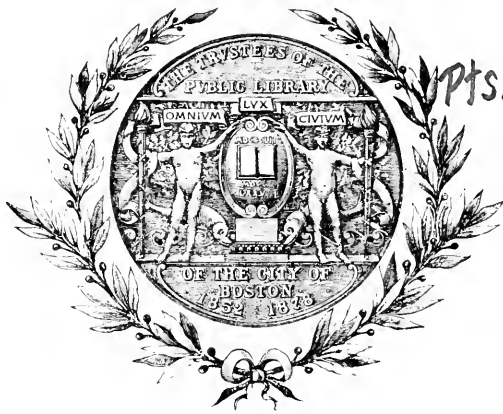


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Part 2

INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE  
SAN FRANCISCO AREA—Part 2

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HEARING  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

DECEMBER 2, 1953

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

INCLUDING INDEX



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*Ent*

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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### EXHIBITS

- Hudson Exhibit No. 1. Letter dated November 27, 1939, written on letterhead of the Communist Party of U. S. A., national office, addressed to counsel of the Committee on Un-American Activities, signed by Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A. (see pp. 3160-3162).
- Hudson Exhibit No. 2. Letter, dated February 8, 1934, to H. Jackson, signed "fraternally yours, Hudson" (see pp. 3164-3166).
- Hudson Exhibit No. 3. Daily Worker, November 6, 1933, article entitled, "38 Workers' Organizations Endorse Communist Party Program" (see pp. 3167-3169).
- Hudson Exhibit No. 4. Letter, dated February 5, 1934, addressed to H. Jackson, and signed Hudson (see pp. 3172 and 3173).
- Hudson Exhibit No. 5. Party Organizer, May-June 1934, pages 25-30, article entitled "The Work of the Marine Union," by Roy Hudson (see pp. 3174-3176).
- Hudson Exhibit No. 6. Party Organizer, August 1937, pages 6-12, article entitled, "Building the Party in Marine," by Roy Hudson (see pp. 3177-3180).
- Hudson Exhibit No. 7. Party Organizer, May 1938, pages 10-13, article entitled, "Work Among the Masses," by Roy Hudson (see pp. 3180 and 3181).
- Mass Exhibit No. 1. San Francisco Unified School District, oath of allegiance, signed by John W. Mass on October 19, 1950, on reverse side of which is a statement written by John W. Mass as to his past Communist Party membership and other affiliations (see pp. 3187 and 3188).





## PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

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

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

### PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### RULE X

##### SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

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

#### RULE XI

##### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

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

(A) Un-American activities.

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

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

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

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

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

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

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

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

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# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO AREA—PART 2

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*San Francisco, Calif.*

## PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to adjournment, at 9:35 a. m. in the hearing room of the board of supervisors, city hall, Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Chairman members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Donald L. Jackson, Gordon H. Scherer, Morgan M. Moulder, and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig and Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; William A. Wheeler, investigator; and Juliette P. Joray, acting clerk.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order, please.

This morning I am happy to welcome our colleague, the Honorable Morgan Moulder, of Missouri, who completes our subcommittee, to be here from now until Saturday, at which time we will be obliged to adjourn the hearings.

Mr. Counsel, do you have a witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; Mr. Roy Hudson, will you come forward, please?

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

Mr. HUDSON. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF ROY HUDSON, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, GEORGE ANDERSEN

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. HUDSON. Roy Hudson.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. HUDSON. I am.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. ANDERSEN. My name is George Andersen.

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

Mr. HUDSON. Nevada, Tonopah, Nev., April 9, 1904.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. HUDSON. San Francisco.

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

Mr. HUDSON. Grammar school through eighth grade.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Hudson Exhibit No. 1," a letter from Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, addressed to counsel for this committee under date of November 27, 1939, in which he gives a list of the national committee of the Communist Party, elected at the 10th convention.

Mr. VELDE. Do you offer that into evidence?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be admitted at this point.

(The letter from Earl Browder dated November 27, 1939, was received in evidence as Hudson Exhibit No. 1.)

HUDSON EXHIBIT NO. 1

COMMUNIST PARTY OF U. S. A.

NATIONAL OFFICE

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Chairman  
EARL BROWDER, General Secretary

35 East 12th St., AL 4-2215  
P. O. Box 87, Sta. D., New York City

NOVEMBER 27, 1939.

Mr. RHEA WHITLEY,  
*Counsel, Committee on Un-American Activities,*  
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I received by mail the subpoena issued November 22 to me to appear in Washington, Tuesday, November 28 at 10 a. m., and to bring with me a list of the full names of the directors of Compro Daily, list of the full names of the members of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, list of the full names of the members of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, list of the full names of the Secretariat of the Comintern, and a list of the districts of the Communist Party of the United States.

My secretary informs me that in reply to my long-distance telephone inquiry you stated that it would not be necessary for me to appear personally if I mailed you the material requested.

I am therefore enclosing the following materials:

1. List of the full names of the members of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States.
2. List of the full names of the members of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of the United States.
3. List of the full names of the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (Comintern).
4. List of the districts of the Communist Party of the United States.

With regard to the requested list of the full names of the directors of the Compro Daily, I do not have such a list and have never had it. I have requested the lawyer of the Compro Daily to furnish me with such a list and whenever it comes to my hand I will send it on to you.

I wish to call your attention to a correction in the list of the members of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States as I submit it herewith which omits the name of Mr. Rubin, which I gave to you in my letter of September 8. Since submitting the original list on September 8 I have learned that Mr. Rubin had tendered his resignation in October 1938, and it had been accepted. This occurred at a time when I was absent from the country and it had not been called to my attention until the question came up on the basis of the list which I originally gave you. Please take note of this correction.

Very truly yours,

(s) Earl Browder,  
EARL BROWDER,

*General Secretary, Communist Party, U. S. A.*

*National Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., elected at the Tenth Convention*

Wm. Z. Foster, Chairman ; Earl Browder, General Secretary

*Members*

Israel Amter	James W. Ford	Robert Minor
Max Bedacht	Harrison George	Steve Nelson
Alex Bittelman	Ben Gold	William Schneiderman
A. W. Berry	Gil Green	Jack Stachel
Ella R. Bloom	Ray Hansboro	Pat Toobey
Louis Budenz	Clarence Hathaway	Alex Trachtenberg
Peter V. Cacchione	Jasper Haaland	William Wiener
Morris Childs	Angelo Herndon	Anita Whitney
Gene Dennis	Roy Hudson	John Williamson
Sam Don	Jack Johnstone	Henry Winston
Elizabeth G. Flynn	Charles Krumbein	Rose Wortis

*Candidates*

John Ballam	Sam Darcy	Morris Raport
Herbert Benjamin	Phil Frankfeld	Earl Reno
W. G. Binkley	Harry Gwynn	Carl Rose
Don Burke	Robert Hall	Nat Ross
Rose Biltmore	Albert Lannon	Otto Wangerin
Isadore Begun	Andrew Onda	Maude White
Ann Burlak	William Patterson	Wm. W. Weinstein
Margaret Cowl	Pettis Perry	Robert Woods

*Members of the Secretariat, Executive Committee of the Communist International  
(As elected at the Seventh World Congress, 1935)*

George Dimitroff, General Secretary	Otto Kuusinen
M. Ercoli	Andre Marty
D. Z. Manuilsky	Klement Gottwald
Wilhelm Pieck	

*Candidate-members*

M. Florin	M. A. Moskvin	Wang Ming
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*Members of Political Committee, CPUSA*

Wm. Z. Foster	James W. Ford	Jack Stachel
Earl Browder	C. A. Hathaway	Henry Winston
Alex Bittelman	Roy Hudson	Rose Wortis
Morris Childs	Charles Krumbein	
Gene Dennis	Robert Minor	

## LIST OF DISTRICTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A., AND ADDRESSES

Box 23, Essex Station, Boston, Mass. (Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont)

35 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

250 South Broad Street, Room 701, Philadelphia, Pa.

729 Central Avenue, Kansas City, Kans.

305 Seventh Avenue, Room 406, Pittsburgh, Pa.

1524 Prospect Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio

5969 14th Street, Detroit, Mich.

208 North Wells Street, Room 201, Chicago, Ill.

10 South 10th Street, Room 2, Minneapolis, Minn.

516 Karbach Block, Omaha, Nebr.

Post Office Box 1467, Fargo, N. Dak.

Post Office Box 332, Seattle, Wash (Idaho, Washington)

121 Haight Street, San Francisco, Calif. (Arizona, California, Nevada)

1 William Street, Room 405, Newark, N. J.

6 Church Street, Room 212, New Haven, Conn.

Post Office Box 521, Greensboro, N. C. (North Carolina, South Carolina)

Post Office Box 1871, Birmingham, Ala. (Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi)

617 North Second Street, Room 902, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Post Office Box 2823, Denver, Colo. (Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming)

Post Office 1834, Houston, Tex.  
 506 North Vandeventer Street, Room 21, St. Louis, Mo. (Arkansas, Missouri)  
 Post Office Box 92, Charleston, W. Va.  
 Post Office Box 1043, Louisville, Ky.  
 Post Office Box 465, New Orleans, La.  
 Post Office Box N, West Bay Annex, Jacksonville, Fla.  
 Post Office Box 366, Sioux Falls, S. Dak.  
 Post Office Box 496, Ironwood, Mich.  
 Meridian Life Building, Room 401, Indianapolis, Ind.  
 Post Office Box 132, Richmond, Va.  
 Post Office Box 77, Butte, Mont.  
 Box 245, Oklahoma City, Okla.  
 222 Youngerman Building, Des Moines, Iowa  
 Post Office Box 1692, Knoxville, Tenn.  
 501 B North Eutaw Street, Baltimore, Md.  
 74 West First Street South, Salt Lake City, Utah

MR. TAVENNER. This list of the membership of the national committee of the Communist Party includes William Z. Foster as chairman, Earl Browder, general secretary, and among the members are such leaders in the Communist Party as Israel Amter, Max Bedacht, Alexander Bittelman, Ella R. Bloor, Louis Budenz, Gene Dennis, Harrison George, Ben Gold, Clarence Hathaway, Steve Nelson—and without naming others, I will refer to just one more—Roy Hudson.

Now, Mr. Hudson, the Committee on Un-American Activities has received a great deal of evidence since 1939 or really since 1934 regarding the prominent part that you have played in the activities of the Communist Party.

I will refer to only a few of them, such of them as designate what your official position has been from time to time as a leader in the Communist Party. The committee has received evidence that you were a delegate to the Seventh World Congress at Moscow July 1935, that is the World Congress of the Communist International; that you were a member of the central committee of the Communist Party in 1936 and for a number of years thereafter; that in 1938 you were trade union secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party; that in 1938 you were a member of the presiding committee for the 10th national convention; that in 1939 you were a fraternal delegate to the Communist Party convention of Mexico and at the same time you were a member of the presiding committee of the Communist Party of Mexico.

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

MR. TAVENNER. I have just introduced in evidence as a part of this hearing the letter from Earl Browder as secretary showing that in 1939 you were a member of the national committee of the Communist Party.

Our records show that in 1940 you were a member of the political bureau of the Communist Party and that in 1942 you were a member of the political committee of the Communist Party; that is, the Communist Party of the United States. Our records show that in 1944 you became vice president of the Communist Political Association. In 1946 our investigations have disclosed you were acting as a district secretary of the Communist Party of Pittsburgh, and that in 1948 you were chairman of the western Pennsylvania district of the Communist Party.

Now, this testimony has shown that you were an open member of the Communist Party up through the year 1938, and there has been evidence as to some of your activities since that time.

However, there has been information which has come to the committee indicating that sometime after 1948, due to internal fights within the Communist Party, you had been more or less put on the shelf; that you have not for the past few years occupied the same prominence in the Communist Party that you had prior to that time and that you have not been active in the same way.

There may be many reasons for that.

Now, I want at this time to give you the opportunity, if you will take advantage of it, to declare yourself publicly and state whether or not at this time you still declare your allegiance to the Communist Party, an organization which is directed by a foreign power, or whether or not you will declare your allegiance directly and unreservedly to the United States.

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. HUDSON. Your question is so involved and complicated that I find it impossible to answer as it is. If you break it down, I will to the best of my ability answer it.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will be very glad to attempt to break it down.

Are you now a functionary in the Communist Party?

Mr. HUDSON. I stand on the fifth amendment and refuse to answer that question on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you now engaged in active work for the Communist Party?

Mr. HUDSON. I stand on my previous answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hudson, I hand you a photostatic copy of a typewritten letter bearing date of February 8, 1934, addressed to H. Jackson, signed "Fraternally yours, Hudson," and I will ask you to examine the signature and state whether or not it is your signature. The signature is on the last page, the third page.

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. TAVENNER. May I suggest that you answer the question instead of reading the entire 3-page letter at this time?

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You have not yet looked at the signature which is on the third page.

Mr. HUDSON. I would like to get acquainted with the document if it is supposed to be my signature.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will give you that opportunity, but first will you examine the signature and state whether or not it is yours?

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. HUDSON. I would like to read the document first.

Mr. ANDERSEN. I might add that the witness doesn't have his reading glasses with him. I happen to have mine, so I have to read it to him.

Mr. VELDE. Will the reading of the document enable you to determine whether or not that is your signature?

Mr. HUDSON. It might.

Mr. VELDE. Is that your position?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, first, will you examine the signature and state if you are in doubt that it is your signature? Again I ask you to look at the third page.

Mr. VELDE. I believe the witness should be permitted to read the letter in its entirety.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well.

Mr. VELDE. If you will answer that question.

Mr. HUDSON. I am sorry; I didn't hear you.

Mr. VELDE. Read the letter in its entirety, and then I hope that you will answer the question as to your signature.

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you examine the signature?

Mr. HUDSON. Yes. My answer is that I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment. It might be possible self-incrimination.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with H. Jackson?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is H. Jackson the same person as Harry Jackson?

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that counsel identify H. Jackson more specifically?

Mr. TAVENNER. Harry Jackson was identified by the witness here yesterday, Mr. Lou Rosser, as being a person known to him to have been a member of the Communist Party and engaged in certain other activities.

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the photostatic copy of the letter in evidence and ask that it be marked "Hudson Exhibit No. 2."

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be admitted in the record at this point.

(Photostat of letter to H. Jackson, dated February 8, 1934, was received in evidence as Hudson exhibit No. 2.)

#### HUDSON EXHIBIT NO. 2

FEBRUARY 8, 1934.

