself against its many critics, they say. Eisenscher agreed with the latter point.

Eisenscher declined to answer questions as to where he had been during his 3 years' absence from Milwaukee and as to whether others in the Communist Party had been elected to offices when he was elected State chairman.

Do you recall seeing that article in the press in which you are reported to have agreed with certain viewpoints?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Sir, I will refuse to answer the question on the grounds that it may possibly tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. The only question, as I understand it, that Mr. Tavenner asked him is whether he saw the article and I don't see how, whether he saw it or did not see it, would tend to incriminate him. So, Mr. Chairman, again I am going to ask you to direct the witness to answer the question as to whether he saw that article.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. DOYLE. You conferred with your counsel. What is your answer to Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. EISENSCHER. On the advice of counsel, I will say now that I did read the article.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have a conference with the writer of that article as indicated by its contents wherein it said "Eisenscher agreed with the latter point"?

(Witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. Sir, I will not answer this question on the grounds that the answer may possibly tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't it a fact, Mr. Eisenscher, that the theory presented in this article is actually the correct theory of the Communist Party today in this locality, namely, that it has found it cannot operate underground successfully?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Sir. I consider that question an invasion of my political and civil rights.

(Counsel confers with the witness.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. And the same answer which I gave before holds for this one as well.

(Counsel confers with the witness.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. I will not answer this question because I believe that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Has not the Communist Party in this locality reached the conclusion or the determination that by working in underground small groups it cannot continue to recruit members into the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. I also refuse to answer this question, Mr. Tavenner, on the same grounds previously stated to the last question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't it true that you have been sent back here to try to dig the Communist Party out of the ground in order that it may continue with its propaganda appeal to certain interests?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Mr. Tavenner, I will say this: I am willing to proclaim my views in any corner of this State but not under compulsion and not before this committee.

(Counsel confers with the witness.)

Mr. SCHERER. Do you mean you are willing to answer these questions at any place other than before this committee?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I am willing to expound my views freely but not under compulsion or before any inquisitorial committee.

Mr. SCHERER. I would say he is clearly in contempt.

Mr. EISENSCHER. I would refuse to answer that on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Chairman, I think since he did not at first claim the fifth amendment he should be ordered to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse, sir, on the grounds previously stated that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Are you the Sigmund Eisenscher, or whatever the name is, referred to in the article that the counsel just read?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer, sir, on the grounds stated previously that an answer may possibly tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of an article entitled "Press Release, Milwaukee, Wis., August 16, 1954," and ask you if you have seen it before.

(A document was handed to the witness.)

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Tavenner, on the grounds that the answer may possibly tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You refuse to state whether or not you have ever seen this document or the original of it; is that correct?

Mr. EISENSCHER. That is correct, on the grounds that I stated before.

MR. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to read part of the document in evidence:

The Communist Party of Wisconsin announced today that its State executive committee has elected as its chairman Sigmund G. Eisenscher, former Milwaukee County chairman of the party. At the same time, it was announced that Eisenscher planned to run for the office of lieutenant governor of Wisconsin in the November election. The announcement came as Eisenscher returned home after an absence of 3 years on various field assignments for the party. Eisenscher issued the following statement:

Then it continues with about three pages of what purports to be a statement.

MR. WILLIS. What was the date of that?

MR. TAVENNER. It is Milwaukee, Wis., August 16, 1954, under the heading of "Press Release."

Is it true, as stated in this press release, that you were elected chairman of the Milwaukee County Communist Party in August 1954?

MR. EISENSCHER. I also refuse to answer that question, Mr. Tavenner, on similar grounds that the answer may possibly tend to incriminate me.

(Counsel confers with the witness.)

MR. TAVENNER. Did you become a candidate for lieutenant governor of Wisconsin in the November elections of 1954?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

MR. EISENSCHER. I will also refuse to answer this question, Mr. Tavenner, on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

MR. SCHERER. Whether you became a candidate for lieutenant governor of the State of Wisconsin might tend to incriminate you? Do you claim that seriously?

MR. EISENSCHER. I seriously do.

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

MR. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question.

MR. EISENSCHER. I can only repeat what I said before.

MR. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question.

MR. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer this on the grounds that the answer may possibly incriminate me.

MR. DOYLE. When you became a candidate in 1954, did you feel then that it would incriminate you to become a candidate?

MR. EISENSCHER. I also refuse to answer that question, Mr. Doyle, on similar grounds.

MR. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of an application for post office box under date of September 30, 1954. Will you examine it, please?

(A document was handed to the witness.)

MR. TAVENNER. Will you state whether or not you filed such an application with the Post Office Department?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

MR. EISENSCHER. Mr. Tavenner, I also refuse to answer this question on the grounds that the answer may possibly incriminate me or tend to incriminate me.

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

MR. DOYLE. I direct you to answer that question, Mr. Eisenscher.

MR. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer, Mr. Doyle, on the grounds I just stated that an answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Eisenscher Exhibit No. 1," for identification purposes only, and to be made a part of the committee files.

Mr. DOYLE. It is so ordered.

Mr. WILLIS. Does that document purport to bear a signature of the witness on the stand? I do not care whether it does or not. Is it signed by him?

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you the document again and ask you if you see a place entitled "Signature of applicant" followed by the signature of an individual?

(A document was handed to the witness.)

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Are you asking him if that is his signature?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am going to ask him that in the next question.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. Yes; I see such a place.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read the name of the person whose name appears opposite the request for the signature?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. I am now reading from this piece of paper which you gave me.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. And it says here "Sigmund G. Eisenscher."

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you sign it?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer this question, Mr. Tavenner, on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. I think we ought to have another direction, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. I am, sir, in view of your identification of that signature as being your name, directing you to answer.

(Counsel confers with the witness.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. Mr. Doyle, I repeat that I will not answer this question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to read the document in evidence.

Application for post-office box.

Just ahead of that in the righthand corner is the statement—

Assigned Box No. 1,088, September 30, 1954, the undersigned hereby applies for the use of a box in the post office at Main Post Office, Milwaukee, Wis., and agrees to comply with the postal regulations and rules relative to renting and use of post-office boxes. If the box is rented for a corporation, the applicant should write on the lines below the name of the corporation; if for a firm, the name of the firm, and the full name of each of its members whose mail is to be placed in the box.

Then follows:

Signature of applicant: "Sigmund G. Eisenscher." Character of business: "Personal and political." Residence address: "1860 N. Prospect Avenue, Milwaukee." References: "M. Altman, 3208 West Michigan; John Gilman, 3851 North First Street."

Mr. Eisenscher, isn't it a fact that you applied for an application for post-office box to be used as the post-office box of the Communist Party for this area?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Sir, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. And isn't it a fact that in response to the application you were actually assigned box 1,088 which you used for the Communist Party in this area?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I notice that there are several references here. Who is the person by the name of M. Altman?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Tavenner, on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You will not state whether or not you are acquainted with him?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I think I have answered your question, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with John Gilman?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer that question also on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Eisenschier, I hand you a document entitled, and the caption is very indistinct to read, "This is Your FBI, a Statement by the Communist Party of Wisconsin," then in parentheses under the title, "For General Release and Publication." Examine it please, and will you state whether or not you are familiar with that article?

(A document was handed to the witness.)

Mr. DOYLE. What is the date of that, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. It has no date.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. I do not answer this question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you mean you refuse to answer?

Mr. EISENSCHER. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, you have refused to answer all important questions that have been asked you on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate you.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. In other words, you feel that if you answer such questions some prosecution may result in which you might suffer some penalty; is that right?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Mr. Scherer, I do not believe I am obliged to answer your question or to explain my reasons for refusal on the grounds that I have indicated.

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

Mr. DOYLE. I direct the witness to answer.

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer this question also, Mr. Doyle. However, I would like to confer with my counsel on this point.

Mr. DOYLE. We would be glad to have you do so. I think you had better.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. Mr. Doyle, I don't want to give the impression here that I am evading any questions. I want to make very clear at this point that my answers to those questions, whatever your com-



ments or opinions might be, represent my clear and honest opinion, and I would like to have that clearly understood, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course you are under oath and the record speaks for itself as to what you are trying to do.

Mr. SCHERER. By the question I asked, Mr. Chairman, I wanted to see whether this witness understood what he was doing when he invoked the fifth amendment, and I think of course he is clearly in contempt for refusing to answer the question that I asked because it would give some basis as to whether or not he was properly invoking the fifth amendment.

Witness, you have invoked the fifth amendment and said that you are refusing to answer these questions because your answers might tend to incriminate you. Now, under the law passed by the 83d Congress this committee has the right with the approval of the Federal court to grant you immunity from prosecution, that is to assure you that there will be no prosecution for any answer that you might give to these questions.

If this committee should decide to grant you such immunity so that you couldn't be prosecuted, or couldn't incriminate yourself by your answer, would you then answer the questions we have asked you?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Do you mean to imply, Mr. Scherer, that I should become a stool pigeon?

Mr. SCHERER. I just want you to answer my question.

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

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer. I think you understood the question.

Mr. EISENSCHER. I would like to answer this question, Mr. Doyle. I would say, first, that in no case will I violate my own conscience. My conscience will not permit me to become an informer under compulsion or offers of bribery or offers of any refusal to prosecute, or anything like that.

I also believe that Congress does not have the power to set aside any of the protection granted by the Constitution of the United States. I adhere to the Constitution even if it is in conflict sometimes with some of the things that Congress may do.

Mr. SCHERER. Then I understand, Witness, from your answer now that if this committee should grant you immunity from prosecution, you would still refuse to answer these questions?

(Counsel confers with witness.)

Mr. SCHERER. He has answered the question, Mr. Tavenner. I just made that observation because from his answer it was not clear that he was properly invoking the fifth amendment.

When a man says that he will not answer even though granted immunity, then he is not properly invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine, again, please, the document which I handed you a few moments ago and look at the typewritten, signed name at the end of it and see if you can detect a signature just above it?

(A document was handed to the witness.)

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you see what appears to be a signature above the typewritten name?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I see what might possibly be a signature, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does that indicate to you that this is a photostat of a mimeographed document?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Well, sir, I am not a documents expert, and for that reason I don't think that I am required to answer the question. I wonder in what capacity you are asking me my opinion?

Mr. TAVENNER. From your observation of it does it appear as though it were a name scratched on a sheet of mimeograph paper which didn't take properly in the stencil, did not take properly in the duplication of it?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. It appears that way to me, but I want to say that this is a matter of opinion. That is my opinion.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you read that signature by examining it?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Are you directing me to read it, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. EISENSCHER. Is says here "S. G. Eisenscher."

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you identify the signature above it as being the same name?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Well, I couldn't say positively. It appears that it might be the same.

Mr. TAVENNER. It appears to be, doesn't it?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Yes, it appears to be.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you scratch your signature by stencil in the duplication paper?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Now, Mr. Tavenner, I will refuse to answer that question on similar grounds as before: That the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WILLIS. Did he answer as to whether or not he had seen this document or did he refuse? I am asking you, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. He answered formerly that he refused to identify the document.

Underneath that signature appears a typewritten name, and that is the name that you read. Isn't that correct?

Mr. EISENSCHER. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What post office address is given under that name?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Post Office Box 1088.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which is the same post office box number which was assigned to you on your application, isn't it?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. I won't answer that question, Mr. Tavenner, because the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you also examine the document to see whether or not there is any further identifying information after your name?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Do you want me to read what is here, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, that would be an easy way to do it.

Mr. EISENSCHER. Under the name indicated here it says "For the Communist Party of Wisconsin, Post Office Box 1088, Milwaukee, Wis."

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Eisenscher Exhibit No. 2," for identification purposes only and to be made a part of the committee files.

Mr. DOYLE. It is so ordered.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Eisenscher, were you a candidate in 1947 for mayor of the city of Milwaukee?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. Mr. Tavenner, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question as to whether he was a candidate for mayor of Milwaukee.

Mr. DOYLE. I fail to see how that would tend to incriminate you. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. EISENSCHER. Without explanation, I refuse to answer on the grounds that it may incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Eisenscher. I hand you a document entitled "Press Release, Address: Milwaukee, Wis., December 17, 1947." Will you examine it, please, and state what name you see at the bottom of the document?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. The name indicated here is Sigmund Eisenscher.

Mr. TAVENNER. Does it appear both in typewriting and in handwriting?

Mr. EISENSCHER. That is right. That is what appears here on the paper; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state whether or not the signature "Sigmund G. Eisenscher" is your signature or a reasonable facsimile of it?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Mr. Tavenner, I refuse to answer that question on the ground that that answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire, Mr. Chairman, to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Eisenscher Exhibit No. 3," for identification purposes only, and to be made a part of the committee files.

Mr. DOYLE. It is so ordered.

Mr. TAVENNER. I shall read the first and last paragraphs:

In the absence of unity among Milwaukee's labor and liberal forces behind any single candidate or platform, I have decided to offer myself as a candidate for election as mayor of Milwaukee.

Then the last paragraph:

Since returning from the service, I have been county chairman of the Communist Party of Milwaukee. I intend to take a leave of absence from these duties during the election campaign. I have been an active Communist for 13 years, during which time I have devoted all my efforts in behalf of the rights of labor, of the Negro people, and of the general struggle for democracy. My campaign for the mayoralty is pledged to continue in this same effort.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you run as candidate for Governor of the State of Wisconsin on the Communist Party ticket in 1946?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer this question, Mr. Tavenner, on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Eisenscher, have you been known by any name other than Sigmund Eisenscher?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Tavenner, on the grounds previously stated, that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct the witness to answer that question. Congress is certainly entitled to know the identity of people in the country. It is a question of identity and I direct you to answer it.

Mr. EISENSCHER. Mr. Doyle, I will repeat my answer. That is, that to answer the question would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you used the name Fred Keller?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I will refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated, that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you first become a member of the Communist Party while attending the university at Madison, Wis.?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. Mr. Tavenner, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Eisenscher, report No. 1508 of the 80th Congress, 2d session, of the House of Representatives, is a report of an investigation by the House Committee on Education and Labor entitled "Investigation of Harold Christoffel and Others as to Whether Perjury Was Committed Before the Committee on Education and Labor." I read, as follows, from that report:

Sigmund G. Eisenscher, Communist candidate for Governor of Wisconsin in 1946, having been first duly sworn, testified before your subcommittee that he was born in Krakow, Poland; spent his childhood and youth in Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey; joined the Communist Party in 1934 at Madison, Wis., at which time he adopted the alias of Fred Keller—

Then, quoting your testimony:

to prevent any political persecution of my relatives for reasons of my own political activities.

He sought out someone whom he knew to be a Communist to join the Communist Party, but did not recall the name of this person. He was first a member of the Communist Party in Madison, and then when he moved to Milwaukee he was attached to the branch of the party in Milwaukee. He was not a member of the Allis-Chalmers branch of the party in 1938; he believed that he—

Then, quoting your testimony again:

was first attached to a North Side branch of the Communist Party when I first came to town.

He did not "exactly" remember who the members of this branch were; he did not remember a single one of the members of this branch; about a year later he moved to the East Side group but did not recall any of the Communists with which he was associated in this branch of the party; he did not join the Allis-Chalmers branch of the Communist Party; he was a member of the Sixth Ward branch of the Communist Party; he could not tell the names of any of those who were members of this branch; Louis F. Budenz visited Milwaukee, and the witness saw him there, but did not meet with him in a home in Milwaukee.

Does that serve to refresh your recollection as to your testimony in 1948 before the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Tavenner, on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Chairman, the question only asked if that served to refresh his memory. It certainly has nothing to do with the fifth amendment effect. Perhaps he should repeat the question.

Mr. DOYLE. I instruct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. EISENSCHER. Would you repeat the question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Does the reading of the report which I have just completed refresh your recollection as to your having testified before the Committee on Education and Labor in 1948?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. My answer still holds, Mr. Tavenner; that I refuse to answer this question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you testify before the House Committee on Education and Labor?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I think I answered that question, sir, did I not?

Mr. SCHERER. You may have.

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer the question, sir, on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you direct him to answer that question?

Mr. DOYLE. No; I directed him to answer the question as to whether or not the reading of that report refreshed his memory.

Mr. SCHERER. He may have some basis there but I don't think there is any basis for his refusing to answer the question as to whether he testified before a committee of Congress, and I ask that you direct him to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer Mr. Scherer's question.

Mr. EISENSCHER. I think you are correct that your question is different from Mr. Tavenner's. Therefore, I will answer your question, although my answer will be the same; that I refuse to answer this question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. When you testified before the House Committee on Education and Labor were you telling the truth?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Sir, I refuse to answer that question on the grounds the answer may tend to incriminate me. I believe it is an attempt at entrapment.