H. JACKSON,

*437 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.*

DEAR COMRADE JACKSON: The news you write regarding the response of the Northwest to the convention is very good—and the rank and file delegation that went up certainly seems to indicate that our policies are getting root. I trust that we are consolidating a real firm opposition group. In view of the ILA stand at the code hearings we certainly should be able to make headway all around—and should give an impetus to the convention. There is little to add upon my previous remarks and the wire concerning the stand of the officials. It is doubtful whether we will be able to get minutes of this hearing in view of my failure to pay the \$80 for the last one. In case I do get them will shoot them right out. I agree with you that the place where the convention should be held should not become a breaking point—although it would be much more favorable if it were held in Frisco.

In regards to Saurwin—I believe I already mentioned that a new fellow there is now active by the name of Maxton. Do you know him? While it is true that Saurwin is not developed—it is also true that he is well acquainted with Pedro, has personal connections and seems to be fairly active and is getting some results—it might be a question whether it is advisable to withdraw him?

Some of the Scharrenberg story will be used in the next Saturday's Daily—also next issue of Voice. I note that it was published in the Western Worker.

In regard to the line on the question of the ISU becoming recognized by the code. It has been discussed—our basic task is clear—to rally the mass of workers in the fight for our code and against the application of the shipowners' code. This is the main tactic in defeating any move to herd them into the ISU. Secondly to call upon them to join our organization, etc., and to resist any effort



to force them into the ISU. What would we do in case there was a mass sentiment and move upon the part of the seamen for the ISU. Naturally, we would be reduced to an oppositional role, in the same sense as what happened in Frisco amongst the longshoremen. However, at the present the perspective and swing is all toward us—and if there was any widespread effort toward forcing the seamen into the ISU at the present time it is my opinion that it would even help us. We can say that during the past few months we have delivered some smashing blows to the ISU—although it would be an exaggeration to say that they are completely isolated. I will not go into details, but at the present moment we can say that in at least one port, Baltimore, the seamen are 100 percent behind us and our program—that in other ports, there has been a marked increase in our influence—that because of our recent strikes, the mass delegation, the present Munson line developments, and the Baltimore victories—that we are the organization that the seamen are thinking about. Finally, all reports at present indicate that on more and more ships the ISU officials are meeting with strong opposition from the crews—where a few months ago they were somewhat neutral, and your report about the ISU on west coast—makes our perspective even more favorable. With a continued energetic effort upon our part, particularly upon the west coast, there is every possibility that we can defeat the ISU—even with the support of the NRA.

Am glad to hear that you are going to write an article for the Voice. Now for Christ's sake don't forget it and get it in here on time.

Things are moving fast around here. The *Greylock*, in Baltimore, is out on strike and has been offered a \$10 wage increase. The *Munson* still is 100 percent out—there are no other Munson Line ships in any of the ports—I won't say we will be able to pull many of them immediately—but we feel confident that within a week or 10 days we will have several more of the Munson ships out. I'm so damn busy that work piles up like hell.

Now Harry, in connection with your statement on Mink. This statement will not be taken up in the fraction—and in my letter of the December 15 I told you that if you thought you *must* raise objections, it should be through the center.

I want to make myself very clear on this—especially in view of your statement in the letter accompanying the statement. It is unfortunate that you don't keep carbon copies so therefore I will quote from your letter to make myself clear. You state “and we will not let anyone's petty politics take away from us capable forces etc. \* \* \* I refer to Stachel in particular.”

From this you frankly state that George is where he is because of “someone's petty politics.” I have the utmost confidence in you Jackson and *under no circumstances* (sic) *would I accuse you of factionalism*—but frankly this is only speculating on decisions and trying to find “factional” reasons, or “petty political” reasons for them being made. We must not only reject “petty politics”—but we must just as severely reject tendencies that see petty politics in every decision.

Again why were the reasons he went :

- (1) He proposed, very strongly himself.
- (2) An even greater insistence upon the party of Ray—who when it looked like George might not go, raised particular hell.

There were other factors, but these were the basic ones, and if there is any petty politics in them I will eat my hat.

Now, final reasons why your recommendation is not going to be raised in the fraction—

(1) Recommendations came from top fraction—final decisions made by P. B.—and this year a stronger insistence that the candidates not become public property. Very few people know who they are—incidentally you should not have been informed—and I had hell raised with me already because people knew who shouldn't. Therefore to raise it in the fraction would be incorrect.

(2) Fraction meetings—and Buro have been held—and no one has raised any objections and agreed with the formal “proposal” for his temporary leave.

I have other ideas on the whole subject—but I believe the above make it clear why I take the stand I do and I hope you will understand them and the spirit I make them—even though there might be some sharp criticism. I still insist that the decision was a correct one and that you have no basis upon which to raise serious objections. However, if you are still of the same opinion, then you should and must raise them directly with the center. But under no circumstances is the question of where George is at to be raised with anyone on the coast.

Well, guess that's all. I have expressed myself rather honestly in order to clarify my stand—and hope you agree with it—but I am sure that any sharpness will not be taken in an uncomradely manner.

With best of luck and drop a line from the North.

Fraternally yours,

HUDSON.

Am sending Telford the supplies you req (sic).

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Hudson, when you answer by saying "the same answer," you mean you are refusing to answer on the ground that it might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. HUDSON. Fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire at this time to read certain portions of this letter and ask you questions with a view of obtaining an explanation of the meaning of certain things, whether or not you admit having written this letter:

Now, Harry, in connection with your statement on Mink. This statement will not be taken up in the fraction—and in my letter of the December 15th I told you that if you thought you *must* raise objections, it should be through the Center.

Is the term "center" the term usually used in connection with the central committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was Mink's first name?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with George Mink?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I continue to read as follows:

I want to make myself very clear on this—especially in view of your statement in the letter accompanying the statement. It is unfortunate that you don't keep carbon copies, so therefore I will quote from your letter to make myself clear.

You state "and we will not let anyones petty politics take away from us capable forces, etc. \* \* \* I refer to Stachel in particular."

What position did Stachel hold at that time in the Communist Party?

Mr. HUDSON. My answer is the same as the previous one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know what position Harry Jackson held in the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. HUDSON. My answer is the same as the previous one.

Mr. TAVENNER. I continue to read:

From this you frankly state that George is where he is because of "someone's petty politics." I have the utmost confidence in you Jackson, and—

the following words are underscored—

*under no circumstances would I accuse you of factionalism—but frankly this is only speculating on decisions and trying to find "factional" reasons, or "petty political" reasons for them being made. We must not only reject "petty politics"—but we must just as severely reject tendencies that see petty politics in every decision.*

Again, why were the reasons he went? Before proceeding with the reasons, where did George Mink go?

Mr. HUDSON. My answer is the same.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was George Mink connected with the shipping strike on the west coast in 1934?

Mr. HUDSON. Still stand on the previous answer.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, may the record show at this point that the witness declines to answer when he says "the same answer"?

Mr. VELDE. Yes, the record will so show.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have before me the July 1939 issue of the American Mercury. On page 305 this reference is made to George Mink:

George Mink, once in the Moscow Profintern (Red International of Labor Unions), later a fourth section operative in Philadelphia and with Rubens on the New York waterfront. In July 1935 a Copenhagen court sent Mink to prison for Soviet espionage.

Now, this letter was written in February 1934, the letter which I presented to you and which you read.

I want to know if the mission on which George Mink was sent was that which resulted in his arrest in Copenhagen and his trial for espionage in 1935?

Mr. HUDSON. I stand on the fifth amendment and refuse to answer on the grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was George Mink given a release from his activities in connection with the strike on the west coast and sent to the Continent of Europe on a mission for the Communist Party in connection with that strike?

Mr. HUDSON. In my reply I stand on the same grounds, the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will proceed to read again.

Again, why were the reasons he went:

1. He proposed, very strongly himself.
2. An even greater insistence upon the part of Ray—who, when it looked like George might not go, raised particular hell.

Who is Ray?

Mr. HUDSON. I stand on the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. What official position did Ray hold at that time in the union or any other organization to your knowledge?

Mr. HUDSON. My answer is the same as the previous one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have before me a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker of November 6, 1933. There is an article here, the headline of which is "38 Workers' Organizations Endorse Communist Party Program." The names of those organizations and the workers representing them appear in the article. Under the name of Marine Workers Industrial Union I find the name of Roy Hudson, national secretary; Thomas Ray, secretary; and desire to offer the photostatic copy into evidence and ask it be marked "Hudson Exhibit No. 3."

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be included at this point.

(Photostat of article from Daily Worker of November 6, 1933, was received in evidence as Hudson Exhibit No. 3.)

#### HUDSON EXHIBIT NO. 3

[From Daily Worker, New York, November 6, 1933]

#### 38 WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS ENDORSE COMMUNIST PARTY PROGRAM

#### PARTY'S FIGHT FOR MASSES' NEEDS CITED IN STATEMENT

INDUSTRIAL UNIONS, UNEMPLOYED COUNCILS, WOMEN'S COUNCILS AMONG BACKERS OF RED CANDIDATES

NEW YORK.—Thirty-eight workers' organizations have endorsed the Communist Party ticket and program in the New York municipal elections. "No other has

shown daily its stubborn and ceaseless fight in the shops and streets for the needs of the masses," says the statement signed by these unions, unemployed councils, and fraternal organizations.

Headed by such fighting unions as the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, the organizations supporting the Communist Party, state:

"Only the Communist Party as the party of the working class represents the interests of the entire working population, stands squarely on the principle that the provision of adequate food, clothing, and shelter and the defense of the rights and living standards of the workers are the primary issues in this campaign."

Among the organizations signing endorsement for the Communist candidates, are the Unemployed Councils, Friends of the Soviet Union, Councils of Working Class Women, Anti-Imperialist League, Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, and the Labor Sports Union.

**Needle Trades Industrial Union:**

Ben Gold, general secretary  
 Louis Hyman, president  
 Irving Potash, secretary  
 Isadore Weisberg, manager, dress department  
 Joseph Boruchowitz, manager of cloak department  
 Samuel Burt, fur dressing department  
 Ben Stallman, organizer of bathrobe department  
 Dominick Montello, organizer of custom tailors

**Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union:**

James Lustig, organizer  
 James Matlis, secretary

**Marine Workers Industrial Union:**

Ray [sic Ray] Hudson, national secretary  
 Thomas Ray, secretary

**Food Workers Industrial Union:**

Jay Rubin, general secretary  
 William Albertson, organizer of hotel and restaurant department  
 Sam Kramberg, organizer of cafeteria department

**Alteration Painters Union:** Morris Kushlinsky, secretary

**Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union:**

Fred Biedenkapp, organizer  
 Isadore Rosenberg, secretary

**Building Maintenance Workers Industrial Union:** Mort Sher, secretary

**Drygoods Workers Union:**

Louis Kfare, vice chairman  
 Chester Fierstein, chairman

**Furniture Workers Industrial Union:** Morris Pizer, secretary

**Independent Carpenters Union:**

Isaac Berman, organizer  
 Herman Bogartz, secretary  
 Nathan Ellin, treasurer

**Taxi Workers Union:**

Harold Eddy, organizer  
 Abner Feigin, financial secretary

**Cleaners and Dyers Union:** Max Rosenberg, secretary

**Laundry Workers Industrial Union:** Sam Berland, secretary

**Building and Construction Workers League:**

Jack Taylor, secretary  
 Sam Nessin, general secretary

**Trade Union Unity Council:**

Andy Overgaard, secretary  
 Rose Wortis, assistant secretary  
 Sheppard, organizer

**Office Workers Union:** Laura Carmon, organizer

**Unemployed Council:**

Israel Amter, national secretary  
 Carl Winter, secretary of Greater New York  
 Richard Sullivan, organizer of Greater New York

**International Labor Defense:**

William Lawrence, secretary, New York district  
 William Patterson, national secretary  
 William Fitzgerald, organizer, Harlem section

## Workers International Relief:

Pauline Rogers, New York City secretary

Alfred Wagenknecht, national secretary

## Friends of the Soviet Union: B. Friedman, secretary

## Anti-Imperialist League:

William Simons, national secretary

John Bruno, secretary, New York.

## Anti-Imperialist Alliance: Y. Y. Hsu, national secretary

## Workers Ex-Servicemen's League:

Harold Hickerson, national secretary

Joseph Singer, secretary, city committee

Emanuel Levin, national chairman

P. Cashione

## Council of Working Class Women:

Clara Bodian, secretary

Clara Shavelson, educational director

Sarah Licht, organizer-secretary

## Labor Sports Union: Mack Gordon, secretary, New York district

## International Workers Order:

Max Bedacht, national secretary, Jewish section

Harry Schiller, New York City secretary

Sadie Doroshkin, secretary city central

## Russian Mutual Aid: Joseph Soltan, president, New York district committee

## English Workers Clubs:

J. Landy

Edith Zucker

## Finnish Workers Federation

## Jewish City Club Committee:

Abraham Laschowitzky, secretary

Harry C. Costrell, national secretary

## Icor:

S. Almazov, national secretary

Abraham Olkin, secretary, New York district

## John Reed Club: Moe Brogin, executive secretary

## Peu (sic) &amp; Hammer: M. Vetch

## League of Workers Theater:

Harry Elion, national secretary

Alfred Sacks, executive director

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you the national secretary of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union the date of the publication of this paper, November 6, 1933?

Mr. HUDSON. My answer is the same as the previous one.

Mr. TAVENNER. You take the position that to admit you held the position of national secretary of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union might subject you to criminal prosecution?

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer.

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

Mr. VELDE. Yes, the question is a very simple one. I can see no way in which the answer to the question could possibly incriminate you. You are directed to answer the question.

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. HUDSON. I understand from the press that that organization that was mentioned has been placed on the so-called subversive list by the Attorney General, and therefore I stand on the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question. I will not testify against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I did not want to speak on the matter without refreshing my recollection. An examination of the

Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, issued by this committee in 1951, does not contain a citation by any Government agency of the organization Marine Workers' Industrial Union.

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

MR. TAVENNER. So I again ask the witness to answer the question.

MR. HUDSON. I still stand on the fifth amendment and decline to answer. But I read it some place in the paper somewhere. My mind is very distinct about it.

MR. TAVENNER. Was Thomas Ray secretary of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union?

MR. HUDSON. Same answer.

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

MR. VELDE. Yes, the Chair can see no reason—

MR. HUDSON. Same answer.

MR. VELDE (continuing). That that would incriminate you, and you are directed to answer the question.

MR. HUDSON. Same answer.

MR. TAVENNER. Now continuing to read from the letter:

There were other factors, but these were the basic ones, and if there is any petty politics in them I will eat my hat.

Now final reasons why your recommendation is not going to be raised in the fraction—

1. Recommendations came from top fraction—final decisions made by P. B.—

Does P. B. stand for politbureau of the Communist Party?

MR. HUDSON. Same answer.

MR. TAVENNER (continuing to read).

And this year a stronger insistence that the candidates not become public property.

Did that not mean that persons on the politbureau were not to be publicly known as members, and that that was the position that you took at that time?

MR. HUDSON. Same answer.

MR. TAVENNER (continuing to read).

A very few people know who they are—incidentally you should not have been informed—and I had hell raised with me already because people knew who shouldn't. Therefore to raise it in the fraction would be incorrect.

Why all the secrecy about this matter?

MR. HUDSON. Same answer.

MR. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

MR. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

MR. JACKSON. Can counsel define further for the record a "fraction" at this time?

MR. VELDE. I think it was defined by our witness yesterday, Mr. Rosser, but the Chair would appreciate it.

MR. TAVENNER. That very question was asked the witness yesterday, a person who had been a high functionary in the Young Communist League, Mr. Lou Rosser, and he defined "fraction" as being a group of representatives in an industry who were members of the Communist Party and met on the Communist Party level to consider Communist Party affairs within that particular industry or unit.

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. TAVENNER (continuing to read).

2. Fraction meeting—and Buro have been held—and no one has raised any objections and agreed with the formal “proposal” for his temporary leave.

Does that not indicate that the matter of George Mink’s leave and his assignment to a place other than the west coast had been passed upon by the politbureau of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I continue to read:

I have other ideas on the whole subject—but I believe the above make it clear why I take the stand I do and I hope you will understand them and the spirit I make them—even though there might be some sharp criticism. I still insist that the decision was a correct one and that you have no basis upon which to raise serious objections. However, if you are still of the same opinion, then you should and must raise them directly with the center. But under no circumstances is the question of where George is at to be raised with anyone on the coast.

What reason was there for the Communist Party to conceal from the rank and file labor-union members on the coast or even Communist Party members the fact that George Mink was being assigned to some particular process?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer as the previous stand on the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. And on the same grounds?

Mr. HUDSON. Fifth amendment, won’t be a witness against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER (continuing to read):

Well, guess that’s all. I have expressed myself rather honestly in order to clarify my stand—and hope you agree with it—but I am sure that any sharpness will not be taken in an uncomradely manner.

With best of luck and drop a line from the North.

Fraternally yours, Hudson.

Didn’t you severely take Harry Jackson to task for questioning a directive of the Communist Party with regard to an assignment to George Mink?

Mr. HUDSON. My answer is the same as the previous one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where George Mink is now?

Mr. HUDSON. My answer is the same as the previous one.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hudson, I hand you a second letter, photostatic copy of a letter, bearing date of February 5, 1934, addressed to H. Jackson, purportedly signed “Hudson,” and I will ask you to examine the signature of this letter and state whether or not it is a copy of your signature.

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

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

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

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you examine the signature, Mr. Hudson?

Mr. HUDSON. I did; my answer is the same as the previous one.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce the photostatic copy of the letter into evidence and ask that it be marked “Hudson Exhibit No. 4.”

Mr. VELDE. Hudson Exhibit No. 4?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be admitted at this point.

(Photostat of letter addressed to H. Jackson, dated February 5, 1934, was received in evidence as Hudson exhibit No. 4.)

HUDSON EXHIBIT NO. 4

FEBRUARY 5, 1934.

H. JACKSON,  
San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR COMRADE JACKSON: Have finally time to briefly answer your letter of the 30th, which came during the time I was out of town.

It sure was too bad that I did not have the material sent out by the ILA before we went to Washington—especially the one containing the telegram to Ryan insisting upon their demands for a \$1 hour—if we had of had this one—or known about it—we would have presented it there and it would have been dynamite.

Today I have already sent you a wire containing the stand of the ILA at the hearing. There is little to add to this—there was absolutely no word said about the demands of the west coast or of their other peculiar problems.

In connection with mistake in connection with calling the convention—it seems to me that this mistake about the convention being called for the purpose of electing a new executive, originated, not in Everett, but in Frisco by this guy Holman.

In view of the stand taking (sic) by the ILA at the hearings—and on the basis of the more or less favorable report contained in your letter regards the ILA response—there should be good ground for doing things, if a real push is started.

Yes, I'm raising hell about no articles from you—and still don't think you can get out of it by passing the buck to Telford. You *can* write and the articles contained in the Waterfront Worker are god damn good—and there is no reason why we can't get some for the Voice.

Right now I hereby give you an assignment to write a general article reviewing the whole situation, past and present, in connection with the ILA for the coming issue of the Voice.

And in regards to the technical (sic) help—I haven't got any "it" either, and certainly none to spare in sending you. Consequently no steno—and haven't had none for 3 or 4 months. And we have 100 times more work here—say you should see the correspondence that piled up in my absence—it makes me sick to look at it all. So brother, steno or no steno—do your stuff.

Am glad to hear that you got the guy off the mudflats and down on the waterfront.

Just a few words very briefly about here. The code delegation was a tremendous success. We have a mass movement in Baltimore, practically controlling the town (hope we maintain and consolidate it). They have now began a struggle there for central shipping. The Munson Line plan looks good. I just spoke to Baltimore long distance and they inform me that the *Munsomo* is out 100 percent in favor of our demands which will be presented on a company scale here in New York Wednesday. Our last Buro meeting was good and made a number of important decisions—will not go into detail concerning them because the minutes will be out shortly and will be sent you. So to conclude things are beginning to look a little better.

In connection with the Northwest—the reports that I receive from there are fairly encouraging and some progress is to be recorded. I believe that now is a very opportune time for you to go up there—not only will you be able to stimulate the work, but also will be able to clarify some problems that are developing there in regard to methods of work, etc. One thing that must be done is put the work inside the ILA on a more definite oppositional basis, in the sense that it will function through the medium of the opposition group and not solely through the channels of our union.

In connection with the code—I think it is clear that our task is to intensify all of our work, both amongst the seamen and longshoremen, around the slogans—smash any attempt to enforce the shipowners code—strike for the code of the MWIU.



Will close this letter because have a large amount of other correspondence to answer.

Best of luck,

HUDSON.

P. S.—I have received word from Pedro that a new fellow by the name of Maxon has also been drawn into activities along with Saurin (sic) and that he is functioning as secretary, with Saurvin as port organizer. Do you know anything about this—and do you know who this bird is?

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, may I interpose a question at this point?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Hudson, what was the date of that letter?

Mr. TAVENNER. February 5, 1934.

Mr. MOULDER. On the fifth day of February 1934 did you own a typewriter?

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer.

Mr. VELDE. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. HUDSON. I still stand on the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE. There is no way that owning a typewriter that I can possibly see can tend to incriminate you. You certainly are directed to answer that question.

Mr. HUDSON. I read about them bringing in typewriters on other people. I stand on the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE. That was a matter of evidence. I know what you are referring to, but the mere owning of a typewriter would not tend to incriminate you.

Mr. JACKSON. Are you under the apprehension that there is a typewriter that might be brought in in case you answered the question?

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. HUDSON. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I will not take the time to read the second exhibit, as I do not think it is necessary to ask any question based on it at this time.

Mr. Hudson, a witness by the name of Whittaker Chambers testified before this committee on August 30, 1948. In the course of his testimony he described the method of travel that he was accustomed to resort to in going from New York to Washington. He was asked the question by Mr. Nixon, now Vice President Nixon, "Did you travel to and from New York and Washington with him on any occasion?" "With him" meant J. Peters.

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, I did, both by train and by car.

Mr. NIXON. With Mr. Peters?

Mr. CHAMBERS. Yes, sir. The car might make an interesting aside.

Mr. NIXON. What?

Mr. CHAMBERS. The car might make an interesting aside.

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. CHAMBERS. There was at that time working in the Bureau of Indian Affairs a Hungarian girl Communist—

And Mr. Chambers described her as a person who may have lived at your home, and he referred to you as a maritime organizer of some kind, and then he continues to state,

and it was in her car that we traveled down there together. What year that would be I am not quite certain, but I should think it might be in 1936 or something like that.

Mr. NIXON. Was it just you and Mr. Peters alone in the car?

Mr. CHAMBERS. No, the girl was driving. I don't remember her name.

Mr. NIXON. She drove the car?

Mr. CHAMBERS. I believe she was assistant to Mr. Collier.

Can you identify the girl referred to by Mr. Chambers in that testimony?

Mr. HUDSON. My answer is the same as the previous one.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hudson, I present to you photostatic copies of excerpts taken from the Party Organizer, a publication issued by the Communist Party, the issue being for May-June 1934, in which the article referred to is the Work of the Marine Union by Roy Hudson. I will ask you if you wrote that article and submitted it for publication.

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. HUDSON. Without reading it thoroughly my answer is the same as the previous one.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I again ask that the witness be directed to answer that question, whether he wrote the article in this book entitled the Work of the Marine Union. How can that possibly incriminate him?

Mr. VELDE. Yes, the Chair agrees. I don't see how it could possibly incriminate you, and so you are directed to answer the question, Mr. Hudson.

Mr. HUDSON. I stand on the fifth amendment and will not testify against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Hudson Exhibit No. 5".

Mr. VELDE. It will be admitted without objection at this point.

(Photostat of excerpts from the publication, Party Organizer for May-June 1934, was received in evidence as Hudson exhibit No. 5.)

#### HUDSON EXHIBIT NO. 5

[From the Party Organizer, May-June 1934, pp. 26-30]

#### THE WORK OF THE MARINE UNION

By Roy Hudson

Fascism, war and revolutionary uprisings are on the order of the day. All of us accept these statements contained in the analysis of the ECCI and in Comrade Browder's report as undisputed facts. But when our comrades do their everyday work they say: "These things are coming on us maybe—but not now." Comrades, these facts are on us today; tomorrow they will be even closer upon us.

Recently, we know every force in Cuba was mobilized to crush the revolutionary movement of the Cuban masses. In attempting to destroy the revolutionary organizations they aimed their main blow against the Cuban dock workers union and to dramatize their determination to smash this, the first blow was struck when an American ship left the Cuban port loaded with scab cargo.

The Cuban workers had more than a right to expect support from us. Their struggle was primarily against our own bosses here. What support did they get from us? It is true that on this ship in Havana members of our union succeeded in mobilizing the seamen to refuse to unload the cargo. In New York we made feeble attempts to stop the unloading. The situation found us—the Communist Party, particularly in New York—organizationally weak, and slow politically in reacting to the situation, in realizing our responsibility and tasks. But here, right on the order of the day, was a revolutionary situation where the masses were in motion, where we had concrete immediate tasks to support the Cuban workers who were moving forward toward the seizure of power, and struggling primarily against American imperialism.

Our comrades in the trade unions and in the party itself were not up to this situation. We were not prepared to act in a truly Bolshevik manner. We cannot be satisfied with some of the improvements in our work, in our small successes among the basic workers of the American working class.

#### MASS AND NATIONAL STRUGGLE LED BY UNION

This is true of what we have accomplished in the marine industry. We can say that in the period since the extraordinary conference there have been a number of struggles of seamen and longshoremen led by our party—a mass campaign carried on against the NRA. We have seen the organized growth of the MWIU. Bringing the marine workers into the party has improved. There has been a beginning of a more serious approach on the part of the party committees to the question of work in this basic industry. I would like to touch upon a few of the lessons to be drawn as a result of some of our experiences.

First, a number of strikes have taken place aboard ship. These struggles are beginning to take on a mass and national character. For instance, the strike of 14 coal ports in Boston is an example. We have been able to initiate these struggles, extend them to other ports, broaden them out from individual ship strikes to larger mass struggles because [sic] we have carried on the policy of concentration. Our main energy was concentrated upon 1 company and 45 ship strikes were developed out of this concentration. As a result these struggles have become a lever which we are now using to set the masses into action and winning the mass of the workers.

#### GOVERNMENT FORCED TO GRANT WORKERS CONTROL OF RELIEF

In the field of unemployment in our union—the main impetus to the growth of struggles was the fact that our union participated in struggles of the unemployed. Some outstanding victories have been won, especially in Baltimore. What are the main results? Through the proper approach of our marine union to the question we forced real concessions in the form of relief from the Government. More than this. In Baltimore we see this: that with our organized power, even at this time, we succeeded in forcing the Government to concede the right of the workers to control all the relief through their elected committees.

The next question is, Is it possible at this time for us to build the revolutionary unions here in the United States? I say "Yes," comrades. This experience we have had among the seamen especially proves it. In this war industry the bosses recognize and fear us and have given full support to the officials of the ISU who have carried on a mass campaign in connection with the NRA. Despite this, we have prevented them from reestablishing themselves with any kind of mass base in our industry. We have placed ourselves at the head of every struggle of seamen that has taken place. The ISU and independent unions have not been able to push us aside. On the contrary, it is our union, the revolutionary union alone which can register growth amongst the seamen on the basis of the struggle against the NRA. This does not mean that we have exposed or isolated the fakers. On the contrary, they are still the main danger, but we have some successes. We have the initiative and our perspective here among the seamen must be to prevent the establishment of the ISU or independent unions, to win the masses of seamen from the revolutionary union.

I think it is important to point out that we were able to conduct a successful struggle against the reformists because we are a national union and we have carried on a uniform fight in the principal ports of the United States. Another lesson that we must drill into the consciousness of all coastland districts is that a strike in the marine industry cannot be confined to one port. We must mobilize all the forces in various ports. The weakness of the Boston coal boat strike was precisely because the party was not conscious of this. We were not able to coordinate our work effectively in Norfolk by bringing the coal trimmers into action.

#### OPPOSITION WORK IN REFORMIST UNIONS

Not only have we made some headway in building our union as a revolutionary union. There have been some successes in developing an opposition movement. At the code hearings in Washington our union presented a statement defending the right of these workers, 12,000 of them, to organize into the ILA, protesting against a ruling of the NRA, and demanding the recognition of the union that the masses had gone into, the ILA. The officials who were present did not take any stand upon these matters. When the workers learned of our stand in

fighting for their rights, for the right of their organization to be recognized, what was the result. The result was that we won their confidence, that the opposition movement which we had built up over a period of time received a tremendous impetus. At one of the meetings, where they read the minutes, a proposal was made by a rank and file worker that they should give the \$200 which they were going to give to some shyster lawyer, to the Red union, because we fought in their interest. As a result of adopting this correct position toward those workers inside the reformist union, our opposition movement developed. We forced the calling of a rank and file convention. At this convention our whole program, including refusal to load ships flying the Nazi flag was adopted.

There has been during this period some mobilization of the party apparatus of the mass organizations for support of winning the workers in the basic industries. I can cite some examples in this respect. Members of the needle trades attended our convention and they voluntarily decided as a part of the revolutionary working class they would assume some responsibility toward help extending the influence of the revolutionary movement where we were weakest. They pledged \$25 a month to the Marine Workers Voice and kept this pledge. It is my opinion that we have many lessons to learn from the needle trades, and I say this is one example many other sections of the revolutionary movement could follow to good example. For instance, New Orleans which is a forgotten outpost of the revolutionary movement. We could make headway much faster if some sections who are stronger would realize the importance of this work and undertake to support it.