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. SCHERER. I agree because I think if you said you were telling the truth, that might incriminate you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Michael J. Ondrejka?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate and degrade me.

Mr. DOYLE. We always give a witness an opportunity to defend himself against any indication that he might be degraded by any testimony, so we now give you an opportunity to explain how it might degrade you. Do you want that opportunity?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Doyle, on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with James R. Eggleston?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer that question also on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Would that degrade you, too?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I will leave the judgment of Mr. Eggleston to his own people, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Eggleston testified here about attending a study course in your home which was organized by and for the Communist Party and that you dropped in at one of those meetings. Do you recall it?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I will not answer that question, Mr. Tavenner, on the grounds that I have indicated before; that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you consider that it would degrade you?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I will not answer your question, sir. I think it is facetious.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; I think it is called for in light of your answer to the question a moment ago.

Mr. DOYLE. I think I have seen you sitting here all morning in this room; have I not?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I was here, Mr. Doyle; yes.

Mr. DOYLE. So you heard the testimony that was given?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Yes; I heard it.

Mr. DOYLE. Sure you did.

That is all, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there anything about Mr. Eggleston's testimony that was untrue?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Willis?

Mr. WILLIS. Are you now or have you ever been a Communist?

(Counsel conferred with the witness.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. I don't believe, sir, that my political views should come under the censorship of any congressional committee. I will answer this question by saying that the answer may tend to incriminate me, and, therefore, I will not give it.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Scherer, do you have any questions?

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, you have refused to tell us where you were between the years 1951 and 1954 when you disappeared from Milwaukee. Did you go to Russia during that time?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. That is no laughing matter.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. I will refuse to answer your question on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you engage in any instructions in sabotage?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Sir, your question is insulting, but I will refuse to answer it on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. Whether my question is insulting or not, is what I said true or false?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I will not answer your question, sir, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you mean you will take the fifth amendment on that question?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I think, sir, your question is provocative.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, when we get to executive session, this is one of those cases that I am going to move be referred to the Department of Justice to determine whether or not denaturalization proceedings should be commenced against this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you any further questions?

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Eisenschler, when you were in Long Island you were 6 or 7 years old. You so stated. Do you remember?

Mr. EISENSCHER. That is the approximate age, Mr. Doyle. I can't remember specifically.

Mr. DOYLE. I realize that you couldn't remember that far accurately, but was you father alive then?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Yes; he was.

Mr. DOYLE. When did your father die?

Mr. EISENSCHER. My father did not die, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I beg your pardon. Where does he live?

Mr. EISENSCHER. He lives in New Jersey.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you ever had in your possession his certificate of citizenship?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I recall that at the time when I was in the Army, the Army required me to provide proof of citizenship, and I recall asking my father to send me a certified copy of the document in question, and I believe at that time I turned it over to the Army authorities and they copied the material in the document and then returned it, I think, to me or to my father—I forget whom.

Mr. DOYLE. They returned it to you, did they not? I want you to produce it, please.

Mr. EISENSCHER. I don't have it in my possession, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Where is it?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I believe I sent it back home.

Mr. DOYLE. What did the document state as to the date and city in which your father was naturalized?

Mr. EISENSCHER. That is part of the record, sir; I don't remember it.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you mean to tell me that you do not remember the date and city in which the document showed your father was naturalized?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I don't remember it; that is the fact.

Mr. DOYLE. I know that you have a clear memory on other things.

Mr. SCHERER. When were you in the Army?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I was in the Army from—

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. In 1942 I enlisted in the Army. I wasn't drafted. I served for 44 months altogether.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you a member of the Communist Party while you were in the Army?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the grounds that the answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Which would incriminate you? I am not clear. Being a member of the Communist Party while being in the Army, or being a member of the United States Army?

Mr. EISENSCHER. Sir, I am not ashamed of being in the Army. I am proud of the record I was able to build while I was in the Army.

Mr. DOYLE. I think you ought to be in spite of the fact that you were probably a member of the Communist Party at the same time, according to our information.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. When did you last see the document for naturalization of your father? You say you did not remember whether you had it sent back to your father or whether you kept it.

Mr. EISENSCHER. As a matter of fact, Mr. Doyle, I don't recall distinctly whether I saw it myself. I don't remember whether he sent it to the Army or me. That is a detail which I don't recall at the moment. The facts in the document can be readily referred to.

Mr. DOYLE. In what State was he naturalized?

Mr. EISENSCHER. I believe it was in New York. Of this I am not sure. As I said, I don't remember any details regarding that, because this happened many, many years ago and long before I came of age. In fact, I didn't even know; I didn't even know up until the time the question was presented to me; I wasn't even sure under what conditions my father had become a citizen. It took the United States Army to force me to find out for myself.

Mr. DOYLE. The Army had to force you to do it? In other words, you were not interested enough to find out whether or not you were an American citizen until the war came.

Mr. EISENSCHER. I think I am as good an American, sir, as any member of your committee.

Mr. DOYLE. I do not know if any of us has ever pleaded the fifth amendment or would.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. DOYLE. When you were out of sight and out of hearing during those 3 years approximately, did you go to Poland?

Mr. EISENSCHER. What period are you speaking of, sir?

Mr. DOYLE. 1951-54.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer that question—

Mr. DOYLE. Where did you go?

Mr. EISENSCHER. On the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. Where were you living at that time?

Mr. EISENSCHER. The same answer pertains to this.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you live at 3929 West Vliet Street, Milwaukee, on December 17, 1947?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. EISENSCHER. I refuse to answer that question, Mr. Doyle, on advice of counsel on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me.

Mr. DOYLE. The reason I asked you that question is because on this exhibit which has been identified here where you announced that you were offering yourself as candidate for election to mayor, the address given on that document is 3929 West Vliet Street, Milwaukee 8, Wis., December 17, 1947.

Are there any other questions?

Any questions, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. No.

Mr. DOYLE. The witness is excused.

Mr. EISENSCHER. I was given 2 subpoenas, 1 dated for appearance today and 1 for April 4. It is my understanding that the other subpoena is vacated also.



Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; you were notified that a subpoena was served afterward moving the date up until today, so you may ignore the one for April 4.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will stand in recess for 3 minutes.

(Whereupon, a brief recess was taken.)

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will come to order, please.

I want to announce that we will begin tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

I have in my hand a statement by the last witness, Sigmund G. Eisenscher, which was handed to the newspapers in this room immediately after he received his \$6 witness fee for being a witness here. He left the room, and the committee had no opportunity to question him about this statement which attacks the committee.

I just wish to say that this is the usual, habitual, snide, sneaking, deceitful way that members of the Communist Party use in connection with hearings before congressional committees. We only regret that the gentleman was not frank and fair enough with the committee and with the people of Milwaukee to present us with this statement of his so that we could have time and an opportunity to question him about it.

Mr. Tavenner, are you ready with your next witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. Alfred H. Hirsch, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Alfred H. Hirsch, please.

Mr. DOYLE. Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HIRSCH. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Be seated, please.

#### TESTIMONY OF ALFRED H. HIRSCH, ACCOMPANIED BY M. MICHAEL ESSIN, COUNSEL

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. HIRSCH. I am Alfred H. Hirsch.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted the witness is accompanied by counsel. Would counsel identify himself for the record, please?

Mr. ESSIN. The name is M. Michael Essin, E-s-s-i-n; address 623 North Second Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where you born, Mr. Hirsch?

Mr. HIRSCH. New York, N. Y., February 19, 1908.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. HIRSCH. Milwaukee, Wis.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Milwaukee?

Mr. HIRSCH. Fourteen and a half years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

Mr. HIRSCH. I went to grammar school, high school, bachelor of arts, Harvard University; master of arts, Columbia University; studied in Europe on several occasions but received no degrees.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date of your degree at Harvard?

Mr. HIRSCH. 1929.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you complete your course at Columbia?

Mr. HIRSCH. I believe in 1931.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. HIRSCH. Self-employed.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what type of work are you engaged?

Mr. HIRSCH. I have a letter shop.

Mr. TAVENNER. What does that mean?

Mr. HIRSCH. Mimeographed material and multigraphed material, mail for people.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first come to Milwaukee?

Mr. HIRSCH. In 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time where did you live?

Mr. HIRSCH. New York City, Connecticut, Europe.

Mr. TAVENNER. For how long a period had you lived in New York prior to coming to Milwaukee?

Mr. HIRSCH. My official residence was in New York from February 1908 to 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was from the time of your birth until you came here?

Mr. HIRSCH. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you said that during that period of time you lived in Connecticut and also—

Mr. HIRSCH. My legal residence was in New York State during that entire period.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am more interested in where you were than where your legal residence may have been.

How long were you a resident of New York prior to your coming to Milwaukee?

Mr. HIRSCH. About 10 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it before that 10-year period that you lived in Connecticut?

Mr. HIRSCH. No. It was about a year during that period.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live in Connecticut?

Mr. HIRSCH. Redding Ridge, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your occupation in Connecticut?

Mr. HIRSCH. I was writing a book.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your occupation during the 10-year period that you lived in New York before coming to Milwaukee?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that the answer may force me to testify against myself under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your purpose in coming to Milwaukee?

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

Mr. TAVENNER. In what business did you engage after coming to Milwaukee in 1942?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that on the same grounds that being the same question.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been engaged in the business that you refer to as the letter business?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HIRSCH. Since July 1951.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your business prior to July 1951?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I read into evidence here an article from a local paper which referred to a number of people having left Milwaukee in 1951 when the Communist Party went underground. Do you have

any knowledge of persons who were members of the Communist Party leaving Milwaukee in 1951?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state whether or not the action of the Communist Party in having its membership go underground in Milwaukee in 1951, in anyway affected your decision to change your occupation from one which prior to July 1951 was a type of business that you will not tell us about, to a business which you have described as being the letter business?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I cannot be forced to testify against myself under the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hirsch, will you tell the committee, please, whether or not you were affiliated in any manner with an organization known as the Sound View Foundation?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you ever acquainted with a person by the name of Mr. Benjamin Gitlow?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment as previously cited.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Joe Brodsky?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Benjamin Gitlow testified before this committee in 1953 regarding certain activities of the Sound View Foundation. During the course of his testimony he advised the committee that all the officials of that organization, which included you and Mr. Joseph Brodsky, were members of the Communist Party. Was he correct or in error in that sworn testimony before this committee?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you an official of the Sound View Foundation?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1946?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. During a hearing in Washington, I believe in 1949, Mr. Emspak appeared as a witness. He was asked numerous questions regarding the publication of the CIO, called the CIO News, of which he was an editor. Were you at any time connected in an editorial capacity with the CIO News?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

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

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you, Mr. Hirsch, to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HIRSCH. I will give the same answer as before. I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment as previously cited.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this a publication of the CIO known as the Wisconsin CIO News?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HIRSCH. I believe there was and perhaps still is such a publication.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you uncertain about that?

Mr. HIRSCH. I believe there was such a publication. Whether there still is I am not certain about.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there any uncertainty about there having been such a publication? When you say you believe, it leads me to think that you have some uncertainty in your own mind about that.

Mr. HIRSCH. The uncertainty is prompted by names that you mentioned on your brief question which had no connection whatsoever with any such publication. Perhaps we are talking about two different guys.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Wisconsin CIO News was an entirely different publication from the CIO News of which Julius Emspak was the editor. Is that what you mean?

Mr. HIRSCH. My previous answer was a refusal to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment. My answer to this question is based on belief because I don't want it to be confused with your previous question.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am trying to ask you to clear that matter up if possible to see if there is any connection.

Mr. HIRSCH. There was a Wisconsin CIO News there.

Mr. TAVENNER. And you were its editor, were you not?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then why did you tell the committee that you believed there was when you know very well that there was?

Mr. HIRSCH. Because I was trying to point out that your previous question was a very confused question and I wanted to separate the two questions.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you removed from editorship of the Wisconsin CIO News?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Why were you removed as editor?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Was it because of your Communist Party activity?

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

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a publication known as the Midwest Guardian?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HIRSCH. What could you mean by acquainted with, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know of the existence of such a paper?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HIRSCH. There was such a paper in existence that I knew about.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you become a member of the editorial staff of it?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. I think the witness should be directed to answer that question.

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, fifth amendment.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer the question, Mr. Hirsch.

Mr. HIRSCH. I have repeated my refusal to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you at any time represented a publication by the name of March of Labor?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. You have been an agent of the March of Labor here in Milwaukee since 1951, have you not?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, will you tell us the status of the March of Labor? I know we issued a report on the March of Labor.

Mr. TAVENNER. This committee, after conducting a hearing and investigation regarding the March of Labor and its owners and editorial staff, made a report showing the character of it as a Communist labor publication and in the course of the hearing, ascertained this information which I want to submit to the witness to see if it is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Before you go ahead, that March of Labor report, with the finding you have indicated, was made just last year, was it not?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; that is correct. In a list of agents which was furnished to the committee the name of Alfred Hirsch, 1402 East Boylston Street, Milwaukee, Wis., was given the committee with the number of copies furnished him, 200.

Did you receive a sizable number of copies of the March of Labor from that organization?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. What disposition have you made of any issues of this publication which came into your custody?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it union dues which were used to pay for the issues of this magazine?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any direction from the Communist Party as to the dissemination of this magazine among any particular groups such as labor unions?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you in this room this afternoon during the testimony of Mr. Eggleston?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. DOYLE. How about this morning?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear his description of what was told him about the taking over of certain areas of this country by the Communist Party for the Negro race?

Mr. HIRSCH. Yes.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with the Communist Party teachings on that subject?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you connected at any time with the International Labor Defense?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you 1 of 4 individuals that went to the State of Alabama at the insistence of the International Labor Defense for the purpose of appearing in a case there involving a Negro by the name of Herndon?

(Counsel conferred with the witness.)

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment that I cannot be compelled to testify against myself.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you not find upon arriving there that this person by the name of Herndon had in his possession a number of copies of the book entitled "Negro Liberation"?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, that I cannot be compelled to testify against myself.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Bruce Crawford?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer on the grounds that I cannot be compelled to testify against myself.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Chairman, I think you should order the witness to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. I direct you to answer that, Mr. Hirsch.

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of part of an edition of a magazine by the name of New Masses. Under date of August 20, 1935, on page 13 there is an article on behalf of an Angelo Herndon by Alfred Hirsch. Will you examine it, please?

(Document handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HIRSCH. Is there any question before the committee at this moment, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you examine it, please and state whether or not you wrote that article under your name?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you not accused at that time with having come to Alabama for the purpose of promoting communism?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you say accused or arrested?

Mr. TAVENNER. Accused. I did not mean in the sense of legally arrested or a legal charge, but accused by persons who were prosecuting the Herndon case.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you go to Alabama at the insistence of the Communist Party in connection with any case?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds. (Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the East Side Branch of the Communist Party in Milwaukee?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I cannot be forced to testify against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Ester Eisenscher?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Harry Virgil?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Merle Snyder?

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

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

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

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

Mr. HIRSCH. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. Congressman Willis.

Mr. WILLIS. I have no questions.

Mr. DOYLE. Congressman Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, you have refused to answer all significant questions on the grounds that to do so might tend to incriminate you. As I said to the previous witness the law is that this committee, with the approval of the Federal court, could grant immunity in certain cases. If this committee should grant you such immunity, would you then answer the questions which have been asked you on which you pleaded the fifth amendment?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. HIRSCH. When the issue is presented I will deal with it as I see fit.

Mr. SCHERER. Then you refuse to say whether you would answer those questions even if you were granted immunity from prosecution?

Mr. HIRSCH. When the issue is before me I will act on it. That is the answer.

Mr. SCHERER. But you have stated today that your only reason for refusing to answer these questions was that you fear prosecution. If I tell you and you know that you cannot face prosecution because of the action of this committee, will you then answer?

Mr. HIRSCH. I will only repeat my answer: When the issue arises it will be dealt with. The issue is not here.

Mr. SCHERER. That only indicates that you are not pleading the fifth amendment in good faith.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you anything else, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. I have nothing further.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Hirsch, I want to say to you what I meant to say to that last witness before he got off the stand. It is regulation for us to say this to every witness who pleads the fifth amendment and

of whom the records before us, resulting from investigation and records, clearly indicate that we know pretty much about him and his activities in the Communist Party.

You have apparently had great educational opportunities. I am glad that you have had. I want to urge you to dedicate your magnificent talents to the best interests of your own Government instead of being directly or indirectly tied up with that scheme of forceful revolution that looks toward totalitarian government instead of our own free and American way of life.

If you think that is preaching to you then think it, but as an American Congressman I cannot say less to you than to urge you to use those brilliant talents of yours in the best interests of our Nation instead of letting a revolting totalitarian Communist conspiracy have the benefit of your brilliant talents and abilities.