These are the signs showing the possibilities we have. They are fruits of an attempt to apply the open letter. But we have just scratched the surface.

What things hold us up? We don't go ahead fast enough.

Let us take the west coast. It is true we have established ourselves at the head of the fishermen and loggers, an agricultural union. These are tremendously important. But marine out there is still the basic task. What is happening there? While we captured the agricultural workers 1,200 longshoremens joined the ILA. It does not help to say we are beginning to do opposition work there. If there had been a real orientation, if the party had mobilized its forces and given more guidance to marine, we would be more in the leadership, we would have organizational control of the longshoremens, who at one time refused to load munition against the Soviet Union.

In New York there is a peculiar problem. We cannot criticize New York as elsewhere because here there has been a more serious attempt to solve some of the problems, to work out a plan of action and mobilize the party forces. Let us just look at some of the things done in New York recently since the party conference. These are things we have been talking about for years. Some of the proposals just being put into effect, they were made so long ago and nothing done about them, that I forgot them all. It took so long to get around to them. Such hesitation, such slowness, and even unwillingness to completely utilize all of our resources for realizing our concentration task. What New York needs now more than anything else is maybe an open letter on Bolshevik tempo.

"WE HAVE THE FORCES, WE CAN GO FORWARD"

Comrades, I say that this convention proves one thing: That the party is beginning to have an understanding of the open letter, has begun to learn how to apply it, is beginning to have results, and the result for one thing is, that we now have such a convention that has never taken place before in the history of the party. This convention shows us that the task can be done, that we are learning how. But we have been slow. Out of this convention must come the determination, grown out of the fact that it is possible for us to realize the tasks we set ourselves, that we are going to accomplish these things at the rate of 100 percent faster than in the past period.

We have the policy, we have the experience, we have the forces. These forces are to be seen at this convention. I say, with this experience behind the line of the party presented to the convention by Comrade Browder, with Comrade Browder leading us, I say we can go forward to win the masses of workers of America, to go forward toward a Soviet America.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you another issue of the same publication for the month of August 1937 wherein appears an article entitled "Building the Party in Marine" by Roy Hudson, and I will ask you

whether or not you were the author of that article and submitted it for publication?

Mr. HUDSON. My answer is the same as the previous one.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask it be marked "Hudson Exhibit No. 6."

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be admitted at this point.

(Photostat of excerpts from the Party Organizer for August 1937 was received in evidence as Hudson exhibit No. 6.)

#### HUDSON EXHIBIT NO. 6

[From Party Organizer, August 1937, pp. 6-12]

#### BUILDING THE PARTY IN MARINE

(By Roy Hudson)

I wish to deal with some of our experiences in the marine industry in relation to the present problems of the building and functioning of the party. The solution of these questions, in my opinion, is decisive in determining whether or not we will continue to give leadership to the masses.

Today, in the marine industry, the militancy of the workers is high, the consciousness of their strength is increasing. Powerful unions have been established which, generally, have a wide degree of democracy. There is mass sentiment for and support of militant policies, progressive measures, and for the C. I. O. In this generally favorable situation, our party members have a chance to work with tens of thousands of workers. We are an influence in determining policies. Large numbers of seamen, longshoremen, and other workers from the industry have joined the party in various ports from coast to coast.

#### ACTIVIZING OUR PARTY MEMBERS

How are we going to activate our party members, increase our influence, and build the party? The leadership of our party, the entire membership, in fact, must first of all understand more clearly than we do now what our tasks are in the present situation. Masses are in motion, fundamental changes are taking place, but all forces of labor of a progressive character are not yet utilizing their full strength to rally great masses of the people to combat and defeat reaction in this country, are not yet the backbone of the peace movement, and so forth.

We Communists know that the masses cannot consolidate their present gains, increase their strength and continue to march forward unless their support for these questions is won, and unless out of the struggle for such issues there emerges a movement that will unite all the forces of labor, progressive and democratic, in this country.

What is clear to us must be made clear to the masses. That is our task. We cannot influence the great movement of the people, we cannot give leadership solely through improving and strengthening our work within the mass organizations of the people. We must also learn how to develop more the independent activities of the party, to establish the legality and citizenship of the party, as Comrade Browder put it.

Because of our weakness in this respect, I say that the development of our independent activities is the key to the question at the present time, not only for the correct functioning of the party organization, for increased recruitment into the party, but for finally establishing leadership of our party among the masses. This is one of the conclusions we have come to in marine in tackling the problem of how to improve the life of our units and increase the effectiveness of our work.

#### OUR PARTY'S WORK TO AID SPAIN

Let us take one example, the campaign for Spain. Up until a short time ago, Spain had not been made an issue among the masses in marine. We finally decided to raise the question, and let the party directly take the initiative. Through our party unit we got out a pamphlet; we issued a number of leaflets in the name of the party, telling the marine workers concretely what they could do. We started a campaign openly in the name of the party. We tied up this work especially with the activities of our individual comrades on the docks, on the ships, and among the unemployed.

What results can we report? Take New York. Remember, the masses of the workers, and particularly the seamen, knew it was the party that took the initiative in raising this question. The union has now taken official action, has established an official seamen's committee in support of Spain. Large numbers of ships are taking up collections of funds. And if you will read the Daily Worker, next to the I. W. O. in New York, the seamen's union is leading in the collection of funds for Spain. Nearly every other seaman on the waterfront is wearing a Lincoln Battalion button at this time.

Among the longshoremen, where our movement is weakest, where the fear of intimidation exists, here it is very difficult to work; nevertheless, substantial sums of money are being collected.

#### DEVELOPING INDEPENDENT ACTIVITY

In developing our independent activity it seems to me that agitation and propaganda will be of tremendous importance. To a certain extent the Daily Worker has been one of our main means of popularizing the role of the party among the maritime workers. This can be reflected in a number of places, at least in the East, where on nearly every major problem that has confronted the workers in the industry, the party had made clear its position in the Daily Worker, which in the struggle has been pretty well distributed and accepted by the workers. As a result of this systematic presentation of the party's policies on major questions, the party has established quite an authoritative position among large sections of the seamen.

Take an example in connection with the recent change here in establishing the new union. A ship came in on the Pacific coast whose men couldn't understand the change which seemed to have happened overnight. The information they got from the union members there did not convince them. One of the workers on the ship, a nonparty worker, happened to get hold of the Daily Worker, in which there was an article explaining the policy. He took the article aboard the ship, where others read it and the policy was cleared up.

Or take the example of a statement made by one of the workers in the union who is not too friendly toward the Communists, who occasionally Red-baits. When the men were confronted with difficulty and a complicated situation in which the workers were uncertain because they weren't clear on policy, this worker made a remark, "It's time the Daily Worker came out with an article telling us what it is all about and what we should do." Large sections of workers are beginning to look towards the party for some explanation of the policies confronting them.

On the other hand, while we can report in strikes and struggles a real utilization of the Daily Worker and mass distribution of it, systematic efforts to build the Daily Worker do not exist. The fact that there is not a mass sale of the Daily Worker upon the waterfront is due mainly to neglect of this point. We must convince our comrades that we can establish the party among the workers openly.

For example, about 8 or 9 months ago we had a situation in New York where the rank and file came into control of one of the unions. The workers elected new officials, among whom were some Communists. These had been active as Communists on the waterfront for years before the elections. What was the first thing that happened after they were elected? Some of them came forward with the idea that a separate unit of officials only should be organized so as not to be exposed. We did not accept this proposal. We said that for us the time is past when, in order to maintain our position, we have to hide; the time has arrived when we are able to maintain our position only on the basis of establishing the right of the Communists to function in the union and to occupy posts when elected by the workers. For the Communists have no interests separate from those of the workers. The Communists have been in the forefront in efforts to strengthen and build the unions of the marine workers.

The comrades remained in the unit and we recruited many new members. Strange to say, these comrades are not on the spot. With the help of the new members they are being more effective in their work.

#### ESTABLISHING THE LEGALITY OF OUR PARTY

We have got to convince our comrades on two points. First of all, when the work reaches a certain stage in the union, we must establish the "legality" of the party—the right of the Communists not alone to belong to the unions, but to hold positions. This is the most effective means of preventing the Red

scare from arising, and of defeating it when it does arise. We must show our comrades that after a certain period, concealing our identity deliberately breeds distrust among workers. They cannot understand why we are ashamed; why we hide the fact that we are Communists. This makes it possible for the reactionaries to raise the Red scare and conduct a campaign against us. But once we establish the fact that we are Communists, especially through leading people who have previously shown fighting ability and have prestige among the workers because of their activity in building the union, we don't have to take a negative position but can take the offensive.

Secondly, we have got to convince our comrades that only through the party taking the initiative on many questions, systematically coming forward as an organization, will we be able to win the workers on many important issues and thus improve the work of our comrades in strengthening the union.

Let us take one example. A few weeks ago in New York a small ship with three comrades aboard held an open meeting on the ship which most of the crew who are not Communists attended. A discussion was held on the ship regarding the party and as a result of the discussion three of the members of the crew were recruited.

Comrades, when we begin to see even isolated cases like this, it is important for us. It shows that our party members on the job felt that they had the confidence of the workers who were not Communists and knew that the workers had the strength in their union to give them protection. They were not afraid to come forward. Furthermore, all of these comrades had joined the party in recent months and were proud of the fact. They were convinced they had the right to belong to the party; they wanted to bring the party forward and show the party to the workers. The new comrades are showing more initiative in bringing forward the party. They avoid antagonizing the workers, and increase our influence.

#### RECRUITING

I want to deal now with recruiting and the functioning of the units. One of our units which had not been functioning properly during the last few months began to function better as a result of developing independent activity. We then decided to strengthen the leadership of the unit and to give it a plan of action. Too often we come before workers with general tasks, with nothing specific. When we come to them with specific proposals the unit can become active in establishing leadership. Then we considered establishing more democracy in the unit. My opinion is that aside from the question of proper people to lead units and more clarity as to our tasks, the next thing is democracy, greater democracy, in the unit. I know that in the unit I belong to, the election of an organizer was rather formal. Until recently we did not even bother to elect an auditing committee to go over the finances of the unit and we did not bring the financial problems of the unit before the membership. We have begun to do this now and can note some change.

The party, for the first time, is beginning to establish itself on the job as a result of the work of the Communists on the ships. On 1 passenger ship a unit of about 6 people recruited 10 new members. On another large passenger ship a party unit of 2 or 3 people has grown to 16. A number of the people recruited into the party are a direct result of our work on the ships by the comrades who are on the job.

During the strike in New York among the seamen we recruited between 250 and 300 new people into the party. Following the strike some dropped out in the first month, but during the following 3 months 50 new members were recruited by the seamen, with a steady increase each month.

Who are recruiting these people? The rank and filers are the main forces who are recruiting at this time, but leading comrades also participate. The Negro comrades, in the past 4 or 5 months, have shown the most initiative in recruiting. Eight or 9 months ago the seamen in New York had only 1 Negro comrade in the party; now we have 40.

During the strike we had open unit meetings a number of times. Sometimes we had as many as five or six hundred seamen at these meetings. Party leaders would speak on the program of the party. At these open unit meetings leaders of the strike would act as chairmen. We not only recruited people, but the Red scare wasn't raised on the waterfront.

On the question of education and training of forces, I want to speak about the idea of organizing training schools on an industrial basis. Following the strike here we had a 3-week marine school, to which we sent the most capable

people who were in the strike. We found that it enabled us to teach these comrades more effectively, to get more results. In the future, I think that we should not only have these schools in marine, but in steel, auto and other industries.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a third and last article from the same publication, the issue being that of May 1938, and the article is entitled "Work Among the Masses, a discussion on fractions," by Roy Hudson. Will you please state whether or not you were the author of the article and whether you submitted it for publication?

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. HUDSON. My answer is the same as the previous one.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask it be marked "Hudson Exhibit No. 7."

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be so admitted.

(Photostat of excerpts from the Party Organizer for May 1938 was received in evidence as Hudson exhibit No. 7.)

#### HUDSON EXHIBIT NO. 7

[From Party Organizer, May 1938, pp. 10-13]

#### WORK AMONG THE MASSES

#### A DISCUSSION ON FRACTIONS

(By Roy Hudson)

The increased influence and strength of the party, as well as the growth of the general progressive movement, necessitate that we adjust our methods of work to the conditions which confront us. In doing so we take into account the changes in the mass organizations in the direction of a more progressive and democratic character, as well as our relationship not only to the masses in these organizations, but to the progressive sections of the leadership.

At the Party Builders Congress, Comrade Stachel, speaking of our work in trade unions and mass organizations, emphasized the need for a complete change in our fraction system and pointed out that we were already on the road to abolishing the party general fractions.

What are the reasons for these changes? Will it lead to strengthening or weakening our work, and how will we be able to establish the influence of the party over wider sections of the working class movement? These are questions that will require examination and clarification at the coming convention.

These steps do not mean changing our fundamental policies. The policy of the party has always been and remains that of helping to build and strengthen the mass organizations of the workers and people and to help realize the aims and purposes of these organizations. By exercising the same rights as other members, Communists always attempt to secure the adoption of policies that will most effectively enable the membership to advance and protect their interests; and at the same time have the duty of supporting and fighting for those policies democratically arrived at and approved by the membership. Thus, the changes proposed do not mean revision of fundamental policies, but adjustment of methods in the light of changing conditions.

#### FACTORS INFLUENCING OUR CHANGE

What then are some of the factors that influence our whole approach to the problem?

First, the question of our work in fields under the influence of progressive policies, in which there is considerable democracy, and where the Communists are being accepted on a wider scale as part of the progressive movement and where in a number of cases we have established our "citizenship." Surely, here we must endeavor to influence the policies of these organizations in collaboration with all other progressive forces through the correctness of our arguments, and through exercising those rights guaranteed to every member—that of participating in shaping policies and determining leadership, through the exercise of



democratic processes. In such circumstances, it would be harmful to carry over methods of work that were and are correct in organizations where reactionary bureaucrats use their usurped power to prevent democratic participation of the workers in the affairs of an organization.

Organized fraction work, which under certain conditions serves to rally all scattered progressive forces and strengthen the fight for democracy and progressive policies, would, under different circumstances, build an artical [sic] barrier between the Communists and nonparty workers and seriously hinder the cooperation of all progressive forces.

Let us see how the growth of the party affects this problem. Not only is our party a united party, whose membership can be relied upon to fight for its general policies, but the party is no longer the weak force it was a few years ago. We have cases, which unfortunately are not yet characteristic of the party's strength everywhere, where as many as seven or eight hundred Communists belong to a given mass organization in one locality. That such organizations are democratic and progressive goes without saying; otherwise there would be something wrong with the Communists who are members of it.