I appreciate your letting me say this to you. I mean every word of it.

(Witness excused.)

(At this point Mr. Scherer left the room and returned.)

Mr. DOYLE. I would like the record of these hearings to show in connection with the questioning of Mr. Sigmund Gustav Eisenscher that at all times during his questioning the full personnel of the subcommittee was present in the hearing room. Mr. Jackson, of course, was not present but he was a member of the subcommittee of three officially appointed by the chairman.

Mr. TAVENNER, will you proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Mortimer Altman.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Altman, will you rise and be sworn? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ALTMAN. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF MORTIMER ALTMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JACK L. GOODSITT

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, sir?

Mr. ALTMAN. Mortimer Altman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel accompanying the witness identify himself for the record?

Mr. GOODSITT. My name is Jack L. Goodsitt. My office is 623 North Second Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. ALTMAN. I was born in Calumet, Mich. in 1902.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, briefly what your educational training has been?

Mr. ALTMAN. Grade school, high school, and 2 years at Minnesota University.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. ALTMAN. Milwaukee.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have lived in Milwaukee?

Mr. ALTMAN. Approximately since 1930. I guess it was 1930.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your business or occupation?



Mr. ALTMAN. I am a carpet mechanic and rug cleaner. That is my trade.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been engaged in that business?

Mr. ALTMAN. Well, since about 1936 or something like that, or a little later.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you here a copy of the bylaws of the Communist Political Association of Wisconsin adopted by a State convention at Milwaukee June 10 and 11, 1944. Will you examine it please?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. TAVENNER. It is the front page and back page of the constitution.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you to look at the back page and state whether or not the officers of the Communist Party as of that date appear to be named there?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. ALTMAN. That is what it says here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read out the list of officers, please?

Mr. ALTMAN. N. Sparks, president; vice presidents, Emil Luchterhand, Sigmund Eiserscher; secretary, Fred B. Blair; treasurer, Mortimer Altman.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to that you were treasurer of the Communist Political Association in 1944 and you should be in a position to give this committee valuable information relating to the source of income of the Communist Party in this area so long as you held that position.

How long did you hold the position of treasurer?

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer. I invoke the fifth amendment on the grounds that this answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, how many members of the Communist Political Association there were in June 1944?

Mr. ALTMAN. The same answer. I refuse to answer, fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Maybe he could tell us how many there are as of today. Do you know how many members of the Communist Party there are in the State of Wisconsin today?

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer on the fifth amendment, on the ground that this tends to incriminate me.

Mr. SCHERER. You are presently the State organizer of the Communist Party, are you not?

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer on the ground that this answer might tend to incriminate me.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. It is desired to introduce the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Altman Exhibit No. 1," for identification purposes only, and to be made a part of the committee files.

Mr. DOYLE. It is so ordered.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of another document and ask you to examine it, please, and state to the committee what it is.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. ALTMAN. What do you want me to do with this?

Mr. TAVENNER. I want you to tell us what that document is.

Mr. ALTMAN. Do you want me to read it?

Mr. TAVENNER. Just tell us what it is.

Mr. ALTMAN. It appears to be an announcement for an "entertainment and educational in the North Avenue Auditorium, third floor, Committee of Experts will be present each evening to answer your questions."

Mr. TAVENNER. It refers to certain dates, does it not?

Mr. ALTMAN. Yes; it appears to refer to certain dates.

Mr. TAVENNER. What are those dates?

Mr. ALTMAN. It appears to state Tuesday, December 5; Tuesday, January 9; and Tuesday, January 23.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what year?

Mr. ALTMAN. It doesn't appear here.

Mr. TAVENNER. According to your recollection what was the year?

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds that this answer might tend to incriminate me, the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the experts to whom questions would be submitted at those meetings?

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer on the ground that the answer might tend to incriminate me. Fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you tell the committee, please, how the document is signed?

Mr. ALTMAN. It appears to be printed "Mortimer Altman, chairman."

Mr. TAVENNER. Chairman of what?

Mr. ALTMAN. I will read what it says here, "North Side Communist Club."

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you chairman of the North Side Communist Club when that document was printed?

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer because the answer might tend to incriminate me, fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Altman Exhibit No. 2," for identification purposes only, and to be made a part of the committee files.

Mr. DOYLE. It is so ordered.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you another paper which is entitled "Report of the Executive Committee on the Work of the North Side Club" and it is signed Executive Board, North Side Communist Club.

Will you examine it, please?

(Document handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you look at the first paragraph and state what it is shown there to be the total membership of the North Side Communist Club at that time?

Mr. ALTMAN. Do you want me to read that?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALTMAN. I will read what it says on there:

"One of the main indications of health in any organization is whether or not"—"Since 1943 our club has shown a steady growth in membership as well as in activity." It says here, "In January 1943 we had 49 members and in January of 1944, 73." It also says, "In spring of 1944 we recruited 38 new members and our 1945 enrollment"—it states, "We now have a membership of 118."

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that a correct estimate of the membership at that time?

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds that this answer might tend to incriminate me, fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you will not tell this committee anything regarding your knowledge of Communist Party activities in the Milwaukee area?

Mr. ALTMAN. I gave you my answer, fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. He could be very helpful knowing who the 118 are. I would like to know whether they are in some of these defense plants.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many clubs were there of the Communist Party in 1945 in Milwaukee?

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds that this answer might tend to incriminate me, fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Altman Exhibit No. 3" for identification purposes only, and to be made a part of the committee files.

Mr. DOYLE. It is so ordered.

Mr. WILLIS. The number indicated on that card is the number of the alleged memberships in one particular club; is that right?

Mr. TAVENNER. That is right; yes, sir. It was a club known as the North Side Communist Club at that time.

We have introduced in evidence, Mr. Altman, an application for post office box in the name of Mr. Sigmund Eisenscher. Your name was given as a reference by him. A box was assigned as a result of the filing of that application, box 1088, which was used for Communist Party purposes.

Were you interviewed or written to by the Post Office Department with regard to the reliability of the person seeking that post office box?

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds that the answer might tend to incriminate me, fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. The date of that document is September 30, 1954. Were you on September 30, 1954, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds that the answer might tend to incriminate me, fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mr. Eggleston, who testified here today, Mr. James R. Eggleston?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer. I invoke the fifth amendment on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Eggleston testified here before this committee that he knew you as a member of the Communist Party. He testified as to the circumstances under which he knew you. Do you desire to deny or in any way explain that testimony relating to you?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me, fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee how the Communist Party in this area raised the funds necessary to carry out its objectives in this area?

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me, fifth amendment.

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

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me, fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Willis?

Mr. WILLIS. Did you say you are in the rug business?

Mr. ALTMAN. I didn't say I was in the rug business. I said that is my trade.

Mr. WILLIS. What business are you in?

Mr. ALTMAN. I am a carpet layer by trade.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you operate a shop of your own or are you working for someone?

Mr. ALTMAN. No; my wife operates a shop and I work for her.

Mr. SCHERER. What is the name of that shop?

Mr. ALTMAN. Long Life Rug Service.

Mr. DOYLE. Does your wife have any other employees besides you?

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me, fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you refuse to say how many people work in the same establishment that you work in?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer as to how many employees there are.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. ALTMAN. Under advice of my counsel I refuse to answer on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me, fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Are there any other persons connected with the Long Life Rug Co., other than you and your wife?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. ALTMAN. Same answer.

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

Mr. DOYLE. I direct the witness to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. ALTMAN. The same answer that I gave before, fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Could your refusal to answer that question be based on the fact that all the other employees are members of the Communist Party?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. ALTMAN. Same answer that I gave before.

Mr. SCHERER. Is it a fact that you only employ Communists?

Mr. ALTMAN. Same answer that I gave you before, fifth amendment.

Mr. DOYLE. This gentleman does not claim that he is the proprietor. It is his wife that is the proprietor as I understand the testimony. Is that correct? Is it your wife's business solely or do you have an interest in it? You volunteered the information. That is why I am questioning you.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. ALTMAN. It is her business solely.

Mr. DOYLE. The reason I asked that question, Mr. Altman, to be frank with you, is that our information is that it is quite a policy to employ Communists. Our information might be in error, but we do not think so.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that information we have correct?

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer on the grounds that my answer might tend to incriminate me, fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. You do not deny that?

Mr. ALTMAN. I just gave you my answer, fifth amendment.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Altman, we believe our information is accurate and I think the questions that our distinguished counsel has asked you indicate that we know considerable.

You have exercised your constitutional privilege under our great Constitution and claimed the privilege of the fifth amendment.

May I, as just one American to another, urge you to get out of the damnable conspiracy headed toward totalitarian revolutionary force in the country, get out of it and help your country instead of the conspirators that we believe you now are associated with.

Mr. ALTMAN. I am a very good American.

Mr. DOYLE. You are not a good American if you are identified directly or indirectly with the Communist conspiracy. The courts have held pretty generally in the last 2 years that that is a totalitarian conspiracy designed to use force and violence, and you know it, do you not? What is your answer to that?

Mr. ALTMAN. I refuse to answer.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course you do. It puts you on the spot and you refuse to answer it.

I gave you the chance to clear yourself as a good American. You cannot do it.

I think that is all, Counsel.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

(Witness excused.)

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will stand in recess until tomorrow in this room at 9 o'clock in the morning.

(Whereupon, the hearing was recessed at 5 p. m., Monday, March 28, 1955, to reconvene at 9 a. m., Tuesday, March 29, 1955.)



# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MILWAUKEE, WIS., AREA

TUESDAY, MARCH 29, 1955

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Milwaukee, Wis.*

## PUBLIC HEARING

The Subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 9:15 a. m., in the marble courtroom, Federal Building, Milwaukee, Wis., Hon. Clyde Doyle (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Clyde Doyle (chairman), Edwin E. Willis, and Gordon H. Scherer.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel, and W. Jackson Jones, staff investigator.

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will please come to order.

We will adjourn at 12 o'clock and reconvene again at 1:30. We anticipate meeting again tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock and finishing tomorrow afternoon.

May the record show, please, that the full subcommittee personnel is here, being the official subcommittee for these hearings: Mr. Scherer, of Ohio, on my left; Mr. Willis, of Louisiana, on my right; and I am subcommittee chairman, Mr. Doyle, of California.

Are you ready, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. I call Michael Ondrejka.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Please be seated.

## TESTIMONY OF MICHAEL J. ONDREJKA

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Michael John Ondrejka.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ondrejka, it is noted that you are not accompanied by counsel. Do you know that you are entitled to counsel if you so desire?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I was born in Mayville, Wis., on August 28, 1924.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. ONDERJKA. I reside in Milwaukee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your formal educational training has been?

Mr. ONDERJKA. Attended grammar school; I attended 3 years of high school and after the war I went to Marquette University where I received an LL. B. in law.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you receive your degree in law?

Mr. ONDERJKA. In June of 1952.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you been in attendance constantly at the university from the time you started until you completed your law degree work in 1952, or was there an interval when you were not at school?

Mr. ONDERJKA. Only an interval of some months, but it is a continuous process from 1946 to 1952.

Mr. TAVENNER. You indicated that you were in the Army?

Mr. ONDERJKA. I was in the United States Navy, sir, from March 18 of 1943 to December 23 of 1945.

Mr. TAVENNER. After the completion of your legal studies how did you become employed?

Mr. ONDERJKA. During the time I was going to school from 1946 to 1952, I was working. I worked at the Allen-Bradley Co. from 1946 to 1949 at which time we had a layoff. From 1949 until February 7 of 1951 I was employed in a retail shoe store and from 1951 to this day I have been employed at Allen-Bradley Co. on a full-time basis.

In addition, until November 17 of 1954 I was practicing law on a part-time basis.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ondrejka, have you at any time been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDERJKA. Yes; I have, sir, from November 1949 until November of 1953.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, the circumstances which led up to your becoming a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDERJKA. I was attending the summer session at the Marquette University Liberal Arts College and at that time we were taking a course in labor problems, and because of the fact that during summer sessions we had what you call much smaller classes instead of what you would normally have during the regular year, before class and after class we used to get into discussions and during the course of these discussions because of the fact that we were studying labor problems various items had come up, such as rights of unions, labor parties, the third party that was formed that year, the Trotskyites, the Cannonites, the Communists, and what have you.

As a result, I would say of these discussions before and after class, at the final week of the summer session the professor who was teaching labor problems asked me to step into his office. That was in August of 1948.

At that time he told me that he had been a member of the FBI. At this time he had no official connections whatsoever but was merely interested in getting my viewpoint as to whether I would consider going into the Communist Party at the request of the FBI.

At that time I was working 8 hours a day at the plant and going to school full time plus many other things, and I felt that I couldn't devote the time to it, so he thanked me for my time and said forget it.



Mr. TAVENNER. Up until that time what experience had you had in the field of labor?

Mr. ONDREJKA. In the field of labor itself I have had a lot because I have worked from the time I have been 15 years old. Now, as to labor unions itself I was a member of an association in a shoe company in my home town. I worked in a sheet-metal plant at which time I was associated with the American Federation of Labor, a metalsmith union out there. When I came to Milwaukee in the summer of 1946 I worked under a permit for the CIO-UAW Auto Workers. When I was at the Allen-Bradley Co. from January of 1947 until which time my employment was terminated I had been a member of the United Electrical<sup>1</sup> which was then in the CIO.

In addition to having been a member of that union I lived right around the corner and at that time I worked a second shift, and it was probably a process of at least 2 or 3 times a week I would stop into the union office for an hour or 2 hours before I went to work to keep up on the field of labor.

In 1949 to 1951 we had no union, but from 1951 when I returned to the Allen-Bradley Co. until October of 1953 I was a member of the United Electrical Workers Independent.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told us that this suggestion was made to you while you were a student at Marquette University?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you were about to tell us about an approach that was later made to you?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is correct, sir. After I had been laid off at the Allen-Bradley Co. I was working in a retail shoe establishment on Wisconsin Avenue and it was on one of those days that two agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation came into the shoe store and asked if they could talk to me. I had just been newly hired and told them that I would be glad to talk to them, but not in the store, and I would see them later.

The later date came a week or two later when I came out of class. They took me to a car and told me what they had in mind and the great need of people to go into the Communist Party in order to get information, and as a result of an hour or hour and a half discussion on the matter I told them that I would join the Communist Party and give them information.

Mr. WILLIS. When was that, so that I can fix it in my mind?

Mr. ONDREJKA. This was in the spring of 1949, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you join immediately or did it take some period of time for you to develop a situation by which you could become a member without the circumstances under which you were joining becoming known?

Mr. ONDREJKA. It was a situation that called for a certain amount of time, sir. My first contact or my first step in getting into the Communist Party was to go to the People's Book Store, which was then located in the 800 block of Wisconsin Avenue. When I went into the bookstore at that time I told them that I wanted a study outline on the first volume of *Das Kapital* by Karl Marx. I told them that I was going to Marquette University. The lady waiting on

<sup>1</sup> Reference to United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America.

me was from Marquette. I told her why I wanted it; because I wanted to make a study of volume I.

I had read it, but the matter was still a little fuzzy in my mind because I didn't think I was able to comprehend it without the use of an outline. At that time she told me they had no outlines, but she would attempt to get me an outline, so instead she sold me several pamphlets on various phases of *Das Kapital*.

I bought several of her pamphlets, and she told me to return and she would see what she could do about giving me an outline. I returned and at that time they had no outline. She took my address and told me she would write to the Jefferson School of Social Sciences in New York to see if such outlines were available.

During the following weeks I stopped into the bookstore 2 or 3 times a week. I would pick up the *Daily Worker* and buy a magazine or two. At that time during the noon hour there was a young fellow working there by the name of Ted Silverstine. In the course of my coming there he would engage me in discussion.

Possibly after 3 weeks of my going to the bookstore for literature, Ted Silverstine invited me to attend a meeting of the Young Progressives of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you go on from there and state just what occurred in the course of your membership in that organization which led you finally into the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I joined the Young Progressives of America approximately in April or possibly the early part of May of 1949. At that time we met in the People's Progressive Party office which is the political party that had their national candidates—in 1948 it was founded. That is the office we used for our meetings.

At the first meeting that I attended I signed up. At the next election I was made editorial director and I pursued my activities in the Young Progressives of America until September of 1949 when the first contact was made insofar as the Communist Party was concerned.

This contact was made by one of the active YPA'ers by the name of Merle Snyder. He had driven me home from meetings several times and at one of those times as we were crossing the viaduct we had been engaged in the various political discussions and at that time he told me he was a member of the Communist Party, and what did I think.

I told him I wasn't; that was his belief; I wasn't a Communist or anything. I was independent and from this night on, almost weekly, he approached me about going and seeing somebody else about furthering the studying of communism and this and that, and I didn't want to seem like I was too eager to get in and kept holding him off by various pretensions until finally in the latter part of October of 1949 I had told him that I would go with him to see the person he wanted me to see.

On that particular night he drove me out to South 92d Street to a home and introduced me to one of the organizers of the Communist Party whose name I did not know at that time was Harry Virgil. Harry Virgil and myself and Merle had talked about the subject of communism. I told him that as far as I was concerned my only reluctance for not joining the party was because of the fact that I was going to a Catholic university, because of my family background, their religious background and various other reasons, and I posed the ques-

tion at that time that I was afraid that sometime in the future some FBI agent would get his way into the party and I would expose myself at Marquette and it would ruin any possibility of a career.

He pointed out to me, in fact the very action he did was this: If we were to find someone in the party it would be [indicating] for him, although he pointed out that at that time he did not mean physically and his statement was "we have ways and means of dealing with people like that; that they would regret the day they ever came into the party at the request of the FBI." After he had thus taken care of my fears I told him I was glad to join, and at that time I was told what meeting I was to attend, and at the subsequent meeting I was signed up in the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your first assignment in the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. The very first meeting I attended in the Communist Party was as a member of the East Side branch of the Communist Party of Milwaukee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you tell us where the meeting was held?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes, I can. It was held at an apartment on South 10th right across from Red Arrow Park. I don't remember the address. I lived there for a few months at one time but not at this particular time. The persons who did live there at that time who will be named this morning as members of the Communist Party were Merle Snyder, the man that they had taken me to see Harry Virgil, Sidney Berger, and Herb Major. It was in their living room that this meeting was held.

Mr. TAVENNER. What took place at that meeting?

Mr. ONDREJKA. At that meeting the organizer for the area was at that meeting and she is the one that signed me into the party. Her name was Ester Eisenscher. She had what looked to me to be nothing but a receipt book, a small receipt book which had a carbon in it so there would be a duplicate.

She had mentioned that I was to be temporarily assigned to the East Side branch. She wrote my name, the initiation fee to get into the party, and I don't know what other information on this little receipt book. She took one out of the book; the other remained in the book. She handed it to me and said "now you are formally in." She took this receipt back and tore it into tiny bits.

That is the only thing I have ever seen that purports to be a party card or any other evidence of membership, and that was torn up in front of me at that meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. But the duplicate which was attached to the book was retained by Ester Eisenscher?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the relationship, if any, between Ester Eisenscher and Sigmund Eisenscher?

Mr. ONDREJKA. The relationship between Ester Eisenscher and Sigmund Eisenscher is that of a brother and sister.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall at this time whether there were any other persons present at that first meeting that you attended?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes, I can, sir. The people in attendance at this meeting were as follows: Harry Virgil, the man whom I had seen previously at that time, was the chairman of the East Side branch of the party. In addition there was his wife, Ida Virgil. In addition

the members that were there were Merle Snyder, the man that had taken me to see Harry Virgil; Otis Daigle. Another who was there was Alfred Hirsch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you see Alfred Hirsch here yesterday?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes, I did, sir. He was the second witness to testify in the afternoon. He followed Sigmund Eisenscher. The other party that was there was George Sommers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you at this time tell us a little more about the activities of the various persons that you have mentioned as you learned later; for instance Mr. Virgil. What was his activity in the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. In addition to being in the East Side branch of the Communist Party at every People's Progressive Party affair I attended, for instance the 3 national conventions, for instance when I was in the Young Progressives of America there were times where the executive board of the YPA would meet in a People's Progressive Party office at which time Harry Virgil and I would either be mimeographing or folding leaflets. In addition I met Harry Virgil at one of the Communists' efforts to have a peace group which was held in the Civil Rights Congress office.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned Otis Daigle.

Mr. ONDREJKA. As to Otis Daigle, except possibly for having met him at some of the open Communist meetings, I have never seen him at any other affair.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned George Sommers. How do you spell his last name?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I believe his last name is spelled S-o-m-m-e-r-s. At that time his activity was to be done in the Brewery Workers' Local 9. At the very first meeting that I had attended, or possibly the second in the East Side branch, there was a campaign on about the fact that colored people did not have seniorities in the brewery plants in Milwaukee, and they had been having a leaflet barrage at the plant, and at that meeting George Sommers was instructed that he was to take up the matter with the officers of local 9.

Not only was he going to go in on a basis of their hiring Negroes in production work, but it was to be his job to see that they were given superseniority in order to compensate them for the time that they had lost by not being hired in the breweries.

Mr. TAVENNER. After attending the first meeting of the Communist Party, after your becoming a member, did you continue in attendance at the meetings of the East Side branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I was only in the East Side branch of the Communist Party for 2 or possibly 3 meetings. At the second or the third, which would have been the last, Ester Eisenscher was at that meeting also, and she had said that when I was assigned to the East Side branch it was a temporary assignment, which was true. They told me that in the first instance.

She said now because of my age and the fact that it was only a temporary assignment that Merle Snyder and myself were to be transferred from the East Side branch of the Communist Party into the youth group branch of the Communist Party.

At the end of this meeting we were in the living room, and I believe it to be the executive board of the youth group of the Communist Party were meeting in the kitchen the same night. The reason why

I remember is because of the fact that it was brought up at our meeting that it wasn't a good policy for two groups to be meeting in the same apartment at the same time, and, furthermore, at that time this was the third consecutive meeting in the apartment. I was decided that the next meeting was to be held at the home of Harry Virgil so as not to meet in the same place.

Mr. DOYLE. Why would you not want to meet in the same place? Why would you want to change your meeting places?

Mr. ONDREJKA. For security reasons, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. What security reasons? What law were you violating?

Mr. ONDREJKA. At that time I don't think you were violating a law by meeting, but, nevertheless, I do know this to be a fact, that there was to be rotation, and as we developed this further in later years after this was a law I will go through some of the steps that they set up as security.

For instance, later when we held meetings it was necessary to have either the radio or television sound on in the same room so as to end any effort to wiretap a room and things like that.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, these were secret meetings, designed as such, and that is why they wanted to change the meeting place?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You and Merle Snyder were assigned to the youth group of the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us about your activity within the youth group of the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. To start with one of the activities in the youth group of the Communist Party was as follows: I didn't want to go back into the Young Progressives of America. I had been in there from the previous April until April of 1950 and at this particular meeting of the youth group of the Communist Party which was held at the home of Helen Gilman, on the agenda we were to decide who were to be the officers of the Young Progressives of America.

At that time I was told that I would have to be cochairman with a young colored lady that we had just recruited into the Young Progressives a short time before.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that person a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. She is not.

Mr. TAVENNER. She never was at that time?

Mr. ONDREJKA. She was not. At that time Jim Eggleston was the chairman of the youth group. I remember writing a report about him being chairman. He is the man who testified yesterday.

I told them that I did not want to take the responsibility of being cochairman or chairman of the Young Progressives of America because of the fact that I was working almost full time, going to school full time plus the additional meetings, that I would prefer to go into something that was more of an academic nature.

At that time it was pointed out to me by the executive board of the youth group of the Communist Party that I was not being a good Communist without at least giving the effort to take that job and see what I could do, so I consented; and at that meeting we arranged who were to be the officers of the Young Progressives of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did it work out according to your arrangements, that those decided upon at the Communist Party meeting to be officers of the YPA would be officers?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Absolutely. Generally we would have 10 to 20 people at a meeting, but when it came time for an election after we had decided who were to be the officers, we would have people from the youth group who ordinarily didn't attend YPA meetings come to the meeting, and we would have an election and put in our people, and then you wouldn't see them again.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you say people from the youth group?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. That means, of course, they were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. In that way you controlled the elections in the Young Progressives of America?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Plus controlling the policy because we made it a point to have it.

Preceding me was a girl by the name of Betty Gossell who was chairman of the Young Progressives of America from the time I was in the Young Progressives until such time as I replaced her, and she was also a member of the Young Communist Group.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain chairman of the Young Progressives of America?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Only for a short period of time, a few months, because at that time with these duties that I told you, attending school full time and working full time, my dad became very sick and finally I went to them again and they let me out of the position as cochairman of the Young Progressives of America. I stayed in as a director of the Young Progressives of America, a position I previously held before becoming cochairman of the Young Progressives of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think before going further in your progress as a member of the Communist Party it may be well for us at this point to discuss the Young Progressives of America, that is, its activities.

Will you tell the committee, please, what type of work the Young Progressives of America engaged in?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Well, at least from November of 1949, before that there may have been some doubt, but at the Young Progressives of America convention in Cleveland of that year it was decided that the nature of the Young Progressives itself was to be more of a social nature and that set up the basis for recruitment of people into the Young Progressives of America, which was as follows:

For instance, we might have one person that would be antilabor, but he would be interested in the Negro as a class because of an impression of Negroes. Another might be anti-Negro but prolabor. It was decided at that time that we would take any person that would agree with us on one point into the Young Progressives of America and at that time try to develop him into a broader sphere so that some day he might be recruited into the Communist Party.

As to actual activity, one was the distribution of leaflets under the banner of the Young Progressives of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before we come to that, do you know of instances in which the Communist Party did prove the accomplishment of the

plan that you are talking about by actually recruiting members into the Communist Party in addition to yourself?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I did, sir. In addition to myself there was one other colored fellow that either joined the Young Progressives of America at the same time I did or the following week, who by the time I had gotten into the Young Communist Group was already a member of the Young Communist Group. That was his first contact, too, also through the Young Progressives of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. We heard here yesterday that Mr. Eggleston was recruited into the Communist Party through this same Young Progressives of America.

Mr. ONDREJKA. He was already a member of the Young Communists when I became a member of the youth group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you aware of a constant pressure from the Communist Party upon non-Communist members of the Young Progressives of America to join the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. No; I wasn't sir, because my own observation of the situation was that about 85 percent possibly of the non-Communist members of the YPA weren't even aware as to what was going on except for certain isolated cases.

We will take the case of Harvey Silverstine, who was a young lad going to a Milwaukee school who wasn't old enough to get into the youth group of the Communist Party. He was probably 14 when he joined the Young Progressives of America. He was 15 when at a meeting his special problem was brought up, the fact that he was not 16 years of age, therefore not eligible for membership into the youth group of the party, but he was taken in anyway.

Someone like that probably had a better understanding of what we were trying to accomplish because of the fact that his brother was a member and attended these same meetings; but as to the average person we would have them come for our socials. We would have a hayride and put on a skit, a play. The one I am referring to now is a hayride and some of the individuals from the Young Progressives put on a skit of Hitler and Mussolini in Hell and they were condemning each other for being responsible. We would have a lot of people because it would involve a social and skit. We had one at the lake-front but by and large the average individual didn't know what was going on there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you proceed to tell the committee about the dissemination of leaflets you started to describe?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes, sir. What we did have in the Young Progressives of America was the Young Progressives of America newspaper known as Together. At that time when I was in the Young Progressives the case of a certain Lieutenant Gilbert was in the spotlight as far as the Young Progressives of America were concerned. Both in leaflets, in petitions, and in their newspaper we had attempted to put mass pressure on the Army in order to seek the release of Lieutenant Gilbert. By chance I have one copy of that magazine. It wasn't mine.

Every leaflet or magazine I got I turned in to the FBI. This is one I ran across from October of 1950 which reads: "Protest, halt Army lynching. Used as example, Negro victim says." That is the type of thing we were distributing at that time in the form of a news-

paper or leaflet distribution. I remember distinctly one leaflet of several thousand copies peddled at the Seaman body plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what extent, if any, was the Communist Party responsible in the printing and circulation of this particular propaganda?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I do not know, sir, because I was not in the party at that time. I do know that this magazine was mailed from New York to members of the Young Progressives of America.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you addressing yourself to the particular leaflet?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is correct, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you have some knowledge about other leaflets or inspiration for them?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Other leaflets that I would have knowledge of is that Betty Gossell, even before I was in the party, and she was a member of the party, would work on leaflets and she was the one that originated the leaflet.

In the case of the Young Progressives of America it is well to remember that the very directing force, such as Merle Snyder and Betty Gossell were party members. It wasn't the average Young Progressive that had anything to do with these leaflets.

Another phase was securing of petitions on Sunday afternoons. In the summertime they would go to the State Fair Park and attempt to get peace petitions on the Stockholm pledge or petitions on the freeing of Lieutenant Gilbert; or the big rage when I got into the Young Progressives of America were the Hollywood 10—the 10 from Hollywood—producers and writers that were called before Congress in 1949.

Mr. SCHERER. Called before this committee?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I didn't know whether it was this committee, but I do know that one of the first Civil Rights Congress open meetings that I attended dealt with that 10—how they were being victimized by that committee, and I think they had 2 of the Hollywood 10. In that period of time, both from the standpoint of the Civil Rights Congress, the leaflets they would put out, their mailings, and from the Young Progressives of America itself, they were working on the case of the Hollywood 10.

Yesterday I ran across the little film that we used in the Young Progressives of America. Now, this is done in caricature. It is not a sound film. It is only a film about that long [indicating] with individual pictures. This is tied with a recording and it shows a person known as Moneybags—a great big pot of gold with a hat on top. It shows these writers practicing their trade and making a living and Moneybags decides they are not making enough money for him, so he sees that they are called before a committee.

They are called. Moneybags gets richer and richer, but is not satisfied and "I must have these people sentenced." They get out a roll of bills which is a copy of the Bill of Rights. Moneybags doesn't know what to do, so he ties them up and this train is coming and suddenly it is leaflets to Washington condemning their activities and how they are picking on innocent men and the rush is on to Washington.

You see the thousands of little pens running to Washington and because of all this pressure on Washington they finally pull a switch and the Bill of Rights is saved.



Mr. DOYLE. Let the record show that the witness indicated that the film was about 3 feet long.

Mr. ONDREJKA. I think a little longer. That was shown at YPA meetings and meetings at the apartment. I remember five times that that thing was played. It was always good because it had a catchy tune and it went over big.

Mr. DOYLE. Who furnished that?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I don't know, sir. I believe it originated from the Civil Rights Congress when it first came in. I know that the Young Progressives of America used it and it had not been returned to the original owners.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether Howard Lawson appeared here or any of the other Hollywood 10 about the time that you are now speaking of?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I have a recollection that it was Lawson and Ring Lardner, Jr., but I have a recollection that I was sick and we put in a substitute from Milwaukee, but I do know that at least 1 of the Hollywood 10 spoke here. It was a civil-rights meeting and they denounced the way the people in Hollywood were being persecuted.

Mr. DOYLE. Some of the Hollywood 10 went to jail?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; all of the Hollywood 10 went to jail for contempt of Congress. One of them, Mr. Dmytryk, while in jail, decided he would come before our committee and tell the committee the full facts, which he did. His testimony has been one of the most important bits of testimony the committee has received and it led to a very full investigation covering the period of several years in Hollywood with outstanding results.

I am interested to know the origin of that type of propaganda that was used in favor of the Hollywood 10.

Mr. ONDREJKA. Sir, as to who initiated the propaganda I do not know. I attended the open meeting of the Civil Rights Congress and most of the things I know about the Civil Rights Congress are on the basis of what was said at public meetings but I do know that at this meeting it was denounced, the fact that these were innocent victims and so forth and so on; that propaganda line.

Mr. TAVENNER. To what extent did the Communist Party either directly or through its influence utilize this type of propaganda?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Sir, I would have to say there that if it was utilized by the Communist Party it would have to have been through the leadership of Josephine Nordstrand who was the executive director of the Wisconsin Civil Rights Congress, whom I know to be a Communist; and the Civil Rights Congress was her baby, and for years anything that ever emanated from the civil rights emanated under Josephine Nordstrand who was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you think the Communist Party was the father of that baby?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I know in Josephine Nordstrand's case, and knowing her and the type of work she put out, it is no question that it had to emanate from the Communist Party.

For instance, I wrote a leaflet for her in too mild a tone. She crossed everything out and said not good enough, and she put everything out, and "we demand this," and so on and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. We are centering our attention principally at this point on the Young Progressives of America. What other activities did they engage in while you were a member of it?

Mr. ONDREJKA. The other activity was that at every meeting we had educationals. I was the educational director of that group and it was my job to go to the People's Book Store in the 800 block of Wisconsin Avenue and bring suitable literature to the YPA meeting. I distinctly remember that at one of these educationals I had brought back copies of the Political Affairs magazine which is not an official publication, but a publication for all members of the Communist Party. The authors are known Communists. At that time I was new in the group. I didn't know that I wasn't supposed to bring that. I was told that it was not the thing to bring. I simply said this Mary Keith gave that to me to bring to the meeting.