Here, the holding of general fraction meetings to discuss problems coming before the union is bound to create the feeling among nonparty workers that we have no confidence in them, that we are trying mechanically to influence and control the policies of the organization. Also, it contributes to an unhealthy atmosphere in the organization, in as much as it discourages the widest possible exchange of opinion at the meetings of the organization and the drawing in of the largest possible sections of membership into discussing the problems before their organization.

Such a situation would inevitably breed distrust against the Communists. The changes in our methods of work are a concession to this distrust, aimed at improving the relationship between the party and the masses, but a concession which will not weaken the activities of the party or the masses.

#### RESPONSIBILITY OF COMMUNISTS IN MASS ORGANIZATIONS

As for Communists who have been elected into the leadership by the members of the organization to which they belong, surely, the prestige of such Communists, and the confidence of the workers, would not be deserved if their authority and leadership were not won and maintained as a result of their own individual activities and ability to help the masses to arrive at correct decisions, as well as their direct responsibility to the rank and file.

If we are to lead, not through organized fraction work, but through greater Communist understanding, responsibility and work, then there will have to be *greater emphasis upon individual responsibility, ability and knowledge*. Every Communist will have to acquire a better understanding of the general policies and tactics of the party, of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Only if we are armed in this manner will the Communists be able even more effectively to help the masses, among whom we are working and whose problems we know, to arrive at correct answers to the immediate problems confronting them and systematically to win them for greater support of the policies of our party. It will also mean that the work of each comrade will be subject to a more critical review by the party and a consequent higher degree of discipline and Communist responsibility.

Carrying through these changes will attach even greater importance to the work of shop, industrial and branch units, as the medium not only of developing the independent activities of the party, but as a most important center for arming our forces with the policies of the party. Greater stress will have to be laid upon regular attendance at unit meetings, upon improving the political life and the functioning of the lower party organizations through the more active participation of leading comrades.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I should like the record to show that in each instance the documents in question, the articles in question, were examined by the witness and by his attorney.

Mr. VELDE. The record will so state.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I shall not attempt to base questions on these articles because of the shortness of time. I may want to refer to them at another time.

Mr. Hudson, what is your present occupation?

Mr. HUDSON. At present I am unemployed.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your last occupation?

Mr. HUDSON. Working as a house painter.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been working as a house painter?

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. HUDSON. A few years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What years?

Mr. HUDSON. Well, I started working originally, as I recall it, in the trade about 1930.

Mr. TAVENNER. What time?

Mr. HUDSON. About 1930.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over what period of time were you regularly employed in that work?

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. HUDSON. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you take up your residence in San Francisco?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that the Chair direct the witness to answer when he took up his residence in San Francisco; I mean, it is getting silly.

Mr. VELDE. Absolutely; there is no reason why you should not answer that question. It couldn't possibly incriminate you. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. SCHERER. I think it is a nice town.

Mr. VELDE. Upon direction do you still refuse to answer?

Mr. HUDSON. Still refuse.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Hudson, were you assigned by the Communist Party to the west coast in 1950 as the coast labor coordinator?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer as the previous one.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a matter of fact, although assigned to that position, you were never able to actually serve in that capacity because of internal disputes within the Communist Party; isn't that true?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer as the previous one.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been unemployed?

Mr. HUDSON. About 2 weeks.

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

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Hudson, have you ever resided in New York City?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer as the previous one.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you ever been employed in New York City?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer as the previous one.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you ever lived in Chicago?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer as the previous one.

Mr. JACKSON. I ask that the witness be directed to answer.

Mr. VELDE. You are directed to answer the question, Mr. Hudson.

Mr. HUDSON. I stand on the fifth amendment and refuse to testify against myself.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you ever been employed in Chicago?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer.

Mr. VELDE. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I should like directions on all of these questions that I am asking. Have you ever resided in Detroit?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer as the previous one.

Mr. VELDE. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. HUDSON. I stand on the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you ever resided in Los Angeles?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer.

Mr. VELDE. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. HUDSON. Same as the previous answer.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you ever resided in San Francisco?

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. HUDSON. I really think that—is that a serious question?

Mr. JACKSON. That is a very serious question, Mr. Hudson; it may develop to be quite a serious matter.

Mr. HUDSON. I have already answered it.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you answer it again, please?

Mr. HUDSON. I have.

Mr. JACKSON. You have resided in San Francisco?

Mr. HUDSON. I have.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you ever resided in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer.

Mr. JACKSON. Were you ever employed in any capacity in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. HUDSON. Same answer.

Mr. JACKSON. Are you here in response to a subpoena?

Mr. HUDSON. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. When was the subpoena delivered to you?

Mr. HUDSON. Two or three weeks ago. I couldn't tell you the exact date.

Mr. JACKSON. Where was the subpoena delivered to you?

Mr. HUDSON. My home.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you receive it personally?

Mr. HUDSON. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no further questions.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no questions.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Counsel asked you the question as to whether or not you were a functionary, or ever had been, of the Communist Party. I want to ask a question whether or not you are now or ever have been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HUDSON. I stand on the fifth amendment and refuse to testify against myself.

Mr. MOULDER. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Hudson, you have undoubtedly been a high functionary in the Communist Party. We are ascertaining from previous hearings that the Communist Party worked with Soviet Russia through the Soviet Embassies and consulates to give some of our scientific secrets to Soviet Russia. Have you ever participated in an espionage plot against the United States?

(At this point Mr. Hudson conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. HUDSON. I refuse to answer on the same basis as previous answers.

Mr. VELDE. Is there any reason why this witness should be further retained, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. If not, the witness is dismissed.

Call your next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. John W. Mass.

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

Mr. MASS. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF JOHN W. MASS, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, LAWRENCE SPEISER

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. MASS. John W. Mass.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. MASS. I am, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. SPEISER. Lawrence Speiser, and I am the staff counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, 503 Market Street, San Francisco.

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

Mr. MASS. In Chicago, December 24, 1911.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. MASS. In Walnut Creek, Calif.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in California?

Mr. MASS. Since 1939 except for 3½ years in the service during the war.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live prior to 1939?

Mr. MASS. Chicago, Ill.

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

Mr. MASS. Parochial and public grammar school, public high school, public junior college in Chicago, a junior year at the University of Chicago, a senior year and a year and a half of graduate work at the University of California.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you complete your graduate work at the University of California?

Mr. MASS. In 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your record of employment has been since the completion of your service in the Army?

Mr. MASS. I have had a semester as junior high school teacher in Richmond, Calif.

Mr. TAVENNER. What year?

Mr. MASS. 1946, 1946. For a while, part time in an insurance office here in San Francisco, probably 1947, and then since the fall of 1947 to the present at the City College of San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. From 1947 until the present time?

Mr. MASS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. At what institution?

Mr. MASS. The City College of San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any other employment during the period from 1947 until the present time?

Mr. MASS. As well as I can recall there was simply some incidental aid on the writing of school papers, perhaps; perhaps an editing job on a master's thesis occasionally and so on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any other teaching experience between 1947 and the present time other than that which you have mentioned?

(At this point Mr. Mass conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question, please?

Mr. MASS. I refuse to answer the question on the basis of the fifth amendment which provides that no person shall be compelled to be a witness against himself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you engage in any form of teaching during the year 1948?

Mr. MASS. My answer—

Mr. TAVENNER. Of which you have not advised the committee?

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

Mr. TAVENNER. In the year 1949?

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

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1950?

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

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you engaged in teaching since 1950 in any school or in any group or in any institutions as to which you have not already advised us?

(At this point Mr. Mass conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. MASS. May I have the date again, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you taught at any time since 1950?

Mr. MASS. Since 1950?

Mr. TAVENNER. Since 1950. I think I see what is perplexing you. Have you engaged in any teaching since October 19, 1950, which you have not advised the committee about in your former testimony?

Mr. MASS. Not as I can recall, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you engaged in any teaching between the 1st day of January 1950 and the 19th day of October 1950 about which you have not advised the committee?

Mr. MASS. I refuse to answer on the same basis as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Mass, the committee is in receipt of information which would indicate that you have a knowledge of Communist Party activities in this area. I am anxious to know whether your knowledge goes to the question of the existence of Communist Party activities within the teaching profession. Do you have any knowledge of Communist Party activities within the teaching profession? If you do, we want to know about it.

Mr. MASS. I refuse to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment as I have previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you now consider that it is your duty to advise this committee regarding any knowledge you may have regarding the existence of Communist Party teachers that you may know about?

(At this point Mr. Mass conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. MASS. I refuse to answer on the same basis as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you aware of the Communist Party purposes in organizing cells or groups of the Communist Party within the teaching profession?

(At this point Mr. Mass conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. MASS. I refuse to answer on the same basis as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period in which you have been engaged as a teacher have you been affiliated in any way with the American Federation of Teachers?

(At this point Mr. Mass conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. MASS. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you observe, while a member of that organization, that any effort was made by the Communist Party to capture it or to exert influence and control over it in the conduct of its affairs?

Mr. MASS. Again I refuse to answer on the same basis as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you read the testimony of the first witness that the committee heard in the field of education, Dr. Robert Gorham Davis, taken on February 25, 1953?

(At this point Mr. Mass conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. MASS. No, sir; I haven't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, in his testimony and in the testimony of many other patriotic teachers who were deceived in entering into the Communist Party, it was testified that the Communist Party had as one of its main objectives the capture of that organization. The committee has endeavored to find out to what extent that has been true in various sections of the country. Not only was it true at Harvard, and not only was it true at Yale, and not only has it been true in southern California, but we would like to ask you to tell this committee whether or not it was true here.

Mr. MASS. I refuse to answer again on the basis as I have previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. And I may say, in behalf of that organization, that when it discovered what the purpose of the Communist Party was, it reorganized, and I do not mean to cast any reflection on the organization as such today, but it is important for this committee to know the workings of the Communist Party and the insidious means by which it endeavors to advance its principles through propaganda.

Now, will you help us?

Mr. MASS. Again I choose not to be a witness against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have before me a photostatic copy of an oath allegedly taken by you on the 19th day of October which is the oath of allegiance required by the San Francisco Unified School District. Will you examine it and state whether or not it is a copy of your signature?

Mr. MASS. Again I refuse to answer on the basis that in doing so I would be simply testifying against myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Mass Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be so admitted.

(Photostat of oath of allegiance required by the San Francisco Unified School District was received in evidence as Mass Exhibit No. 1.)

MASS EXHIBIT NO. 1  
(Part 1)

6 3 5 7 5    M A S S    J O H N    W    1 5    2 5 0

EMP. NO.    NAME    CLASS    DEPT. OR SCHOOL    DATE

*John W. Mass*    SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT — OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

I, *John W. Mass*, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of California against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of California; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties upon which I am about to enter.

Subscribed and sworn to, before me,

this *19th* day of *October*, 19*50*

*O. Anderson*

*Asst. Sec. to the Bd. of Educ*

And I do further swear (or affirm) that I do not advocate, nor am I a member of any party or organization, political or otherwise, that now advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the State of California by force or violence or other unlawful means; that within the five years immediately preceding the taking of this oath (or affirmation) I have not been a member of any party or organization, political or otherwise, that advocated the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the State of California by force or violence or other unlawful means excepting jolly: *no* *to the best of my knowledge and belief; (over)* *if no exceptions, write in the words "No Exceptions."*

POSTED  CON. CIV. SERV.    POSTED  STUD.    *W.W.*

*John W. Mass*  
SIGNATURE

(Part 2)

Since it has been alleged by certain persons that the Communist Party and the California Labor School fall in the category described in the oath I am now taking, I feel compelled to state that I had been a member of the Communist Party from the fall of 1947 to the fall of 1949 and of the California Labor School from the fall of 1946 to the summer of 1950. However, I am definitely no longer connected with either of the above groups. Finally, at no time was I aware of nor did I hear of any person or group within these two organizations advocating either the overthrow of the government by force or any other activity described in the oath.

John W. Mase  
Written before me this 19<sup>th</sup> day of  
October, 1950  
O. Anderson.  
0001 W.M.



Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to read the oath.

SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT—OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

I, John W. Mass, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the State of California against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the State of California; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties upon which I am about to enter.

And I do further swear (or affirm) that I do not advocate, nor am I a member of any party or organization, political or otherwise, that now advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the State of California by force or violence or other unlawful means; that within the 5 years immediately preceding the taking of this oath (or affirmation) I have not been a member of any party or organization, political or otherwise, that advocated the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the State of California by force or violence or other unlawful means except as follows: .

And the exception is written in handwriting in ink:

To the best of my knowledge and belief, no exceptions [over].

And on the back appears in ink in handwriting:

Since it has been alleged by certain persons that the Communist Party and the California Labor School fall in the category described in the oath I am now taking, I feel compelled to state that I had been a member of the Communist Party from the fall of 1947 to the fall of 1949 and of the California Labor School from the fall of 1946 to the summer of 1950. However, I am definitely no longer connected with either of the above groups. Finally, at no time was I aware of nor did I hear of any person or group within these two organizations advocating either the overthrow of the Government by force or any other activity described in the oath.

JOHN W. MASS.

Written before me this 19th day of October, 1950

O. E. ANDERSON.

Why haven't you been as frank with the committee as you were with the school authorities with regard to your knowledge of Communist Party activities in your field?

(At this point Mr. Mass conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

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

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, was the statement that you made under oath true when you made it?

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

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

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. As to whether he told the truth under oath, how could that incriminate him?

Mr. VELDE. You are directed to answer the question.

(At this point Mr. Mass conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. MASS. Again I refuse to answer the question on the same basis as previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean to say that if you tell this committee that you told the truth when you swore to that affidavit, that that would incriminate you?

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

Mr. SCHERER. Then I would ask you, did you tell the truth when you signed that affidavit?

Mr. MASS. Again, sir, my answer is the same.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you been a member of the Communist Party since that date?

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

Mr. SCHERER. Are you a member of the party today?

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

(At this point Mr. Mass conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

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

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. No.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. Did I understand you to state your present occupation?

Mr. MASS. I am sorry, sir, I—

Mr. MOULDER. Your present occupation.

Mr. MASS. I am employed—I think—still at the City College of San Francisco.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Professor, you stated that you were a member of the American Federation of Teachers, I believe, at one time.

(At this point Mr. Mass conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. MASS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Were you an officer of that group?

Mr. MASS. No, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. When were you a member of it, during what period of time?

Mr. MASS. As well as I can recall, from about sometime in 1947 to the present.

Mr. DOYLE. And you are now a member of it?

Mr. MASS. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. During the time that you have been a member of it have you ever been approached by any person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party inviting you to affiliate with the Communist Party?