I would sell what literature I could sell. What I did not sell I returned to the People's Book Store along with the money I received for selling.

In addition we used to have a gimmick where we would raffle a book at maybe a nickel or 10 cents a chance so that we would get rid of 1 book a week.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Tavenner said he was interested in knowing where this film originated. It says on the film "Hollywood division of the Arts and Sciences Professional Council Press," which is a definite organized Communist organization, if I recall. Am I right?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; that is correct. Our investigation of that organization has shown the raising of huge sums of money. I am afraid to quote the amount because it was a staggering sum over a period of just a few years, a great part of which went into the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. What was your compensation or divvy on the sale of this literature?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Absolutely nothing on the sale of the books, sir. I was paid by the FBI while I was working for them.

Mr. DOYLE. Were you not paid anything by the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. For selling the books?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. ONDREJKA. No, sir; that was general practice in every group of the party I have ever been in or any front organization of any meetings that someone had to have literature from the People's Book Store, sell it and return it to the People's Book Store. There was no commissions, no compensation, no nothing.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall any other incident at this time in which members of the Young Progressives of America were involved which indicated the carrying on of a plan by the Communist Party or an objective of the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes, sir. A few years ago before this issue of the admission of Red China into the United Nations had developed to where it is now, at that time the word was in the party in party pamphlets and everything else about the admission of Red China.

The Young Progressives of America conducted a poll at the Allen-Bradley Co. They had a ballot box and put out a leaflet and on the bottom were 3 or 4 questions, but on the bottom was "Do you favor the admission of Red China into the United Nations." The purpose was to get the publicity. I should correct myself. They did not say

"admission of Red China." That would never appear on any leaflet or anything else.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall a Memorial Day incident in 1950?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I do, sir. It was either Memorial Day or May Day of 1950 when I was still in the Youth Group of the Communist Party. On that particular occasion in Wisconsin we have a town somewhat 50 miles north of Portage, Wis., by the name of Mosinee. On that particular day the American Legion had taken over the town for a day to show the people or to demonstrate what life would be like under Communist rule.

What they did is, they had a few of the big-time Communists in the thirties. I remember one was Benjamin Gitlow and he became commissar for a day. They roped off an area next to the church and put the people from the parish in there and I think locked up the mayor and so forth. It received a great deal of publicity in the papers throughout the country and the Communist Party decided we would have to counter that effort by the American Legion, so several of us within the group of the Communist Party had decided—or it was not a decision; we were told to go up there. I was one picked to go up there. We were to go to Mosinee, Wis., possibly 2 weeks after that. We were to take the Stockholm Peace Petition and get enough signatures to put in the Daily Worker and other publications, and it would prove how those people were fooled by the American Legion. It was nothing but a trick to fool the American Legion.

Jerry Rose was in charge of this Youth Group of the Communist Group of Milwaukee, so Jerry Rose, Betty Gossell, myself, and Lily Rody, who subsequently became my wife, were on our way up there in what is now my wife's car. On our way up an unfortunate occurrence happened. The water pump blew up. We did not get to Mosinee. We were stopped.

I do know that at the same time we were going to get petitions, a delegation from Madison, was also on the way to Mosinee to get petitions. They passed us on the highway. They had a car full of people, and, therefore, could not take us with them, so it happened that Betty Gossell and Jerry Rose hitchhiked to Madison, and my wife and I waited for someone to tow the car.

Mr. DOYLE. What delegation was that?

Mr. ONDREJKA. The Madison delegation. I do not know who was in the car. All I know is that it was a car full of people who were on their way to Mosinee, and did go to Mosinee, and received some few hundred signatures.

Mr. DOYLE. Were they Communists, or what?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I don't know, sir. We went as a group of people, delegates from Milwaukee. Jerry Rose, being in charge of our delegation, could probably answer that, but I couldn't.

I do know further, that in regard to this little episode on our way up to Portage before the car broke down, Jerry Rose had said when we do get up there don't say you are members of the Communist Party. Tell the people in Mosinee that you are representing a church group in Milwaukee and have an earnest desire for petitions. He gave us a minister's name to use if they asked. That was the procedure we were to use in getting these signatures.

Mr. TAVENNER. You understood from your discussions with Rose that there was a group from Madison engaged in the same mission in which you were engaged?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Not only from him, but I saw the car. They stopped and asked what had happened. They had no room for us.

About 2 weeks later it appeared from the Daily Worker that a group from Madison had secured these petitions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the Daily Worker use the very line of argument and propaganda that was the purpose for the mission in the first place?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is right, sir; that because of the number of signatures they received it was shown that it was nothing but a fraud on the part of the American Legion; that they had fooled the people up there for that occasion and our type of thing had disproved it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have told us that your first assignment while a member of the Youth Group of the Communist Party was to go back into the Young Progressives of America and become its co-chairman. What other assignments were you given by the Youth Group of the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I was also educational director of the Youth Group of the Communist Party, which again entailed preparing an educational for the meeting and going to the People's Book Store and getting the appropriate literature and returning the money and the unsold books.

In addition, while members of the youth group we did have a number of leaflet distributions. The one I specifically remember, because that is the time that I had a bit of trouble down there, was we were passing out a leaflet not under the banner of the Communist Party although the person in charge of this detail was Jerry Rose. The two people that were to pass out the leaflets were Phyllis Berger, the wife of Sid Berger, and myself.

Jerry Rose picked me up at the apartment at about 6 o'clock that morning. We drove down to this particular plant in his car. If I remember correctly he had said at that time he worked in the plant, that is why he would not have to pass out leaflets with us.

I might mention here that I learned many other times that if you work at a definite plant and there is to be a leaflet distribution at that plant it is the duty of others in the party whether they be in factories or whether they be neighborhood groups or any other groups, it is then their responsibility to put leaflets into the plant.

On this particular occasion we had a leaflet by some outfit for peace. I don't remember the name of it. It was not a leaflet of the Communist Party. The three involved for distribution were Communists, Jerry Rose, Phyllis Berger, and myself.

The reason I remember it so well is that the workers in spite of the fact that this leaflet did not carry a party label let me know in no uncertain terms what the contents of the thing was. They crushed them, spit on them and threw a few at them. They said I was too lazy to work just like the rest of the Communists; if I came there again I would get the same treatment that Roy Webb got at another industrial plant, and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, the rank and file of the people in labor there recognized the line for what it was?

Mr. ONDREJKA. In spite of the label, and told me in no uncertain terms what the line was.

Mr. DOYLE. I would like to compliment that group of American workmen.

Mr. ONDREJKA. I would like to compliment them now, sir, but at the time when they said they were going to ride me out of town, I wasn't ready to compliment anyone. I might mention here that it was the direct responsibility of the Youth Group of the Communist Party to put the Labor Youth League in an operating position, so by that means we could dissolve the Youth Group of the Communist Party with all functions being taken over by the Labor Youth League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to your becoming a member of the Youth Group of the Communist Party, had you been a member of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I was not, sir, because I was in the Communist Party before what I consider the formal opening of the Labor Youth League.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether any member of the Communist Party was assigned the task of the organization of the Labor Youth League?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes, I do, sir. That person's name is Mark Berman.

It was in the latter part or probably middle December of 1949 in the Civil Rights Congress office that we had what I consider to be the formal Milwaukee Labor Youth League chapter. Mark Berman got up and spoke about the background of it. He had said that there were plans already, at a meeting in Chicago, in the summer of 1949 to organize a Labor Youth League, but at this time we had what was the largest membership to attend a Labor Youth League meeting to my knowledge, of about 40 people, and at that time we formally set up a Labor Youth League in Milwaukee with Mark Berman as chairman; but we made the provision that at every subsequent meeting we would have a temporary chairman for the day.

We also went into what the purpose of the Labor Youth League was to be, and it was said at that time that the purpose of the Labor Youth League was to be a group devoted to the study of Marxism.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am very interested in your statement that it was looked forward to the time when the Youth Group of the Communist Party would be dissolved and its functions somewhat carried on by the Labor Youth League.

Mr. ONDREJKA. I think it would be more than somewhat carried on, sir. For clarification of that point, in April of 1950 at a meeting of a few of the Youth Group of the Communist Party, the ones I specifically remember being there because they are involved in the situation is Mark Berman, Lily Rody, who later became my wife, and myself. There were more but these three I can specifically remember.

We met at the apartment of Ester Eisenscher. At that meeting Ester was not there. The State chairman of the Communist Party of Wisconsin, Jack Kling, conducted this little survey of the situation and at that time he pointed out that we were not moving fast enough with the Labor Youth League; that more work had to be done on it because once the Labor Youth League was on its feet at that time we would dissolve the Youth Group of the party; Mark Berman would be reassigned to the Seaman Body branch of the Communist Party, my wife would be reassigned—she was not my wife at that time—

would be reassigned to the West Allis women's group, and so on and so forth.

After the Youth Group was to be dissolved, all functions of the Youth Group were to be carried on by the Labor Youth League, and the manner in which it would be done is that although it was not a requisite for a member of the Labor Youth League to be a member of the Communist Party, except for possibly one on the executive board, we would make sure that the executive board was composed of Communist Party members. So, in effect, we were taking the youth activities out and putting them into the Labor Youth League and they would be coordinated through the Labor Youth League.

MR. TAVENNER. Why did the Communist Party consider it was advisable to do away with its own Communist Party Youth Group and create a group known as the Labor Youth League to carry on practically the same functions?

MR. ONDREJKA. I would say that possibly the primary reason for that was the fact that you had to get an organization that didn't have the name "Communist" in it. Here we had a group devoted to the study of Marxism, but it was not a Communist name.

MR. TAVENNER. In other words, they had found by that time that they could not sell communism to the American public under the Communist label?

MR. ONDREJKA. That is precisely correct, sir, and I think that holds true not only in the case of the Youth Group of the Communist Party, but I say any group or any member of the Communist Party in his various mass organizations where he may be working, if that man were required to say "I am a Communist," he wouldn't be selling anything, either.

MR. DOYLE. In what year was that, please?

MR. ONDREJKA. This was in December of 1949 that the Labor Youth League was founded. In April of 1950 was this meeting where the State chairman of the party said "you have got to move faster and get the Labor Youth League happening."

It so happened that we did not dissolve the Youth League at that time.

MR. DOYLE. I think, Mr. Tavenner, I will make this observation and you correct me if I am in error.

In other words, the famous Duclos letter came to this country in May or June 1945. Shortly thereafter, Earl Browder was kicked out as national chairman of the Communist Party as I recall it, so that this date that you have given us now, Mr. Ondrejka, is 3½ to 4 years after the Duclos letter came to this country and after Earl Browder was kicked out as chairman of the Communist Party in America. Is that correct, Mr. Tavenner?

MR. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; that is correct. In other words the Communist Party embarked on a plan at this time in 1949 and 1950 to attempt to fool the youth of the country by labels; that is, by the organization of a group not publicly known to be Communists, but which was in fact a creature of the Communist Party.

(At this point Mr. Scherer left the room.)

MR. ONDREJKA. That is correct, sir.

MR. DOYLE. Mr. Tavenner, may we recess here for 3 or 4 minutes to give your very able stenographic assistant 10 minutes to rest?

(Whereupon, a brief recess was taken.)

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will please reconvene.

The record will set forth that all 3 members of the subcommittee are here.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ondrejka, you were telling the committee just before the recess of the activity of the Youth Group at this particular industrial plant. Will you proceed, please, and tell the committee of other activities of the Youth Group of the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. One of the main activities, and it not only concerned the Youth Group of the party, but it concerned the Youth Group and any other group I was in, plus all front organizations, and that was not the peddling but the securing of Stockholm peace petitions. It didn't matter what group you were in that was something that it had, the responsibility, getting signatures. Another responsibility that emanated through every group that I know about was the fact of leaflet distribution at industrial debates, and I bring that out because of the fact that it wasn't essential that you have a lot of people in one shop because once you had one Communist in a shop or a cell you could rely on assistance of the various other groups.

I had pointed out there that neither of us worked at this particular plant and yet we had to distribute leaflets there. In fact neither of us were working in an industrial plant at the time.

I shouldn't forget to mention that in every group there was the raising of funds. Every year in Milwaukee they set up a quota and every club makes a pledge and every member makes pledges and the difference you attempt to get by having socials. That could be a meeting at anyone's home on a Saturday night and you have various devices of securing money. I might go through this.

One of the socials we had at the time was that we had a social at the home of Alfred Hirsch, the second witness to testify yesterday afternoon. At that particular social we had a very nice turnout of possibly 35 people. They were not all Communists. In fact we had our own group that I told you about from the Youth Group, plus a number of YPA group that were not Communists.

At this social, as at any other social, there was always a portion set aside for the purposes of an educational. At this particular educational we had a speaker from Chicago who was a union leader from Chicago who had attended the Warsaw Peace Conference which I think was held in August or September, sometime just preceding this meeting. That was in the latter part of 1949. What he did was that after he attended Warsaw Peace Conference he flew to Russia to investigate manufacturing conditions in Russia and he spent all of his time on one subject. That was the subject of auto production in the U. S. S. R. He went through a long, long description of the beauties and the fineness of manufacturing conditions in the auto works in Russia at least at this particular plant.

He had talked about the safety features unexcelled; we had nothing like it in this country. I remember him talking about the fact that when a woman became pregnant she had a leave of absence, I think from her fourth month until 6 months after the child was born, with full pay. If the woman wanted to work after she had a child, they had nurseries and the woman received her full pay and didn't pay for that. They received vacations at resorts set aside for these people.

Sitting there the thing got pretty fantastic in my own mind, so what I did in my own naive way was pose the question to this gentleman from Chicago that was a main experiment, and I would have to give one reference.

Before this meeting at that time I religiously read all the stuff they put out especially in the bookstore, and we had clippings from Milwaukee papers that we considered favorable to the Communist Party bound in a volume, speaking of auto production in the Soviet Union. I think the figures for 1948 or 1949 were something like 90,000 units in a country of 200 million people.

So what I said to him is this: I said "No doubt what you saw is true, because it would have to be true. You were there." But I said, "What bothers me is here in Milwaukee we have the Nash Co. that makes Nash cars," and I said, "It isn't that much of our entire automobile production in this country. Here as country of 200 million people produces about the same figure," I said, "if things are that good at the plant you saw why is it that there isn't production like that the country over that they would compare with us an automobile production?"

Everybody's mouth dropped down that I was a fiend. Yet it was a naive question that they couldn't do anything about and he couldn't answer the question.

That is one of the type of socials we held among them.

Mr. DOYLE. You stated that this man came from Chicago. Was he from the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Sir, I do not know. I know that he was a union official in Chicago. I know his name but I do not know him to be a member of the Communist Party. That is why I do not mention his name.

Mr. DOYLE. That is correct. We do not want you to name anyone whom you cannot identify as a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have given that name to the staff of the committee, have you not, for its own investigative purposes?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I have, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the attitude of the Communist Party toward you for asking this question which appears to have punctured the balloon that was being blown up and floated at this meeting?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I will say this, sir: That upon arriving home there is one member of the Communist Party whom I was very closely associated with that told me in no uncertain terms that I had no right to embarrass the speaker like I did, and I told her that it was just a question that I was interested in and I want to know the answer. That was all.

Mr. DOYLE. Probably that question came to your mind in the way it did as the result of some of your studies at Marquette University?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I think it came directly as the result of the fact that I never was a Communist in any other sense than the fact that I was working for the FBI in the Communist Party; and the main reason for my asking that question is that I was very much concerned to point out a lot of this hocus to one individual member of the Communist Party whom I was attempting to get as far away from the Communist Party as I possibly could.

I might go on to say, sir, in that very same vein, about 2 months later the Civil Rights Congress also had a large meeting at the South



Side Armory and at that time another labor leader from the city of Milwaukee, who had been to Warsaw and had made a study of the conditions in Poland also, came back with a great study of how things were in the people's democracies—in the eastern democracies I should say—and he went on to explain that now people had things in Poland they never had before: were adequately clothed, adequately fed, things were great. The thing I did at this particular meeting is that we were allowed to submit questions on a card. You did not have to sign your name. All you had to do was to write a question on a card and give it to the usher in the aisle who would give it to the man that chaired the meeting who happened to be one of the officers of the Peoples Progressive Party whom I will not mention because I do not know him to be a Communist.

I am not Polish but Slovak, but I put on that card that I have relatives in Poland and every letter we receive they are begging for everything we are going to send over to them. "In view of the statement you made should we stop sending packages to them?" I showed it to one particular member of the Communist Party and slid it up. They said the writing was poor, it would take a moment to decipher it.

The man that was chairman of the CRC affair came back to the microphone and said I might have gotten the wrong interpretation but what he meant is they are adequately clothed, but it is of a coarser nature than ours. They are clothed, but it is not the same. If we wanted to send them the luxuries, go ahead and send them.

That was his study of conditions in Poland.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, at this time who were associated with you in the work of the Youth Group of the Communist Party and in giving us the names of those individuals tell us the nature of their participation as far as you can recall?

MR. ONDREJKA. Some of the main ones in the Youth Group of the Communist Party would probably be as follows: Jim Eggleston is now out. He was an FBI man. I had him listed as a member of the party.

MR. TAVENNER. Incidentally, while you were in the Communist Party did you know that Mr. Eggleston was working in the same capacity in which you were working?

MR. ONDREJKA. I did not, sir. In fact I was just telling Jim in the back room that it brings to mind at a particular meeting of the Youth Group of the Communist Party Jim Eggleston was the one that initiated a charge against the rest of the workers.

The party has always had a policy if you have a Negro person in the group you elevate him immediately. In his particular case he turned the tables by saying that they were responsible for putting the burden of work on him. So at the subsequent meeting where Jim went there, the chairman of the State party of Wisconsin criticized the rest of us because we were guilty of white chauvinism in promoting him. The reverse was true. If you didn't have a Negro at the meeting you had a lecture on white chauvinism because they weren't there.

MR. TAVENNER. You are going a little too fast for me. Explain what you mean there.

MR. ONDREJKA. I will explain what I mean, sir, by this. I was attending a party class, a series of classes, and there were at that meeting 16 people, but there was not a colored person there. We did have

two in attendance. We had Jim Eggleston and Bert Major. At that particular meeting, for some reason neither of them came.

We did not have a series of lectures that night because we had a class on white chauvinism, because it was the fault of the rest of us that they were not there.

Now, on the other hand, the charge that Jim had made when we did get a colored person in, for instance, Jim—for instance; I am sorry, I do not want to use the name.

For instance this young colored girl that was named cochairman of the YPA within a month, and I want to say this in fairness to her. She was only a young girl, possibly 15. She was mistress of ceremonies at a People's Progressive Party meeting. They had a list of what she was to do. She got muddled, which was no discredit to her, not being engaged in it at all, and the chairman helped her through.

I want to mention that they want to elevate them immediately despite the fact that they are burdening these people, and Jim was right. You end up on the short end. You are going to have a class in chauvinism.

Mr. SCHIERER. And you and Jim were reporting to the FBI on each other?

Mr. ONDREJKA. There is no question that I had reports on Jim. That is one of the main ones that I remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first discover that he had been working in the same capacity in which you had been working?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I did not know it until I was working with your staff investigator here this weekend on information, and it was just a slip from your staff investigator that led me to believe that he couldn't be this calm about the situation like it seemed to me, and I suspected it. I didn't know it until now that he actually was.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you were going through the names.

Mr. ONDREJKA. The next one I would like to name would be Victor and Bernice Edelstein, E-d-e-l-s-t-e-i-n.

As to Victor Edelstein, he was active in the youth group of the party. He was active in the Labor Youth League and infrequently at the YPA. I had mentioned the fact that many would come for the purposes of an election and that is all you would see of them. I know that he was organizing out at Allis Chalmers Co. while a member of the party. I do not know of my own knowledge that he was a member of the Allis Chalmers cell although of my own knowledge I do know there is an Allis Chalmers cell.

Bernice Edelstein was a private secretary. She worked in the Civil Rights Congress. She worked in the youth group of the party, and subsequently, she became the chairman of the West Allis cell of the Communist Party.

The next one I would like to name is Mark Berman, B-e-r-m-a-n. Mark was in the youth group of the Communist Party. Mark gave the founding speech for the Labor Youth League. Mark, according to Jack Kling, who was the chairman of the party at this meeting in 1950, was assigned to Seaman Body cell of the party. In addition, in approximately April of 1951, Berman was in charge of distribution of a Communist paper for factories known as Unity. It is a small publication that, when followed, is composed of 4 pages. They have

on there that it is distributed by the Wisconsin auto division of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. What knowledge do you have of the use of this publication known as Unity?

Mr. ONDREJKA. My first contact with Mark Berman and his use of the magazine known as Unity was this: In the spring of 1951, I was at the home of Jack Kling who was then the State chairman of the Communist Party of Wisconsin. We were up there, I think at that meeting for the purposes of holding a series of classes which we will get to later. We were in the living room. In the kitchen piled on top of the table was a stack of Unity magazines.

The reason I remember that Mark was in charge, is at the very time I was there before our meeting started, Mark was being read off by the chairman of the Communist Party of Wisconsin because of the fact that there were 2 errors in the context of the magazine itself. If I am not mistaken one error was a spelling error and the other error was they put a period and then started an "and" with a capital "A," instead of having the small "a" with a comma; and Jack Kling told Mark Berman at that time that that type of error may be all right for some other publication, but he didn't expect Mark to make errors again. That was the statement he made at that time.

The Unity magazine was piled on the table. Mark said he just got them from the printers. Subsequent to that time I remember being given a single copy of it not through any distribution service, but from somebody else who had that, and he told me when you get to the plant drop it so someone else will pick it up.

Mr. SCHERER. Who were the publishers of that magazine.

Mr. ONDREJKA. I do not know. Mark referred to printers. It was done in Milwaukee, I assume, because Mark Berman was living in Milwaukee.

Mr. SCHERER. Berman was one of the writers for the publication?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That I do not know, sir. I know that he was responsible for the printing of it because he was read off because of these errors.

Mr. SCHERER. There is a very fine movement in this country known as Unity, a somewhat religious movement, and I would not want this pamphlet confused with that organization or that movement.

Mr. ONDREJKA. If they would look at page 2 of that pamphlet according to the one that was passed out at the Allis Chalmers gates about 2 weeks ago they would find on page 2 "Wisconsin auto division of the Communist Party," or "Auto division of the Wisconsin Communist Party." There is no doubt as to who takes credit for that magazine.

Mr. DOYLE. I am glad the distinguished gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Scherer, brought that out because certainly this committee would not in any way want the thought to go out, inferentially, that this apparently Communist sheet entitled "Unity" had any connection with the organization as Mr. Scherer says, the religious or thought group that is nationwide, and also has the same designation of the paper known as Unity. Is that correct, Mr. Scherer? Is that the paper to which you referred?

Mr. SCHERER. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. I hope there will be no confusion.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a pamphlet entitled "Unity," issued in 1954. Will you examine it and state whether that is the magazine pamphlet of which you were speaking: not necessarily the same issue, but the same paper?

Mr. ONDREJKA. To the best of my recollection, sir, the title is exactly the same, Unity. The ones I received subsequently in 1951, the one that I dropped at the Allen-Bradley plant, the ones that I saw last week, were similar to this except at that time the only difference may have been that it was a little shorter than this one is now; but other than that the makeup would be the identical one that I saw in the home of the State chairman of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you look at page 2 in the bottom righthand corner and state whether or not it is shown there who the sponsor of the paper is?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes, I can, sir. It says "Published by Wisconsin auto section, Communist Party."

Mr. TAVENNER. I think it may be well, Mr. Chairman, to offer it as an exhibit. I do so offer it and ask that it be marked "Ondrejka Exhibit No. 1," for identification purposes only, and to be made a part of the committee files.

Mr. DOYLE. It is so ordered.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall whether the same paper was distributed at any time in the form of mimeographed sheets instead of a printed sheet?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I do not, sir. The time that I saw it on the table I distinctly remember Mark referring to the printers, and I assume that it was not mimeographed. It was printed.

Mr. DOYLE. A few minutes ago you said it was piled on the kitchen table. Does that language by you indicate that there were several hundred copies?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is right, sir. At that time they weren't folded. They were as the papers dropped out and there was a stack like that on the table.

The next name I would like to bring up is that of Sidney Berger. Sidney Berger was also in the youth group of the party. He was in the Labor Youth League and in the Young Progressives of America, and in addition his outside work mainly consisted of these various peace moves in conjunction with his wife, Phyllis Berger.

As to these peace moves, I know that Sid would travel the State contacting various ministers and priests, and what have you, in an attempt to get them to back some of these various peace moves that we had in Milwaukee. They had an office down on Plankinton Avenue at that time, and I distinctly remember that one of the reporters from the Milwaukee Journal had attempted to get information from what they described at that time was the young, pretty brunette who happened to be Phyllis Waldman, and she refused to give them any information whatsoever.

I do remember that at a party meeting it was said that the results had been great, that Sid was accomplishing a great deal throughout the State to get these various groups behind his peace movement. I know he was in charge of the peace groups because at one time he asked me to work with him on this, but because of the fact I was in school I did not, but he approached me on this subject.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is true, is it not, that his identity as a member of the Communist Party and the identity of his mission as a Communist Party mission was not known to the ministers and priests with whom he conferred?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I will say this, sir: I can hardly see him going to any minister or priest and saying "I am a member of the Communist Party. I am backing this peace group. Will you give me a hand?" I was not along with him so I could not say what he said to them other than the fact that I heard him say the results were great. The other one that I mentioned is Phyllis Berger, who is the wife of Sidney Berger who came from New York. The first time I had ever heard her speak in Milwaukee she spoke at a Young Progressives of America meeting as to the discrimination against Paul Robeson at Peekskill. That was the substance of her talk.

Later I knew her to be active in the Youth Group of the party as well as the Labor Youth League and working with her husband in these various peace groups.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was she married at that time to Sidney Berger?

Mr. ONDREJKA. To the best of my recollection she married Sidney Berger in July of 1950, which means that when Sid probably came to Milwaukee she was not married.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall her maiden name?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Phyllis Waldman was her maiden name.

Another one I would like to name would be Merle Snyder. Merle Snyder is the man that recruited me into the Communist Party. I knew him to be very active in the Young Progressives of America. I distinctly remember that in 1949 in November when we had decided to send a large delegation to the National YPA convention in Cleveland we only had about, I think it was some \$30 in the treasury and we wanted to send some 20 people. So anyway we did send a large delegation.

The reason why we sent them is we had Merle Snyder make a \$300 loan. We told him we would repay them out of funds. We never did pay him. In addition he smashed his car on the way to Cleveland, so for Merle it was one great financial loss.

I might add that in October of 1950 this same man who borrowed the money and did not get it back, who ran his legs off, was ousted from the Communist Party, one of the grounds being that he was an FBI agent.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was not an FBI agent as far as you know?

Mr. ONDREJKA. As far as I know, he was not. At that time we held a partial meeting of the Youth Group of the Communist Party. The meeting was held at the home of Joseph Rody who is my wife's father. We were at this meeting. Mark Berman was there, Ted Silverstine, Betty Gossell, and myself. Those I am sure of.

At that particular meeting Jack Kling, who was the State chairman of the party, sat down with us, told us some of the things that they had against him including that charge of being an FBI man. He told us that simultaneous with our meeting at this particular home, the security board of the Communist Party was meeting with him to read him out of the party.

Of course, another one I would have to mention would be Lil Rody, who subsequently became my wife. As to her, she was in Labor Youth League, the Civil Rights Congress, the Young Progressives of Amer-

ica, the Youth Group, the West Allis Women's Group, plus many other front activities, plus the fact that she attended party leadership school in Chicago in 1950.

Another one I would mention would be Herb Major, who was active in Labor Youth League, somewhat active in the YPA and also a member of the Youth Group in the party.

Another one whom I would mention would be Ted Silverstine. Ted Silverstine was very active in the Young Progressives of America; he was in the Youth Group of the Communist Party. He was in the Labor Youth League and subsequently and at the time I left the party he was coordinator of youth activities of the party.

I might mention now as long as I didn't bring it out before, that he is the person, who, after a Labor Youth League meeting at the People's Book Store, after it was moved on State Street, when asked the question, what would he do if he was drafted, he said that he would go in if he were drafted but if he were sent to Korea and the situation became that he could jump to the other side he would jump sides while he was over there. That is a statement he made after a Labor Youth League meeting. I distinctly remember when I was giving educationals for the Young Progressives of America at one discussion I had insisted that when our forces were driven back in the Pusan area that the United States would have no choice but to drive the North Koreans back over the boundary and he criticized me for being pessimistic on the situation. That is Ted Silverstine.

I might mention that in September of 1950 he was the party functionary that contacted members of the Youth Group of the party when the party was seriously thinking of going underground. I was then living in the apartment. That was slightly before Merle Snyder was expelled.

I had lived adjoining Merle Snyder's apartment and he came at that time and said to me to give him reasons why I should remain in the party. I said I have none. He should decide for himself whether I should be in or out. He checked on my background, the fact that I was going to Catholic school, and at that time he gave me a choice of front organization of which he was to pick one, because he said before the party went underground every member was to pick a front organization.

The front organizations that were given to me as a choice were these: One was the NAACP, which is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Another was the Jewish Center, and I don't know what Jewish Center they are referring to. I know that these organizations I am mentioning are not Communist or Communist-front organizations. They are legitimate organizations that we were told to attempt to get into.

The third group of which I had a choice was the Methodist Youth Center, and he knew me to be a Catholic although I will say right now and in front of everybody that I wasn't what you would call a practical Catholic.

In one breath he told me that I would have a choice of going into the Youth Group of the Methodist Church on 10th and Wisconsin Avenue which I will say is not a Youth Group in any way, shape or manner; and at the same time he said I could consider Cardijn Center. I told him I wanted to join the Democratic Party. [Laughter.]

I did not say that because the Democratic Party was in any way, shape, or manner a Communist-front organization and I would say after this was over and I had a free choice of joining parties, I did join the Democratic Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were given a choice as to what organization you could get into. What was the purpose of the Communist Party in asking you to try to get into one of these organizations, some of which were religious?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Not only at that time when they were considering going underground, but several years later the same situation became known again and the purpose of going into an organization as outlined to me was this. For instance, were I to go into the Cardijn Center, which is the Catholic center, they have discussions about peace. In a group like that you know that the people are interested in peace which is good and which is the American way.

Our purpose in going into the organization would be to rally these peace forces and attempt to get them to back the Stockholm peace pledge. That is the type of infiltration which would take place even with one single member like myself going into the Cardijn Center.

There is another type of infiltration. I can give you an example of how the party did use a perfectly legitimate, respectable group for their own purposes. What I have in mind is this: In 1952 the chairman of the West Allis cell of the Communist Party asked me to be moderator of a cost-of-living committee.

The West Allis cell was a group of 4 people known either as the West Allis cell or the West Allis Women's group. What they did was this: There were not necessarily in this particular cell, but there were 4 Communist women that came up to our home in the afternoon and they had gotten the leader of one of the women's group on the east or north side of Milwaukee to front for this cost-of-living committee hearing. This lady had secured one of the aldermen of the city of Milwaukee, a member of the mayor's commission on human rights, and one of the ministers in Milwaukee to speak at this meeting, and I might say that because of the nature of who asked them it was again a perfectly legitimate reason to come and speak at this meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this a plan originated by the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. It was a plan originated by the Communist Party. That afternoon in my home they made remarks like this about the poor innocent lady they used, "We can't push her any further because the old so-and-so is starting to get wise." So it was time to hold the meeting without pushing her further.

The Communist leader and myself decided that afternoon that we would have written questions so they would not have to stand up and identify themselves. They would write questions in regard that the cost of living is a direct responsibility of this heavy armament on the part of the Government.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was this meeting being held?

Mr. ONDREJKA. This meeting was held, I believe, in approximately April or May of 1952.

Mr. TAVENNER. At that period, then, it was the Communist Party line to try to reduce the defense preparations of this country?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Exactly.

Mr. TAVENNER. By one means or another?

Mr. ONDREJKA. And that was the purpose of this meeting.

Mr. SCHERER. Was that the purpose of their peace propaganda activity?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. As you pointed out the one group that you talked to, namely the Catholic group, was sincerely interested in peace?

Mr. ONDREJKA. You would go in there and push peace, that is right.

Mr. SCHERER. The Communists were interested merely in the peace propaganda because it weakened this country's efforts against Russia or against the Chinese Communists?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Absolutely, and I think when we get to these party classes I will give an example of where the State chairman of the party said so in front of the members, that that was the effect.

Mr. TAVENNER. These pointed questions that raised the Communist Party line, you say were to be in writing?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is right. We would not take any oral questions. They were to be in writing and I, by reading the questions, would know which ones to pick out and give to the speakers.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were to be the moderator?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it correct to say that one purpose in putting these questions in writing was so that the identity of the person raising the question, the member of the Communist Party, could not be discovered in that group?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is correct, sir, and that is exactly the way we did it.

Mr. WILLIS. And also to control the type of discussion?