Mr. MASS. Again I refuse to answer on the same basis as previously stated.

Mr. DOYLE. May I see that affidavit, please, Mr. Tavenner, by the gentleman before the school board of San Francisco?

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask one question while you examine the affidavit?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. What subjects do you teach—do I understand it to be the City College of—

Mr. MASS. San Francisco.

Mr. MOULDER. San Francisco?

Mr. MASS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. What subjects do you teach in college?

Mr. MASS. English and developmental reading.

Mr. MOULDER. In the teaching of those subjects does that include any teaching or discussion of philosophy or political science or governmental philosophy?

Mr. MASS. No, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Has it ever been discussed in your classes?

Mr. MASS. Maybe incidentally in relation to perhaps a reading or something, but never as a program.

Mr. DOYLE. May I renew, Mr. Chairman, my question?

According to your own affidavit, professor, you were a member of the Communist Party in the fall of 1947 to the fall of 1949 for a period of 2 years. Before you became a member of the Communist Party you read a good deal about it, didn't you, its objectives and purposes? You studied it before you joined it. You are an educated man.

(At this point Mr. Mass conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. MASS. My attorney advises me that this is a compound question.

Mr. DOYLE. A what?

Mr. MASS. A compound question.

Mr. DOYLE. I will make it simple. Before you joined the Communist Party you read its principles, didn't you?

(At this point Mr. Mass conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. DOYLE. Is that simple enough for you?

Mr. MASS. I refuse to answer again on the same basis as previously stated.

Mr. DOYLE. During the time you were a member of the Communist Party, 2 years, did you read any of its platforms or declarations?

Mr. MASS. Again I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you subscribe to the People's Daily World or the Daily Worker or read any of its literature during the 2 years that you were a member of it?

Mr. MASS. Again I refuse to answer on the same basis.

Mr. DOYLE. I can only draw one conclusion, and I feel that it is fair for me to say it to you. I can only draw one conclusion, and that is that when you signed this oath before the Board of Education of the City of San Francisco, you were covering up something. I am very disappointed that you, a public school teacher, should take the position before a committee of your own Government that you are in no position to help the committee know the manipulations of the Communist Party.

If you were in good faith when you signed this oath before the school board, then there should be no compunctions on your part to help this committee uncover the facts with reference to the operations of the Communist Party. In making that statement, professor, I just wish to call your attention that you have stated to the best of your knowledge and belief the Communist Party, when you were a member of it, did not advocate the forceful overthrow of our form of government. Now, if you believed that when you were a member of the Communist Party and when you signed this oath, why can't you come clean and help this committee understand how the Communist Party manipulated when you were a member of it?

In other words, sir, if the Communist Party, the cell of the Communist Party that you were a member of, did not advocate, so far as you knew, the forceful overthrow of the United States Government, then why don't you say so, and why don't you help this committee in its search for the facts, to understand what the facts were.

I am trying to be perfectly fair with you, sir; believe me, I am. I

am trying to be eminently fair with you. You have reserved exception, and you have made it clear under oath that so far as you knew, you were not a member of any party that advocated the forceful overthrow of the United States. Now, having said that, why do you come here and refuse to help your own congressional committee get whatever facts you can give toward our job of legislating?

You see what I am getting at, professor? I am not trying to put you on the spot. I am just trying to help—well, I will put it to you this way: I am trying to put you on this sort of spot, that you may realize the kind of spot I am trying to put you on—the position that you take is that you are refusing to help your own United States congressional committee know what the facts are, even though you have sworn under oath that you didn't advocate the forceful overthrow nor did the Communist cell of which you were a member advocate the forceful overthrow. If it didn't, what are you afraid of? How could it embarrass you? How could it incriminate you, because, as I understand it, the violation of the law involved—if there was any—Mr. Counsel, is advocating the forceful and violent overthrow. That is the conspiracy.

Now, if this gentleman was not a party to that, why shouldn't he come and help us know the facts?

(At this point Mr. Mass conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

MR. MASS. Sir, again my answer is that I do not wish to be a witness against myself.

MR. DOYLE. I am very sorry, sir.

MR. MOULDER. I observe in this affidavit which counsel referred to as Mass Exhibit No. 1 that the handwriting referred to in his question states that

Finally, at no time was I aware of nor did I hear of any person or group within these two organizations advocating either the overthrow of the Government by force or any other activity described in the oath.

This, I believe, states that Mr. Mass did not hear nor was he aware of any such of the Communist Party advocating the overthrow by force. Now, can you answer this question, whether or not in your opinion now it is the objective of the Communist Party or of the Soviet Union to overthrow our form of government by force, if necessary?

(At this point Mr. Mass conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

MR. MASS. Sir, you are now in the realm of opinions, and I can merely say that again I do not wish to be a witness against myself.

MR. VELDE. Mr. Mass, I have no questions to ask you, but I would like to make this observation: in my opinion any intelligent person—and I believe you certainly are an intelligent person—who in 1947 became a member of the Communist Party, after having certainly read information put out by this committee and other committees of the Congress concerning the nature of the Soviet conspiracy, the nature of the Communist Party conspiracy here in the United States must certainly be aware of the true facts or wants to give the true facts or is disloyal.

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

MR. VELDE. Mr. Counsel, is there any reason why this witness should be further retained?

MR. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. The witness is dismissed, and the committee will stand in recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 11:08 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 11:18 a. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 11:23 a. m.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Kunzig?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Call your first witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dickson Hill, please step forward.

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

Mr. HILL. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF DICKSON P. HILL

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you give your full name, please, Mr. Hill?

Mr. HILL. My name is Dickson P. Hill.

Mr. KUNZIG. I note that you are not accompanied by counsel. You understand, of course, Mr. Hill, your right to have a lawyer at your side if you so desire. Do you desire counsel.

Mr. HILL. No, I don't. I am perfectly willing to give testimony as a service.

Mr. KUNZIG. Thank you, sir. Would you state, Mr. Hill, when and where you were born?

Mr. HILL. I was born in the State of Iowa in June of 1913.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give the committee briefly your educational and occupational background?

Mr. HILL. Well, after leaving high school I went into the radio repair business, and I pretty much followed that line since that time. For a number of years I worked for a large company, Montgomery Ward Co. In fact, up until 1943, at which time I opened by own radio and television service shop in the Montclair district in Oakland.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that your present occupation?

Mr. HILL. That is.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where do you presently reside, Mr. Hill?

Mr. HILL. In Oakland, in the Montclair area.

Mr. KUNZIG. Sir, this committee in the process of investigating Communist infiltration in and around the bay area of San Francisco has obtained evidence to the effect that you joined the Communist Party at the request of a Government agency; is that correct?

Mr. HILL. That is correct, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell the committee, sir, what Government agency requested you to join the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. The Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are we to understand then that you operated as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the FBI, within the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. That is correct, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you married at the time?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

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

Mr. KUNZIG. Was your wife cognizant of this?

Mr. HILL. My wife was also doing the same type of work that I had been doing.

Mr. KUNZIG. Your wife was also an undercover agent for the FBI within the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. That is correct, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. In what year did you become members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. We were contacted in the late summer or fall of 1944 by the Bureau and asked to join or work, and we actually joined the party in the spring of 1945.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you leave the party, if you have left the party?

Mr. HILL. I left the party in the fall of 1949.

Mr. KUNZIG. So that the testimony you are about to give would cover the period from 1944 roughly until 1949 of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. HILL. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any children, sir?

Mr. HILL. Yes, sir; I have three.

Mr. KUNZIG. What are their ages?

Mr. HILL. Eight, thirteen, and eighteen.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think the committee would be interested in knowing something you have discussed with me. Did your children know of your activity within the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. No, they didn't. I am very much surprised. Naturally, when my wife went east in the spring to testify in Pittsburgh, and the first knowledge of it they had was when they picked up the evening paper and saw her picture.

Mr. KUNZIG. They never had any idea at any time that you were leading these dual lives, so to speak?

Mr. HILL. No, they didn't.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is it correct, sir, that you have never testified before? This is the first time that the testimony you are giving here today has ever been given by you?

Mr. HILL. That is correct; yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. We don't wish to go into any great detail, Mr. Hill, concerning the methods employed by you and your wife in joining the Communist Party for the FBI. However, we would like to know when you actually contacted these individuals whom you thought to be Communists and what actions led up to your membership. Would you describe that in some detail?

Mr. HILL. Well, we originally—my wife requested through sending a postcard to the Alameda County office on Webster Street—requesting information on various subjects connected with liberal political activity, and instead of mailing it to us, 2 people brought the literature and became quite closely acquainted with us.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who were those two people, Mr. Hill?

Mr. HILL. Katrina Manley and Marie Phillips.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell those names so we get them absolutely correct?

Mr. HILL. Katrina is spelled in the conventional manner, I believe, K-a-t-r-i-n-a, and Manley, of course, is M-a-n-l-e-y. The Phillips girl was M-a-r-i-e. Her last name, I believe was spelled P-h-i-l-l-i-p-s.

Mr. KUNZIG. When those 2 people came to you what transpired?

Mr. HILL. Well, they came and struck up a conversation along the lines of the literature my wife had requested, as I recall, and brought her some literature, and tried to make contacts for future social associations.

Mr. KUNZIG. What Communist activity did you engage in from the time of your first contact until you were asked to become a member of the party; in other words, prior to the time? I am interested in the period prior to the time you actually became a member.

Mr. HILL. Well, we were taken to several meetings. I don't recall the exact number, but I would say 2 or 3 at the Oakland Technical High School, a meeting of the Communist Party, and we were taken to a meeting of the Communist Party held in an upstairs room at the Oakland Auditorium, at which I believe Anna Louise Strong gave an address.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to just go back one minute to pick up something you said there a moment ago because it quite surprised me. Do you mean that you attended meetings of the Communist Party at a public high school?

Mr. HILL. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where is this high school?

Mr. HILL. It is located on Broadway in Oakland. The reason there, I believe, for that is that at that time the party was considered strictly a political party and had access as any other political party to public buildings for meetings.

Mr. KUNZIG. This was 1944, if I recollect your testimony, is that right, the beginning of 1945?

Mr. HILL. Yes, in that area.

Mr. VELDE. Who considered the Communist Party a political party at that time?

Mr. HILL. Well, I understood at the time that we went in that it was considered that by the public, at least by the party members; at least that was explained to us in that way.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Were these meetings closed meetings in the sense that only members of the Communist Party were present, or were they more or less indoctrination meetings in which there was a mixed crowd of Communists and non-Communists?

Mr. HILL. I couldn't state that definitely. As I recall, at least two of the meetings were, I believe, for just party members. We were more or less under the sponsorship of Katrina and Jack Manley.

Mr. JACKSON. But you do not know positively whether or not these were closed meetings?

Mr. HILL. I couldn't say positively. The one at the Oakland Auditorium was, I believe, a public meeting.

Mr. JACKSON. A public meeting?

Mr. HILL. I believe so.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know—and we would like to know if you do know—who secured the building? Who arranged the getting the use of the high school for these meetings?

Mr. HILL. I believe a person by the name of Willie Laughery was instrumental.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that Wilhelmina Laughery?

Mr. HILL. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell Laughery, please?

Mr. HILL. L-a-u-g-h-e-r-y, I believe is the spelling on that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Wilhelmina Laughery to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have mentioned the two people who first came to your home. Did you know them then to be members of the Communist Party as you went to meetings with them?

Mr. HILL. Well, at that time of course we had no way of knowing, but we assumed because of the fact that they were sponsoring us.

Mr. KUNZIG. And later did you find out that they were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes, definitely.

Mr. KUNZIG. So the names of these 3 people that you have mentioned so far this morning, you knew them of your own knowledge to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. At the time about which we are speaking?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who actually recruited you in the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Well, I would say that Katrina and Jack Manley were most instrumental, although Marie Phillips, as I say, made 1 or 2 of the original contacts.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mentioned Katrina Manley before. Is Jack Manley related to Katrina Manley?

Mr. HILL. That is the husband of Katrina Manley; yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you knew Jack Manley also to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes, correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. And those two, husband and wife, recruited you into the party?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give us any further identification and description of Katrina and Jack Manley?

Mr. HILL. Well, they were people I would judge in their fifties; possibly Jack was a little older than that. Katrina Manley had a daughter by a previous marriage by the name of Dildar Sandow. That is about all I can give in the way of description.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any description as to whether this Dildar Sandow was a member of the Communist Party or a member of any group affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Well, later in our association she was attending Cal—

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean the University of California?

Mr. HILL. That is right—and was connected with the YCL group there.

Mr. KUNZIG. The Young Communist League?

Mr. HILL. That is right; yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You know that as a matter of your own knowledge?

Mr. HILL. Well, being told by Katrina.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see. Were you ever issued a membership card in the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes, we were.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who issued the card?



Mr. HILL. Well, they were presented to us by the Manleys; they were actually issued, of course, by the county.

Mr. KUNZIG. When you say the county, what do you mean?

Mr. HILL. The Alameda County office of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you given any sort of specific instructions when you received this membership card, Mr. Hill?

Mr. HILL. Only general instructions that it must be kept well protected and hidden, not to be shown to anyone.

Mr. KUNZIG. You, in other words, reached the conclusion then that this was a secret organization?

Mr. HILL. Yes, I would say so.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you assigned to any specific group or cell of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Well, I wouldn't say assigned in that sense. We were taken to further meetings of the north Oakland branch, which was considered a branch of the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see. Well, now, where were these meetings of the north Oakland branch held, if you remember?

Mr. HILL. To the best of my recollection they were almost all held in the Oakland Technical High School, possibly—no, I believe they were all held in the Oakland High School.

Mr. KUNZIG. How long were you a member of this north Oakland club?

Mr. HILL. I would say 4 or 5 months, possibly 6 months.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who were the officers of the north Oakland club?

Mr. HILL. A man by the name of George Edwards was the chairman.

Mr. KUNZIG. This would be the beginning of 1945, I assume, is that right?

Mr. HILL. Yes, in the spring of 1945.

Mr. KUNZIG. George Edwards was the chairman?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. HILL. I believe Katrina Manley was the secretary, and a man by the name of Eugene Toopeekoff.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell that, please, if you can?

Mr. HILL. I don't know that I can. I believe it is T-o-o-p-e-e-k-o-f-f; I believe that is the correct spelling.

Mr. KUNZIG. Eugene was the first name?

Mr. HILL. Yes, Eugene.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was his function?

Mr. HILL. Well, he took care of membership and dues collecting. I believe he was treasurer and membership director.

Mr. JACKSON. What was his occupation?

Mr. HILL. Well, I inquired of Katrina at the time, and she said he was a civil engineer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know whether Toopeekoff at any time left the party, and if he did, if you know about it, would you describe the situation to us?

Mr. HILL. Well, I know that after the north Oakland group was broken up into other groups, at that time he went into the county office as the county membership director, I believe, and then I pretty much lost track of him after that until he moved into our district, and in the course of club activities and club meetings—this goes on further into the story—in the course of an executive meeting deciding

why our membership was not as active as it should be, the question that was brought up was as to why Eugene Toopekoff hadn't been active, and why, since he was in the Montclair district, in the 16th A. D. district, why he wasn't active in our group, and quite a number of people had talked to him, had spoken to him, not getting very far, and I believe that it was recommended that a committee be sent to contact him and ask him to become active in our branch.

(Representative Harold H. Velde left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. HILL. And he was pretty cold toward the thing; the committee wasn't well received. He had excuses that he was busy building a wall around his home and had other activities and wasn't very much interested.

Mr. KUNZIG. This was at a later period, of course?

Mr. HILL. Yes; that was in a later period.

Mr. KUNZIG. Roughly, when? Would that be 1948 or so?

Mr. HILL. Oh, I would say late 1947 or possibly 1948.

Mr. KUNZIG. You were giving us the names of the officers of the north Oakland club during the period of time that you were affiliated with it. Would you continue, if you can remember any other names of any other officers of the Communist club there?

Mr. HILL. Well, I just couldn't tie down more than that. Being new in the party, we were kind of feeling our way around and trying to determine what was the structure.

(Representative Harold H. Velde returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you remember any of the names of the members of the north Oakland club during this early period of your Communist Party activities?

Mr. HILL. Well, I can some. Can I refer to some notes that I made?

Mr. KUNZIG. Please do.

Mr. HILL. Well, on this list that I have I recognize a William Creque.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell that, please, sir?

Mr. HILL. That is C-r-e-q-u-e. I believe that is the correct spelling.

Mr. KUNZIG. You remember him as a member of the north Oakland club in early 1945?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know what his occupation was or anything about him?

Mr. HILL. I do not.

Mr. KUNZIG. You just recollect the name?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any others?

Mr. HILL. His wife, Rosalie Creque.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any specific knowledge about her other than the name?

Mr. HILL. Well, she was a rather picturesque person. She dressed rather differently than most people and was quite an interesting person, in appearance.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did she have any occupation or was she a housewife?

Mr. HILL. I believe she was primarily a housewife. I once asked one of our other friends in the party if she was a fortune teller by any chance; she gave that impression.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any other names?

Mr. HILL. I believe Frances Tandy.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell that one, please, sir?

Mr. HILL. That is T-a-n-d-y.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. You say you believe this person was. On what do you base your belief?

Mr. HILL. What was that?

Mr. JACKSON. I say your statement was that you believed Frances Tandy, or whatever the last name was, to have been a member of the north Oakland branch. Upon what do you base your belief in that regard?

Mr. HILL. I am going by a list here which I have prepared of names I have come in contact with in the party.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you determine at any time that she was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Oh, yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any other names?

Mr. HILL. Why I hesitated there, I wasn't just dead positive of the north Oakland branch.

Mr. JACKSON. I see.

Mr. KUNZIG. But you were positive that she was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Oh, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any others now with regard to the north Oakland branch before we turn to the other branches with which you were affiliated?

Mr. HILL. A man by the name of Bill Rutter, R-u-t-t-e-r; I recall him well.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give us his occupation, please?

Mr. HILL. He had a connection with railroading.

Mr. KUNZIG. You don't have any idea—

Mr. HILL. I believe subsequently that I found out that he was the organizer or the chairman of the railroad branch or cell.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Of the Communist Party, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. In Alameda County?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any others?

Mr. HILL. Well, there are others here, but I would rather not go on record as placing them in the north Oakland branch. I feel that they were, but I couldn't—

Mr. KUNZIG. We will come to them later then. Let me ask you then, Mr. Hill, were you subsequently transferred to a second club or group of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes; Alameda County was somewhat reorganized into better geographical breakdown, locations, and we were broken down in our area into what we called the 16th A. D., 16th assembly district branch of that party. That included the section in which we lived, Montclair section, of Oakland.

Mr. KUNZIG. When you say 16th assembly district, do you mean the regular assembly district for the California government?

Mr. HILL. Yes, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know the reason why the party was reorganized as you just mentioned?

Mr. HILL. Well, that was pretty early in our experience in the party, and to my best knowledge it was a case of breaking the party up for better security, to lend better security measures to the thing, and also to bring people closer, meeting places closer, to their living quarters.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that why you were transferred, for example?

Mr. HILL. Yes, we were right in the center of the district.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was this about the time that you had the problem between the Communist Political Association and the Communist Party and so forth regarding the Duclos letter?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. It was at that time?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you describe your knowledge of that to the committee?

Mr. HILL. Well, the leadership, the leader of the Communist Party at that time, Earl Browder, had been criticized naturally by this man Duclos of France for his belief that the capitalistic system and the Communist system could work side by side in this country, and the criticism stemmed from Duclos' belief and understanding of Marxism and Leninism; it appeared that it was impossible for the party to act properly in close relationship to capitalism. It had to be one or the other.

Mr. KUNZIG. This then is when Browder was removed and replaced by William Z. Foster?

Mr. HILL. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting where the Duclos letter was discussed?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where was this meeting held, and who was the principal speaker?

Mr. HILL. That was held in San Francisco, when an attorney, I believe, by the name of Aubrey Grossman, I believe—Grossman, yes—

Mr. KUNZIG. A-u-b-r-e-y?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. G-r-o-s-s-m-a-n, is that correct?

Mr. HILL. Yes—and William Schneiderman spoke at that meeting.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know later, at that time or later, Aubrey Grossman to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes, I did; I mean, through intraparty communications; yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How long were you a member of the 16th Assembly District Club?

Mr. HILL. Until we left the party in the fall of 1949.

Mr. KUNZIG. So for the entire time you were in the party your affiliation was with this 16th Assembly District Club?

Mr. HILL. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. If you can recall, could you give us the names of officers and members of the 16th Assembly District Club? I real-

ize that is over a period of time, but give them to us to the best of your ability.

Mr. HILL. Well, that is rather a hard thing to pin down because most of the officers in the club were shifted around quite a bit. I can give you the names of people who have at one time or other held office.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you please do that? We will understand that it was during that period of 1946, 1947, 1948, and 1949.

Mr. HILL. Membership chairman at one time was Katrina Manley. At one time it was James Wood.

Mr. KUNZIG. James Wood?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that his full name?

Mr. HILL. So far as I know.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew James Wood, then, of course, to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. HILL. Yes. For a short period of time Emma Stanley.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know anything about her, her occupation, residence, or anything of that nature?

Mr. HILL. She was a county functionary. She had the office of treasurer, I believe, of Alameda County. I know she was in charge of making contacts both within the party and outside of the party for the purpose of collecting contributions, and she practically always picked up the dues at our local meeting and took them to the county office. She was financial secretary, I believe was her title.

Mr. KUNZIG. These were Communist Party officers of which you were speaking?

Mr. HILL. These were the Communist Party officers of Alameda County.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. In response to counsel's question a moment ago you said you knew someone to be a member of the Communist Party. May I suggest you state your reason as to how and why you knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Do you recall the person I mentioned?

Mr. MOULDER. I believe you named James Wood. I think that same rule should apply to anyone else you named as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. HILL. Well, in the case of James Wood, the people in our branch, I have personal knowledge of because I subsequently became the membership director of the branch, and I kept all the records, and I issued cards to the other members, so I had direct, first-hand knowledge there.

In the case of other people, some of them that I have mentioned have been through association, seeing them at closed meetings where you could only get in with a card.

Mr. VELDE. How would you describe a closed meeting, Mr. Hill?

Mr. HILL. Well, I recall a meeting that was called at the Norway Hall in Oakland which was a closed meeting, and someone stayed at the door and actually checked cards in, checked people in from positive knowledge. There is no secondhand arrangement; it was first-hand knowledge.

This particular meeting that I recall to some extent—I recall a girl and her mother who had been previously expelled I believe previous to my time with the party, who, from information I had received from the Manleys, had been a long-time member, had tried to crash this party, and they had actually got in, and when it was discovered that she was there, she was carried out bodily by a man by the name of Bill Clifford and another man by the name of George Edwards, so they were very strict.

Mr. VELDE. In that particular instance they had determined that this person was no longer a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. VELDE. So she could not attend a closed meeting?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this question right along that line?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Was it an established practice during the time you were in the party to always require the identification of a party card to attend a closed meeting? In other words, was that the only way you could attend?

Mr. HILL. Further on in my experience in the party carrying a card was frowned on very definitely for security reasons because there had been occasions, especially in the case of women, where their purses had been lost; they had been carrying them in their purses, and they were constantly afraid of the FBI finding or having them turned in, and so later on in the thing, when security was tightened up more, carrying cards was definitely frowned on, and admission to meetings of that sort was by recognition by responsible people.

Mr. VELDE. About what year was this that the carrying of cards was frowned upon?

Mr. HILL. Well, security tightened up strongly in about late 1947 and 1948—1948 was a strong year for security.

Mr. VELDE. Again may I ask you, you are talking about the security within the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes; that is right.

Mr. VELDE. Not the security of the United States?

Mr. HILL. No; the security of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOULDER. That is, the secrecy of it?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Then as I understand it, your statement would be that substantially beginning in 1947, if it was a closed meeting of the Communist Party, no cards were being carried or required, and it would at least require the identification at the door or some place before a person could get in?

Mr. HILL. Yes; definitely.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. You had mentioned a moment ago Bill Clifford. I want to make sure the record is straight. Do you know any further facts about him, his occupation or anything of that nature?

Mr. HILL. Well, later in my experience he was transferred—well, I believe at the time we were broken down into the 16th AD he was brought into our group, and as a card-carrying member—I issued 1 or 2 cards to him.

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

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you happen to know his occupation at all, or is that not within your knowledge?

Mr. HILL. He worked at several different jobs. The thing that stands out most is something to do with the plastering trade.

Mr. KUNZIG. You were going through various names of people whom you knew to be members of the 16th AD club of the Communist Party. Would you continue with those names, please, sir?

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. HILL. Well, so far as the executive officers are concerned, Ida Wood and Emma Stanley both held offices from time to time. My wife held an office for quite a length of time. She was an educational director.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was Ida Wood's occupation if she had one and if you remember?

Mr. HILL. She was part of the time a secretary or office worker in the Alameda County office.

Mr. KUNZIG. She was actually a paid worker, too, for the party?

Mr. HILL. Yes, yes; and then either in that time, in between that time or previous to it, she had worked for one of the CIO unions.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you happen to know which one or what type of union?

Mr. HILL. It was one of the unions that was housed in the CIO building on Grant Avenue there. She made mention, dropped it several times, that she worked there.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you go on with any other names of members whom you knew?

Mr. HILL. Emma Stanley I believe I named. She was the county functionary. She held office on several different occasions. A Eugene Eagle.

Mr. KUNZIG. Eugene Eagle?

Mr. HILL. E-a-g-l-e. He was an optometrist.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where?

Mr. HILL. I hope I used the right word there—optometrist, in the business of fitting glasses, at any rate. In San Francisco. He lived in Oakland.

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

Mr. HILL. Yes; I issued cards to him.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Any others?

Mr. HILL. Al Stanley.

Mr. KUNZIG. Al?

Mr. HILL. I believe the name was Albert; I wouldn't state that positively. Al, he always went by.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know his occupation or residence?

Mr. HILL. My first knowledge of him was as he came out of the service, and I don't recall what he was doing. Later he had an agency for one of the hearing aid companies.

Mr. KUNZIG. In San Francisco or Oakland?

Mr. HILL. Berkeley, I believe.

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

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any others?

Mr. HILL. Charlotte Kyer.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you spell that last name?

Mr. HILL. I am not sure of the spelling on that. I have written down here K-y-e-r, but it could have been K-e-i-e-r. I wouldn't state definitely.

Mr. KUNZIG. For the record would you put it down as K-y-e-r,<sup>1</sup> Charlotte Kyer. Do you know her occupation or residence?

Mr. HILL. She lived in Oakland. She lived within the 16th assembly district. She did secretarial work, I believe. She was involved in typing and that sort of thing.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew her to be a member of the party. Did you issue a card to her?

Mr. HILL. Yes; I have issued cards to her.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who else?

Mr. HILL. For a short period of time a girl by the name of Janet McHarg.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you spell that?

Mr. HILL. I have M-c-H-a-r-g, which I believe is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know her occupation?

Mr. HILL. She was a student.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where was she a student?

Mr. HILL. At UC, California.

Mr. KUNZIG. While she was a student at the University of California you knew her as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. I wouldn't want to state that positively.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did she attend Communist—

Mr. HILL. She was definitely a member of the party because I have issued cards to her, but I don't recall whether it was that period that she was a student.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see. But you know definitely she was a member of the party during that period of time?

Mr. HILL. Yes. She was considered in the Alameda County Communist Party structure; she was recognized as a more or less leader of People's Songs.

Mr. KUNZIG. People's Songs?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What do you mean by that?

Mr. HILL. Well, I don't know just how to explain that, but the party has songs which are more or less traditional with people in struggle and in getting along, and they are very much along the line of some of the things that Burl Ives does, chanties and—

Mr. KUNZIG. Chants and that type of music, but as far as the words and the things used, it was Communist Party propaganda; is that right?

Mr. HILL. In many cases; yes.

Mr. JACKSON. I believe that People's Songs has been cited.

<sup>1</sup> Investigation reflects K-y-e-r to be correct spelling.



Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir; I was just going to read that. It has been cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities in 1948 as a Communist front which was incorporated January 31, 1946, in New York City.

All the productions of People's Songs, Inc. follow the Communist Party line as assiduously as do the people behind the organization.

Mr. Chairman, this would be a good place to stop.

Mr. VELDE. At this time the committee will stand in recess until 1:30.

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

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 1:39 p. m. of the same day, the hearing was resumed, the following committee members being present: Representatives Donald L. Jackson (presiding), Gordon H. Scherer (appearance noted in transcript), Morgan M. Moulder, and Clyde Doyle.)

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

Let the record show that for the purpose of the hearing this afternoon the subcommittee will consist of Messrs. Scherer, Moulder, and Doyle, with Jackson as acting chairman. Congressman Velde is forced to be absent from this session on official business and for that reason will not be here this afternoon.

Mr. Counsel, are you ready to proceed?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

#### TESTIMONY OF DICKSON P. HILL—Resumed

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Hill, we had stopped your testimony at lunch time, and you had been discussing Janet McHarg. I think that was the last person about whom you gave testimony, and you were discussing the various members that you knew to be Communist Party members of the 16th assembly district. Could we continue where we stopped, and would you continue giving the names of those people whom you knew as members of the party?