Mr. ONDREJKA. The type of questions that would go in if there were too many; you would pick the ones you wanted to submit.

Mr. TAVENNER. Under those circumstances it would be impossible for a person in attendance who had no actual knowledge of what had been planned to come to the conclusion that it was a Communist-manipulated meeting?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Absolutely not.

Mr. SCHERER. Nor would it have been possible for the speaker to get an embarrassing question under that setup.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, as late as April 1952 in this city of Milwaukee, there was a definitely conceived plan by the Communist Party in Milwaukee with the backing of the State Communist chairman of the State of Wisconsin which was designed to weaken the national defense of the United States of America, militarily speaking?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is correct, sir, except that I do not know if the plan emanated from the State chairman. I received my instructions from the chairman of the West Allis Women's cell.

I would like to mention that except on particular occasions where I had the occasion to be at a party class my instructions were always from the man right on top of you. There is no such thing that you all sit in a group and it is a big democratic procedure where you answer back and forth. The information comes downward; not the other way.

Mr. DOYLE. Let me get this clear, Mr. Tavenner, also. In no way that you learned certainly, or I assume in no way did this prominent woman whoever she was, and I do not want you to name her unless



she is known to be a member of the Communist Party, which I assume she is not, and in no way did the city alderman of the city of Milwaukee know that they were being sucked into this affair?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is absolutely right. No one would have known. That is how I mentioned the fact of how a group of four could influence a whole meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was this discussion group or panel discussion held?

Mr. ONDREJKA. It was held, sir, at the West Side Turner Hall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did it take the procedure that you outlined?

Mr. ONDREJKA. It did, sir, except for certain things. We had expected a far larger audience and some of the things went wrong including myself as moderator, that I didn't keep the best control of the thing; but the meeting was held.

Mr. DOYLE. About how many were present?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I would say about 40, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us return to the question we were discussing.

Mr. ONDREJKA. The only other name that I would mention would be Harvey Silverstine because I just mentioned him a few minutes ago. He is the brother of Ted Silverstine. He is the one that was under age, but in spite of it we took him into the party before he was 16 years old. He was also active in the Labor Youth League and in YPA.

I know there were some that left right after that, but that concludes the names.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the course of your testimony you mentioned a person by the name of Victor Edelstein. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes, I do. Victor Edelstein and his wife, Bernice Edelstein are now living in New York.

Mr. TAVENNER. So they are not employed and have not been employed for some time at Allis-Chalmers?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is correct, sir. If I am not mistaken the last week that Victor Edelstein worked at Allis-Chalmers was the last week in September of 1954.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me go into one other question at this point. Do you recall any special work of the Communist Party in this area in nationality groups?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes, I do, sir, except that that would be in the nature of hearsay. I know for a fact that there was a nationality group of the Communist Party here in Milwaukee which met in West Allis which is a suburb out here. I know some of the members of that group, but I only know them through hearsay and therefore I cannot mention them.

Mr. DOYLE. I want to emphasize the fact that a congressional committee does not rest on hearsay; that we deliberately make an effort to protect any person's reputation. I want to compliment the witness for not relying on hearsay. I mention that among other reasons because I know there are several distinguished members of the Milwaukee bar present again this morning. We are glad they are here. I had the pleasure of speaking last night to a group of students at the great Marquette University, law students, and I was asked about hearsay and whether or not we relied on it; and I want to call attention

to the fact that we did not rely on it, we did not invite it, we do not want it.

Mr. ONDREJKA. Mr. Tavenner, if I may in addition to speaking purely of Communists having a group in a nationalities group, I would like to refer once more to a different type of situation where again we have infiltration of a nationalities group.

One of the people—I don't remember if I named them in the youth group of a party or not—but I knew him as Michael. His name was Michael Vaquer, who was a Puerto Rican.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a member of the youth group?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Youth group of the Communist Party. It was his activity to organize a social club of the Puerto Ricans who had been coming to Milwaukee at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. What do you mean by a social club?

Mr. ONDREJKA. A group composed of these people in an effort to band them together because of the fact that they were somewhat lost coming from various sections into Milwaukee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Not a social group of the Milwaukee Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. No. At their founding they had a dinner which would be a fund-raising organization for them. We in the Communist Party were instructed that we had to attend this Puerto Rican banquet. I remember myself, my wife, and Agnes Slater were there. At this particular meeting we had a speaker from the People's Progressive Party who spoke on the situation in the particular Milwaukee foundry and how these Puerto Ricans were being exploited because of the fact that time after time he had refused in violation of the National Labor Relations Board to have a union in his plant.

He spoke in English, this particular speaker. Michael Vaquer interpreted in Spanish for the benefit of this Puerto Rican audience. We were supposed to make contact with these people in an effort to bring them into our front groups, particularly the Labor Youth League, which is exactly what happened and subsequent to that time we did have a fairly large group of these Puerto Rican peoples that attended our Labor Youth League meetings and I distinctly remember that at one of our Labor Youth League educationals we had a girl who was going across the country giving speeches at the various Labor Youth League meetings. I do not know her name, but she spoke on the germ warfare charges in China and at that particular meeting again because of the large number of Puerto Rican people, Michael Vaquer was to interpret for them. That is how we got people from this particular nationality group.

Mr. DOYLE. We will recess for another 5 minutes.

(Whereupon, a brief recess was taken.)

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will please reconvene.

Let the record show that all 3 members of the subcommittee are again present.

I want to take this occasion to again thank the photographic staff of the Milwaukee papers for their cooperating in not taking pictures of the witnesses during the time they are testifying. That is one of our regulations that we always ask to have observed, and the Milwaukee papers are certainly very cooperative and we appreciate it.

We in Congress believe pretty fully in the freedom of the press and we hope that it is not considered as an interference with the freedom

when we continue to ask cooperation which they have so graciously given.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ondrejka, you mentioned in several places in your testimony the work that you have done in the Civil Rights Congress organization. What connection was there between the Communist Party and the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Sir, my activity in the Civil Rights Congress was very limited except for the purposes of attending their meetings. In other words, on almost every issue that came up we referred to Hollywood 10. Yesterday we referred to Harold Cristoffel.

The Civil Rights Congress held a meeting at the Wisconsin Hotel where Harold Cristoffel was the main speaker. At that time they pointed him out as being the first martyr under these congressional investigations and he was the first labor leader that had been martyred by them.

At other times, including up to 2 weeks ago, they continually, week in and out, sent out literature under the banner of the Civil Rights Congress which usually would have inside a space for petitions and various things that they were interested in. Some of the most important types of thing they were interested in at that time, of course, was the matter of the Martinsville 7 that was referred to, the Trenton 6, the case of Willie McGee, the case of this Lieutenant Gilbert; and these leaflets were the type of thing they would be sending on their mailing list, and also at the various affairs they had.

They would have meetings and, of course, every meeting of any type was also a fund-raising meeting and not to take any of your time, but just to mention how they raise funds at these meetings including the Civil Rights Congress meetings was this: The person that was in charge of procuring money would be on the stage and would ask for pledges for various groups, a nationality group or a group of young people concerned, and you would make a pledge of maybe \$25 and it would work down until there were \$5. Then they would ask for all \$5 pledges in cash. After they got through with the \$5 pledges everybody was to hold up a dollar bill. That holds true for all communist open meetings we held. After they were through with that they would say keep enough money for streetcar fare and they would come around for your change. That is the type of system they would use for raising funds at these various functions.

I might say in Civil Rights Congress work, as I mentioned before, that anything I had to do with Civil Rights Congress, I went through Josephine Nordstrand.

I mentioned this Mosinee meeting. Following that meeting Josephine called me to her office and asked me to prepare a leaflet on the Mosinee situation. Like I said, I wrote one and by the time she got through penciling the thing it was hers, not mine, because she did not like the mild-mannered wording.

Yesterday, one of the gentleman on the bench questioned whether they were concerned with the truth or falsity of any charges when they prepared these propaganda leaflets and so forth.

I distinctly remember in the summer of 1950 where the Milwaukee Sentinel was conducting a series of articles on vice among youth in the sixth ward, including both whites and colored peoples. Now, many of the people involved were members of our Young Progressives

of America. What had happened is they would tell their folks they were going to a YPA meeting and would go somewhere else and have a gay old time and go home and say they were at a YPA meeting.

On this particular occasion I was walking down the street from the apartment where I lived, and Betty Gossell and Ted Silverstine picked me up and said we had to prepare a press release to the Milwaukee Sentinel condemning them for their articles. We went up to the Civil Rights Congress and simultaneously I prepared one for the Young Progressives of America.

I distinctly remember it because I started out by blasting the Sentinel for using sensationalism instead of journalism. That is the way I started mine.

Josephine Nordstrand thought it was nice. She wrote hers and we sealed them in envelopes and gave them to Silverstine to mail, and she turned to Silverstine and said, "How about that? Is there any truth to the stuff?" Without knowledge she typed out a statement to the paper. They were not concerned with the truth or falsity nor was the party concerned with the truth or falsity.

MR. TAVENNER. You referred to printed pamphlets, circulars, and bulletins from the Labor Youth League and the YPA and also from the Civil Rights Congress. Where were these various publications printed?

MR. ONDREJKA. The magazine I have given you from the Young Progressives of America was printed in New York. In addition to that the Young Progressives of America often put out leaflets or made their own petitions up which was done from labor from the YPA itself, and we provided our own paper; but what the Young Progressives of America did was to use the mimeograph machine that was in the People's Progressive Party quarters where we held most of our meetings.

In the case of the Labor Youth League, when we wanted to mimeograph something for the Labor Youth League we used the mimeograph of the Civil Rights Congress. In other words, neither youth group ever owned a mimeograph machine of their own. The YPA used the PPP's and the Labor Youth League used the Civil Rights Congress'. Of course, the Labor Youth League have a bi-monthly magazine known as the Challenge which later became known as the New Challenge. It was the duty of the Milwaukee chapter of the Labor Youth League to take a bundle, and I think the next bundle we received at that time was 100 copies and we were to sell those. On Sunday afternoons volunteers would go from house to house attempting to sell this magazine to the people.

In addition to that there were 1 or 2 leaflets under the title of the Challenge. I could not remember the content of the thing but I distinctly remember that those we did not charge for.

On one particular night my wife and I covered a 10-block area peddling them to every house in the area. That was one of the types of activity. That was the only printed one from the Labor Youth League which was the Challenge and later they came out with a new edition known as the New Challenge.

As to the Civil Rights Congress or the Peoples Progressive Party, we received that through the years through the mail and it was always in mimeographed form.

Mr. DOYLE. Tell us how many copies you sold in the 10-block area?

Mr. ONDREJKA. It is a leaflet printed in New York with the Challenge across which we distributed for nothing. It was from National Avenue to the viaduct and about 10 blocks the other way.

Mr. DOYLE. What was the price of the pamphlet if it had a price to it?

Mr. ONDREJKA. If I am not mistaken, sir, the price of that pamphlet was 10 cents. I distinctly remember that while we were paying and forced to pay for them, out of those hundred there were about 80 left unsold every 2 weeks. Subsequently we got the bundle sold and I think it was cut to 80 copies, but we still never sold those.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did the membership of these various groups change as time went on? Was there a turnover in membership?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes, I would say that except for the old hard core Youth Group Party members in these groups, there was a terrific turnover especially in the Young Progressives of America. You would have people coming in, maybe go to a social or 1 or 2 meetings, and that would be the end. You would not see them.

In the case of the Labor Youth League it was slightly more constant. That is because some of the people in there from the Youth Group of the party attended the meetings because it was a requirement that every member of Youth in the Communist Party had an obligation to attend these Youth Group meetings; I mean the Labor Youth League meetings, and in addition we had Communist speakers speak at the Labor Youth League meetings which we never would have done in the YPA.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give the committee a fair idea of the membership of these various groups at the time that you were active in the Communist Party?

Mr. ONDREJKA. In 1949 I think our mailing list of the YPA, and those are people that had been at a meeting or two and we got their names, probably comprised as many as 150 people. As I recall the largest YPA meeting of people at a definite meeting would have been around 35 or 40 people.

As to the Labor Youth League the first meeting, the founding meeting where Mark Berman spoke, we had approximately 40 and never came close to that figure.

I might add in the waning years in 1952 we attempted time after time to reactivate these groups and our membership held a constant 13 to 15 people, something like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any means of acquiring knowledge as to the Communist Party membership in the Milwaukee area?

Mr. ONDREJKA. No, sir; I did not. The only way I could say that I had a knowledge, a general knowledge, was this: In addition to all these groups that we have mentioned this morning what the Communist Party had is what they called open meetings of the Communist Party which were open both to public and to the Communist Party. What I recall now is the first such meeting I ever attended was in one of the small halls of the Milwaukee Auditorium, I think around Lincoln's Birthday.

This particular meeting was a meeting open to the public and the party membership. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was the main speaker and Bill Herron the second speaker. The May Day meeting was open to all groups.

In addition to this type of meeting they had what was known as a Communist Party meeting by invitation only. The reason why I bring this up is this: That not even every Communist was invited to attend these meetings at least if you were new, because I joined the Communist Party in November of 1949 but it was not until around June of 1950 that I started to receive invitations to attend these closed party meetings that were by invitation only; and I know for a fact that there were other meetings being held prior to that time.

It was at these meetings that I could make some estimate of the active membership of the Communist Party. For instance, what I recall to be the largest membership I saw at a meeting was when Fred Blair, the vice chairman of the Communist Party of the State of Wisconsin, gave a report on the Korean war. At that meeting there were possibly 120 people in attendance.

It was at that meeting that Fred Blair said that the war of the North Koreans is a war of the working peoples the world over.

Mr. SCHERER. Was that the meeting attended only by persons who had received these written invitations?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Invitations only. Other than that I wouldn't know just how to gage the membership of the Communist Party. I only know those groups that I was in.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many separate groups of the Communist Party were you aware of in the city of Milwaukee?

Mr. ONDREJKA. In 1951 after the party did go underground in the latter part of 1951 I know of a Seaman Body group. I know of an Allis Chalmers group. I know of the West Allis Women's group. I know of a nationality group. I know of a Waukesha branch which would include the suburbs outside of West Allis and I know of a South Side group.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any knowledge of Communist Party organizations throughout the State of Wisconsin other than Milwaukee?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I did not, sir. The only thing is that I know that there are other groups within the State because it was at the secret meeting in June of 1951 in the city of Chicago where Gil Green, who was one of the original 11 sentenced—it was a week before he was to go to prison. He was on bail and because of that, consequently, he could not come into Wisconsin to speak, so a group of party functionaries were invited to go to Chicago to hear Gil Green because of the fact that he could not come to Wisconsin. That group contained people from the entire State.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have not asked you any question up to the present time as to whether or not you received any special training in the Communist Party. I would like to ask you whether you did.

Mr. ONDREJKA. I received training. I do not know if that falls under the category of special training. What I had done is attended a series of 12 classes at one time and a year later I had attended another series of classes on another phase of political economy.

Mr. TAVENNER. Begin at the beginning and tell us what your experience was in those training classes.

Mr. ONDREJKA. In December or approximately December of 1949—it may have been November, but I think it was December—we held a series of classes at Jefferson Hall which is on Fond du Lac Avenue. At that time the person who started teaching these courses was the

man by the name of Andrew Reams who was the State chairman of the State of Wisconsin at that time. We met at Jefferson Hall. We paid, I think, a \$2 fee for the initial 6 week course. That was to cover the book Political Economy, by Eaton which was to be the standard textbook. In addition there would be outside assignments given.

As I recall it, I would say that there was approximately between 15 and 20 people because I am basing it now on that one meeting where we didn't have a colored person. We had 16 on that particular day. We had about between 15 and 20 people in attendance. This was a course which I would say was more or less based on economics. The only way the party used such a type of thing is you would be talking about surplus value in your study of economics and, of course, the instructor would show how in the United States a certain thing goes to the greedy rich where in the Soviet Union it goes the other way. In that respect you had the propaganda, but basically it was a course in economics as distinguished from the one that I will relate a year later.

The first 4 sessions, I think, of this class were taught by Andrew Reams who was the State chairman of the party. At the time Andrew Reams left the State of Wisconsin. I do not know if Jack Kling Murray Wolfson taught, but I do know that one of the other courses Fred Blair, the vice chairman of the Communist Party of the State of Wisconsin, also taught. That was the last session of the original six.

At that session he pointed out that because we had to pay rent for this room we would hold our meetings in a private home, and he also announced the fact that I, meaning myself, was to take over the second series of six and do the lecturing.

It so happened that the place that these classes were to be held was at the residence of Sigmund and Grace Eisenscher, which is the address on Vliet Street.

The first meeting that I was supposed to lecture we could not get enough people to come to hear somebody who was not an old lecturer. We had about five people. The reason I remember distinctly is that we did not have a formal lecture. We had a session, though. Sig Eisenscher was not attending the course. We were talking about money because Sigmund Eisenscher told Elizabeth Blair that under a system of pure communism there would be no need for money. She could not understand and he explained to her. He used two examples that night. One was the loaf of bread, the other shoes. I said, all right, if you went to a store and got what you wanted, why wouldn't you go to a store and take a hundred pair of shoes because you liked shoes?

At that time Sig said that if anybody did that under pure communism that they would be taken to the crazy house because there would be so much for everybody that they wouldn't have to do that; that when you wore out one pair you would get another. The question was posed, "When was this coming?" but he said he didn't know; that is the way it would be some day.

We did not have a class that night. The remainder of this series of courses was taught by a student instructor at the University of Wisconsin who was Murray Wolfson. This course did not conclude until sometime in March of 1950.

Now, if I may go into the second series.

The second series of classes started in March or April of 1951. This set of classes was to a much smaller class and it was taught by the then State chairman of the Communist Party of Wisconsin, Jack Kling, and this was more in the nature of a political course rather than economics. It was divided into eras. The pre-World War era; the era of colonialism; the era of World War II; the post-World War era. It was divided, I think, into two sections. The first two were held at the home of Jack Kling and the remainder at the home of Sigmund and Grace Eisenscher, who at that time had moved on the east side of town.

As to the nature of the type of courses that they were teaching, at every class one of the people in attendance was required to give an outside report. The one I have distinctly in mind is Elizabeth Blair, the ex-wife of the vice chairman of the State Communist Party, Fred Blair, who gave a report on peace and the Stockholm peace pledge and related it to peace in Korea.

It was at the end of that lecture that the State chairman of the Communist Party of Wisconsin said to her, "Do you honestly believe that we can have such a thing as peace?"

She said, "Of course, that is why we are running around peddling the peace pledge."

He pointed out that as Communists we cannot accept a document of that. He quoted, and I do not remember the book. It is a 1927 edition of somebody's report. Anyway, related to our present circumstances, we could have a little bit of peace in Korea, a little bit in Indochina, but we have to get it in our minds that there was an inevitability of conflict between the capitalist and Socialist powers, and that was Communist theory and unless we accepted that at that meeting we were not good Communists.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you mean military conflict?

Mr. ONDREJKA. He mentioned that because of the decadence of the capitalist system, it would inevitably have to end in military conflict.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand then that he indicated by what he said, or you took it from what he said, that he felt that the conflict in Korea where the North Koreans were coming down to South Korea, and the conflict in Indochina were part of that conflict?

Mr. ONDREJKA. No, I believe that he thought we could have peace in Korea, a spot there, or somewhere else, but eventually we had to make up our minds that this conflict was inevitable and because of the theories expounded, that some day the capitalistic system would come to such decay that they would have to fight.

He mentioned at that same meeting already what has happened, that France is no longer a capitalistic country but is now a parasite that gets what the United States wants to throw in their direction; that eventually the United States would represent the forces of capitalism and the Soviet Union and Eastern democracies would represent the forces of socialism.

Mr. SCHIERER. He said that in what year?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That was in April of 1951, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there classes on any other level in the Communist Party besides those which you have described?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes, there were, except that the one I have particular reference to I did not attend; but in 1950 I know for a fact that they sent at least one person from Milwaukee to a party leadership



school in Chicago for a 1-week class. She was there the entire week.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position in the Communist Party here did that person hold?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That person did not hold a position, not because of the fact that she was not a trusted member. She has been a member of the Communist Party or has worked for them from the time she was 10 years old until the present time and is now 29. She comes from a family of open Communists. I was told by the South Side division leader of the Communist Party, who was Jerry Rose, that it was my duty to attempt to teach her more theory and see if I couldn't spark her up to become more aggressive for a leadership role. At the same time nothing was denied her when she was put on a different type of basis.

They agreed through the district organizer, Mort Altman, to have a courier go from the district office to her for anything she wanted to know.

Mr. DOYLE. Was that Mr. Altman, the witness that was here yesterday?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is Mr. Mortimer Altman, the witness here yesterday.

Mr. DOYLE. Is he the man whose wife owned the rug shop and he worked for her?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is correct, sir. Before I go further, Mr. Tavenner, I might want to mention that Mortimer Altman was one of the people that attended the second series of classes taught by Jack Kling and held in the homes of Jack Kling and Sig Eisenscher. I might mention the others.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think you should.

Mr. ONDREJKA. The one I mentioned was Mortimer Altman. I just alluded to Elizabeth Blair, the ex-wife of the chairman of the State.

The other party that was there that attended these classes was Grace Eisenscher, the wife of Sigmund Eisenscher.

The other person that attended these classes was John Killian. The other member that attended this series of 7 or 8 classes was Gloria Killian, the wife of John Killian—

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe the name of Mr. Killian was mentioned yesterday as Jack Killian?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I believe I know him more as Jack than John. If I mention John Killian it might be the same person I refer to as Jack Killian at some other time.

I might also add in that regard that during the course of these instructions every person had a chance to make one report. That is every week a different person was assigned a report to make.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall each of those individuals making reports?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I do not, sir. I do remember the fact that Elizabeth Blair made hers on Korea. I remember that I had a report to make and I remember that the week before I made mine John Killian made his. I do not remember Gloria Killian or Grace Eisenscher, and I might add there was one other lady that did attend these courses. I do not know her name.

I might also say that Sigmund Eisenscher was aware of the fact that we were holding these classes in his home because I remember

him coming in from work and he would stop and say something, but he did not sit in on the classes.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was this second group of classes?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That was this second series held in the early part of 1951.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you be more specific as to the date?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I would say, sir, that those classes were held maybe in March, April, and May of 1951.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do I understand that this other person that you mentioned, whom you did not identify, you knew her name and later forgot it; or is it a case where you never learned her name?

Mr. ONDREJKA. No, sir; it is not a case where I never learned her name. I heard her name mentioned there. I know that she originated from Russia because they were talking about when she came over. I did not know her name. If it was mentioned then, by this time I forgot because it isn't a case where it is like Sigmund and Grace Eisenscher where I saw them frequently, or the case of Gloria and Jack Killian. I would know those names because I contacted them time and time again. In the case of this lady I know her by sight and that is all.

Mr. WILLIS. You attended 2 or 3 series of classes?

Mr. ONDREJKA. The first series was divided into 2 sections. The first series were held at Jefferson Hall. The second part of the same course was held in the home of Sigmund Eisenscher. A year later I had a different series.

Mr. WILLIS. Did those persons that you named a while ago attend the whole series of lectures as you did, or just some of them?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I would say if there were 7 series they may have attended 6. It is possible that at one time or another somebody couldn't be there. It is my recollection that Mort Altman, Grace Eisenscher, Elizabeth Blair, and myself and John and Gloria Killian attended the greater part of these courses while this one lady to whom I have alluded probably did not attend more than 2 sessions.

Mr. TAVENNER. You stated that during the period of time that you were taking your course at Marquette you were employed by the Allen-Bradley Manufacturing Co.?

Mr. ONDREJKA. That is correct, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your employment there?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I was a machine operator at Allen-Bradley Co. I worked third shift while I was in school. I still work third shift from 11 to 7.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time that you became a member of the Communist Party in 1949 was there a cell or group of the Communist Party organized within Allen-Bradley Manufacturing Co. plant?

Mr. ONDREJKA. At the time I became a member of the Communist Party in 1949 I did not work at the Allen-Bradley Co. I worked as a salesman in a retail shoe establishment.

Now in February of 1951 I returned to the Allen-Bradley Co. At that time there was no cell at Allen-Bradley. I might mention that November of 1951 was the first time that I had an inkling that we were considering setting up a communist cell at the Allen-Bradley Co. The reason for that was this: It was approximately November 15 of 1951. I can pinpoint the day because in Milwaukee the Schuster Stores have what they call an annual Christmas parade. It is a Santa Claus on a streetcar. We live in West Allis. We were invited to at-

tend a dinner at the home of Jack and Gloria who at that time lived off North Avenue on the East Side. I did not know the reason for being invited to their home in that particular case. I knew Jack and Gloria Killian because they were officers of the Labor Youth League; Gloria Killian in the capacity of chairman of the Labor Youth League and her husband, I think in the capacity of secretary.

The reason I know both were officers was at the time they were elected they said that the two could work together, because they were husband and wife, on these matters.

To get to this date, we left the house extremely late on that occasion and because of this parade and everything else, by the time we came to John Killian's home they had already eaten and had called and got no answer. They warmed the meal for us. We ate in the kitchen and went in the living room and John Killian told us the reason why he invited us for this particular dinner.

At that time he stated to me that he and I being members of the party both working at Allen-Bradley had to have some coordination of our activities at the Allen-Bradley plant. It was at that time that he was attempting to formulate a plan whereby his wife, Gloria Killian, who was then employed in the union office, the union that represents the workers at the Allen-Bradley plant, himself, myself, and my wife who has no connection whatsoever with the Allen-Bradley plant were to be members of this cell.

Before I go on I would like to clarify one little point. It may seem strange that you take a person completely removed from a plant and make them a member of the plant cell. It is not so strange when you understand the motive behind it, which we will get to when we get to the Allen-Bradley cell. Unfortunately, I don't know what became of that plan that John Killian had mentioned that night because early the following year my wife was assigned to the West Allis women's group and we did not have a cell in Allen-Bradley in 1952.

I might mention the party activity before this cell was formed. In April of 1951, I would say the first week in April, two months after I returned to the Allen-Bradley Co., my wife told me on a Friday night that Jimmy De Witt wanted to see me.

I was a new employee in my 90 days' probation. On the Saturday night following this Friday we held a party social at the home of my wife's dad who is Joseph Rody, Sr., on 89th Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean a Communist Party social?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Yes. They had a basement fairly fixed up for that type of thing. During the course of that Saturday evening I was playing cards with both Jack Kling who was chairman of the State party and Fred Blair who was the vice chairman of the State party, and at different times during that night, and not both at the same time, one had taken me earlier and asked me to go and see James De Witt as soon as I could, and later Fred Blair asked me the same thing, and I said Jack already told me about it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think it is important to know the circumstances under which they told you to go to James De Witt. Did they make any further explanation as to why you were to go to James De Witt?

Mr. ONDREJKA. No; they knew I was working at Allen-Bradley and Jimmy De Witt wanted to see me. They did not say for what purpose. I did not get there on Monday

On Tuesday afternoon I went to the UE district office, which was then on First and Wells. Anyway, it was Wells Street. I got the directions wrong. It is in this direction. I got there and in the room was Jimmy De Witt and another person on this side of the room. I know Jimmy De Witt by sight because I had seen him at three People's Progressive Party conventions. I know him from a party meeting where he spoke.

I said, "I am Mike Ondrejka. Fred Blair and Jack Kling sent me." I did not tell him my wife sent me. He said, "Fine, sit down. I want to talk to you."

We were sitting facing Plankington. The other fellow whom I assume to be Schaffer was sitting at the desk. He said, "First of all, get into the union as soon as you can."

I said, "I cannot do it because my probation trouble was not up. I wanted to make sure that I was in the solid position as far as my job was concerned."

He said, "O. K., wait until your 90 days is up." He said, "Attend all the meetings and do a lot of talking, no matter on what, and build a following." I was to do my best to become a steward. That was the first part he wanted to talk to me about.

He gave me no instructions who to see. He told me those things. The other thing he told me was that he had another job for me which I put in my words originally, to do a job on Joe Preloznik and Barbara Tanner who are 2 ex-officers of the Electrical Union down there. I want to explain that now.

He said, "Mike, as far as Earl and Tony and Herman are concerned, they are O. K. I am not imputing any Communist responsibility to these people whatsoever." That is what he told me. He said Herman, Tony, and Earl are O. K.; Joe and Barbara he is worried about. He was more concerned with Joe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Joe who?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Joe Preloznik, who at that time I believe was the vice president of local 1111 at the Allen-Bradley Co. Barbara Tanner was the recording secretary. He said that Joe Preloznik was taking Barbara Tanner to the Marquette Labor College, being a series of courses at night whereby they got management and labor together and had certain lectures on the matter.

He said, "Mike, between you and I, we know that that Marquette Labor School is being run by the Allis-Chalmers Co.," and he mentioned a figure in the Allis-Chalmers Co. by the name of Johnson who is directly behind it all.

So I was to go into the shop, become friends with Joe Preloznik. Because of the fact I was at Marquette University I was to tell Joe what a lousy situation that school was, what it really stood for, in an effort to break up this relationship between Joe and Barbara going to this school.

I left and those were the only instructions I got from Jimmy De Witt.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did he explain why he didn't want Joe Preloznik to attend this labor school?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Because of the fact that he was afraid he might be taken in by this stuff. That is what he said.

Mr. TAVENNER. Had you met Joe Preloznik at that time?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I know who Joe Preloznik is. Until about a year or possibly 2 years ago when he came on the night shift I knew him for a long, long time; I knew him to be an officer of the union but actually on a social basis I was not in contact with the man at all.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were not personally acquainted?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I did not go out with Joe on the outside of the plant. I talked with him when I saw him in the plant. From that time until 1952 I have never had any outside contact with this Mr. Preloznik.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you go to Mr. Preloznik and follow the directions given to you by Mr. James De Witt?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I did not, because I was going to school 8 hours a day and working 8 hours a day, and besides that I was on the third shift from 11 to 7 and at that time Joe Preloznik was working days from 7 to 3; and therefore I did not get to see him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you follow the other two directions given to you by Mr. De Witt; that is, to become a member of the union and get on your feet and speak and try to develop yourself?

Mr. ONDREJKA. I did, sir, but getting to be a steward was a very difficult situation because there was a steward there and I didn't feel it proper to bump him out and had to bide my time until he was transferred; and immediately when he was transferred in the following year I ran my legs out to get Joe Preloznik and Herman to hold a steward's election and when they were finally held after 4 months without a steward I was elected unanimously.

Jack Killian at his home that time also told me to attempt to become a steward as soon as I could.

Mr. DOYLE. Was Jim De Witt an officer of the union?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Jimmy or James De Witt, I think would come under the term of the district representative from Milwaukee of the United Electrical. In other words, he is appointed as a district representative. He is not an elected official from any local. He services the locals in the State of Wisconsin.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know him as a member of the Communist Party in the State of Wisconsin?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Sir, I only know him from the fact that I was told by my wife and Fred Blair and Jack Kling to go and see Jimmy De Witt. When I saw him he said "Yes, I was expecting you."

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand that this union official of the UE from Wisconsin was condemning the labor school at Marquette University?

Mr. ONDREJKA. Absolutely.

Mr. DOYLE. It is not clear to me why he would be condemning the university classes. He was a union leader and I thought they were all interested in getting the facts and as much education to many people, and their union leaders as possible.

Mr. ONDREJKA. I am quite sure that at that time the type of facts taught at Marquette were not the type of instructions that he wanted Joe Preloznik or Barbara Tanner to receive.

Mr. DOYLE. Was it a university class?

Mr. ONDREJKA. It was. It was conducted by some of the finest people I have ever known at Marquette. But nevertheless, he made it quite clear that he did not want them attending that class or getting taken by the type of thing they were teaching.

Mr. DOYLE. I am always disappointed, may I say, when I find union leaders that do not want their union members to be as fully informed

as possible. I have never been a union man. I have never been an attorney for a labor union yet I am always endorsed in my campaigns for election by the CIO and the AFL, and out West, at least, I have never heard of a union leader condemning university classes. I am shocked that they do it here.

The committee in a minute or two will recess until 1:30. If it is not clear to any of you folks that are in the courtroom as to why we are taking advantage of this witness' knowledge of the methods used by the Communist Party in Milwaukee and Wisconsin, and are going into it to the extent that we are, may I remind you that under Public Law 601 passed in 1946, by virtue of which law we are here in Wisconsin, our duty is to investigate the extent, character, and objects of un-American subversive propaganda activities in the United States and the diffusion within the United States of subversive propaganda that is instituted from foreign countries or is of domestic origin, and which attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution and all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

So if it appears that we are taking time to get as much help as possible as to methods used by the Communists or by any subversive group, it is because our duty as a subcommittee is to report back to the full committee of Congress what we think might be well to do in remedial legislation. The whole purpose of these committee meetings is with reference to legislation.

The committee will stand in recess until 1:30.

(Witness excused.)

(Whereupon, at 12 noon the hearing was recessed to reconvene at 1:30 p. m. the same day. Remainder of this hearing is printed in part 2 of this series.

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