Mr. HILL. Would you like me to continue with the official membership first?

Mr. KUNZIG. That is right.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. HILL. At one time for a short period a Mr. George Bratoff—

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you spell that?

Mr. HILL. The spelling I have is B-r-a-t-o-f-f.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know the employment of George Bratoff?

Mr. HILL. The only thing that I knew regarding his employment was that he had a small store next to the union hall, the CIO hall, I believe, on Grant Avenue in Oakland, in which he sold dolls and art items, which he had explained during the course of one of our talks, he purchased through Amtorg, the Russian trading company.

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

Mr. HILL. Yes, I issued cards to him.

Mr. KUNZIG. If you know, did Bratoff have any other connections with the Russian Government beyond what you just testified to?

Mr. HILL. Well, on one occasion in talking with him at a meeting, he explained that he knew the people at the Russian consulate in San Francisco and was a guest there quite often and apparently had very close contact with the Russian Embassy.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were there any other members?

Mr. HILL. Jack Burris, B-u-r-r-i-s.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was his occupation, if you know?

Mr. HILL. I don't know that. He was a relative, cousin, I believe, of Jim Wood.

Mr. KUNZIG. Whom you have already mentioned this morning?

Mr. HILL. Mentioned before.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew this Jack Burris to be a member of the party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you give him a card?

Mr. HILL. Yes; he was recruited during the time I was in the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is all you know about him at the present time?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue, please?

Mr. HILL. I have Hilda Woods, W-o-o-d-s, I believe, and she is, so far as I know, a housewife. She is not employed.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that Hilda Woods?

Mr. HILL. Hilda Woods, and her husband, Harrie Woods. That is spelled H-a-r-r-i-e. He was a woodworker, a carpenter, and at one time Katrina Manley explained to me that he helped to organize a club or a branch of woodworkers, and they were both apparently party members, affiliated with the Communist organization away back, as they seemed to know things and discuss things with other older people in the movement.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew them, however, both to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. I issued cards to them both; yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any others?

Mr. HILL. Emma Stanley I believe I have covered.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mentioned her; yes.

Mr. HILL. Al Stanley, her husband, was covered?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mr. HILL. Elizabeth Augustine.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you spell it?

Mr. HILL. A-u-g-u-s-t-i-n-e, I believe.

During her period in the party, the time I had contact with her, she married another member who was recruited, an Arthur Mayhew, M-a-y-h-e-w.

Mr. KUNZIG. Arthur Mayhew?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know anything either about her occupation or Mr. Mayhew's occupation?

Mr. HILL. She was the legal secretary to Bertram Edises.

Mr. KUNZIG. She was a secretary employed in Bertram Edises' law firm?

Mr. HILL. That is right, and Mr. Mayhew was, I believe, going to school and doing some theater work at the time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Please continue.

Mr. HILL. Now, since that time there has been another change in her name. It is now Elizabeth McMullen, I believe.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you spell that?

Mr. HILL. M-c-M-u-l-l-e-n, if I remember correctly. He was also one of our members in the Communist Party in our group.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was McMullen's first name?

Mr. HILL. Louis.

Mr. KUNZIG. L-o-u-i-s?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Him also you knew to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes, I issued cards, and his wife, Martha McMullen, his former wife, Martha McMullen, was also a member of our group.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know anything about McMullen's occupation or his residence?

Mr. HILL. Mr. McMullen was employed in the automobile industry, I believe something in connection with radiator repairing, some phase of the automotive—

Mr. KUNZIG. Where was that, do you know?

Mr. HILL. In Oakland, I believe.

Mr. KUNZIG. In Oakland?

Mr. HILL. Yes. Mrs. McMullen, Martha McMullen, was employed possibly all the time I was contacting her with the VA, Veterans' Administration, Government employee.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean she was an employee of the United States Government?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. In what position of the Veterans' Administration?

Mr. HILL. Well, it was clerical work of some sort. She did typing and filing and that sort of—

Mr. MOULDER. What year was that?

Mr. HILL. 1947, 1946, 1947, possibly into 1948.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know whether she is still employed with the Federal Government?

Mr. HILL. I don't believe she is. The last I heard she was working for Edises.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is this the same Edises that you mentioned previously?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. The lawyer?

Mr. HILL. I don't know that personally. I was told by another member.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any other people whom you knew to be Communist Party members of the 16th Assembly District Club?

Mr. HILL. Well, these people I am mentioning, I have issued cards to all of them, so there is no doubt there as to their affiliation. I issued actual Communist Party cards, serially numbered.

A lady by the name of Miriam Chown, C-h-o-w-n.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know her occupation?

Mr. HILL. She was primarily a housewife. She worked from time to time on a number of county Communist Party committees, helping out in the party office, but I don't believe she had other employment than a housewife, formal employment. Her husband, Paul Chown,

was never a member in our group, but he was always spoken of very highly by our older membership who knew that he was doing a very good job with the trade unions and that he belonged to a special group.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean a special group of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. So he was not a member of your group, but you knew him to be a member of a special group of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. I think, Mr. Kunzig, it is only in the interest of accuracy that the gentleman state at least who told him this. He says they always told him. It is hearsay. I don't want to be technical, but I think the record ought to show who told him he was doing a good job in the Communist cell in labor, for the purpose of accuracy of the record.

Mr. HILL. On one occasion it was brought up in the course of being the membership director of the 16th Assembly District group. We were in executive meeting, going over possible new members of recruitment and objectives that we could work on, and from time to time, primarily to get information, I brought up people whom I had reason to believe were in the party, who were living in our area, who were not attending our meetings, and Mr. Chown was one of these people, and at least 2 people, Emma Stanley and Ida Wood, and on another occasion Katrina Manley, gave me that answer, that he had other assignments in a special group.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it your clear understanding that the other assignments were assignments in the Communist Party and for the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. That was the assumption that I—

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. May I pursue this question further: The name of the person you said was with the Veterans' Administration in the year 1947 or 1948, did you report that fact to the FBI at that time?

Mr. HILL. Yes, I did.

Mr. MOULDER. As soon as you discovered that she was an employee of the Government, did you report it to the FBI?

Mr. HILL. Yes; complete records.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you recall more definitely the date when you so reported?

Mr. HILL. Well, I am bringing this up from my own recollection. I don't have actual records to go on. Those are the property of the Bureau.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you recall how long after you made that report that this woman maintained her position with the United States Government, or was she one of those who has never been fired?

Mr. HILL. Well, I don't recall during my time with the party that she was ever away from that job—oh, she had to leave when the Veterans' Administration program was curtailed in Oakland.

Mr. SCHERER. Not, though, until it was curtailed?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. About how long was it after you made this report to the FBI before she was separated as a result of the curtailment of the program?

Mr. HILL. Well, I would state 2 years.

Mr. KUNZIG. For the record may I state, Mr. Chairman, that Paul Chown has been subpoenaed for these hearings. I was going to ask you a bit later, but I will ask it now since it has already come into the picture, Mr. Hill. You have testified that you became a member of the Communist Party at the request of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, that you joined the end of 1944 roughly, or early in 1945, and left the Communist Party in the fall of 1949. I want to get this question on the record and get it absolutely clear for the record: During the period of time of your Communist Party membership did you report regularly to the Federal Bureau of Investigation all of your activities in the Communist Party and the activities of the other individuals you knew to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes, all was reported in many different ways.

Mr. KUNZIG. Regularly reported to our FBI?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, would you continue naming the people whom you knew to be members of the party?

Mr. HILL. Jack Manley did we cover?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mr. HILL. And Katrina Manley, of course, we covered. Dr. Eugene Eagle.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, you mentioned him.

Mr. HILL. He was at one time one of the functionaries of our group, too. I don't recall, I believe at one time he was educational director.

Mr. KUNZIG. What would be the duties, Mr. Hill, of an educational director of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Well, the idea behind the educational director is having someone who can coordinate the Communist teachings between the county and State offices and the particular groups. I would say it was pretty much of a liaison job between the national, State, county, and the local cells.

Mr. KUNZIG. While we are on the subject, you have said that you, yourself, issued the membership cards. Would you tell the committee, please, what were the duties of the membership director, such as you—

Mr. HILL. Well, naturally the first duty was to issue cards and to keep track of dues payments, keep track of special contributions, and part of the time to keep track of whether or not people were subscribing to the Political Affairs magazine and to the People's World, the Communist paper, and one very definite function was to do as much as possible toward effecting security within the party. If you saw anything out of line, it was pretty much the duty of the membership director to bring it up before the executive committee, and in some cases a person might be called up and asked questions.

In 1948, I believe it was, when there was great pressure on security—

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean within the party?

Mr. HILL. Within the party. There was great stress put on the handling of registration cards, the reregistering of people. In the past the method of issuing a new card was not too well cut, well defined. We might ask for their old card; we might not—usually not—but the party security commission found that some of the cards were getting out and getting into Government files, and so there was a

membership meeting called for all the membership directors in the party, in the section. One of these meetings I attended where instructions were given to under no circumstances reregister a member unless they turned in their old card or signed a formal statement explaining the disposition of their card.

Now, some people automatically, when they received a card, would tear it up; they would destroy it right there, so that there was no possibility of its being found. Those people would have to write a statement giving the reasons for doing that and the fact that they had done it and sign their names.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who would keep those statements then?

Mr. HILL. Those were given to me or the membership director, whoever it might be.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were they locked in files then?

Mr. HILL. No, they were taken at the end of the registration period—at that particular time they tried to organize the registration all for one evening. At the close of that meeting we had to take those cards personally and the statements to an East Oakland address, where happened to live the head of the Alameda County—or the section, I should say—membership director, and they told us that they were to be destroyed there by fire, to be burned there. I didn't see them burned. I did deliver them there.

Mr. KUNZIG. You turned them over, in other words, then to the membership director of a higher echelon of the department?

Mr. HILL. That is right, of the section.

Mr. KUNZIG. That being higher than the group you were connected with?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could you give us further names that you recollect of people whom you knew to be members of the Communist Party with you during the time that you were reporting regularly to the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. HILL. There was a man by the name of Gene Lien. Whether that is L-e-i-n or L-i-e-n, I don't know.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that G-e-n-e?

Mr. HILL. I had him written as Gene, G-e-n-e, and that is all I ever had was G-e-n-e. That could be short for Eugene or a wrong spelling of G-e-a-n, I don't know.

Mr. KUNZIG. It is a man, I take it; is that right?

Mr. HILL. A man. The joker there is, though, his wife whose name was also Jean Lien.

Mr. KUNZIG. J-e-a-n, I take it, this time.

Mr. HILL. Right. And he had something to do with the laboratory at Berkeley, at the University of California.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was he an employee or professor?

Mr. HILL. Well, that I don't know. This information came to me when I questioned someone in the executive committee meeting. These people were transferred in from southern California, I believe.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know what laboratory he had anything to do with?

Mr. HILL. What was that?

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know what laboratory it was at all?

<sup>1</sup> Further investigation indicates that the correct spelling is L-I-e-n.

Mr. HILL. Well, the atomic energy laboratory at Berkeley is what I was told.

Mr. KUNZIG. You were told this by Communist functionaries?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. But the two people, the husband and wife, you knew them personally to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes, I issued them cards and later transferred them out and back to southern California, to Sherman Oaks.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. You say you issued the cards.

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you ever get the spelling of their names?

Mr. HILL. What?

Mr. MOULDER. You had to spell their names when you issued the cards?

Mr. HILL. Yes, right. I had her as J-e-a-n; I had him as G-e-n-e.

Mr. MOULDER. How did you spell the full name on the cards when they were issued?

Mr. HILL. I am bringing this up from memory, I don't know, L-i-e-n or L-e-i-n.

Mr. MOULDER. Who told you——

Mr. HILL. L-e-i-n, as I recall, was the correct one.

Mr. MOULDER. Who told you they were employed at the laboratory?

Mr. HILL. Katrina Manley.

Mr. MOULDER. What was the approximate date?

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. HILL. That must have been in 1947.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you make a record of those names that you issued cards to for the use of the FBI?

Mr. HILL. Yes; the cards were all photostated.

Mr. MOULDER. And did you then copy those? I see you are reading from notes.

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you copy the names then on the notes that you are now reading from?

Mr. HILL. No; I just brought these out of memory.

Mr. JACKSON. I gather you kept no duplicate records.

Mr. HILL. I kept no records at all.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue then, sir, with the members of the 16th Assembly District Club.

Mr. HILL. Incidentally, on that—Mr. Lien, he told the membership at one time that he was working as a carpenter and trying to build a home for himself on Grizzly Peak Boulevard. That is all the information I have on that.

I have Jean Hedley, H-e-d-l-e-y, J-e-a-n. She was primarily a housewife. She did help out on county committees.

I have Marie Phillips. I believe that was covered. I have Earl Phillips, the husband of Marie Phillips.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was his occupation, if you know?

Mr. HILL. He worked for the Shell Development Co. in Emeryville. He worked as a mechanic there, I believe.

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

Mr. HILL. Yes; I issued a card. However, later on in the association he had slowed down very definitely on attending meetings of our branch, and then they moved to another location in Oakland, and I brought up in executive meeting one day that I thought that a committee should go and see them and see why they weren't attending our meetings, and someone came up very quickly, someone from the county office, that he was going to transfer to another branch.

I said, "Well, then, we had better find out what branch and issue a transfer card so that they have a record of dues," and they said, well, they weren't sure what branch he was transferring to, but that he was doing organizational work at the Shell Development Co., and the thing so far as I was concerned was dropped about there. I couldn't bring it up conveniently to get any more on it. That was the end. I didn't ever issue a transfer card.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to say at this point, Mr. Hill—and this statement goes for all the coming questions and past ones, too, for that matter—with regard to membership of various people, if you know, if it lies within your knowledge, that some of these people or any of these persons left the party and resigned from the party, would you please state that as we go along. I just want to make that flat statement to cover any situation that may arise along those lines.

We would, of course, like to know very much if some of these people left the party.

Now, are there any other members of the 16th Assembly District Club?

Mr. HILL. I have Godine Eagle. She is wife of Dr. Eugene Eagle, housewife and Cal student, G-o-d-i-n-e.

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

Mr. HILL. Yes, although she was quite inactive.

Mr. KUNZIG. She was less active than her husband?

Mr. HILL. Definitely, yes. I have Pete Matanami.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell that?

Mr. HILL. I don't know.

Mr. KUNZIG. To the best of your ability.

Mr. HILL. M-a-t-a-n-a-m-i to the best of my ability. He was an auto worker. He worked at the east Oakland Chevrolet plant.

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

Mr. HILL. He was a member in the north Oakland group and was transferred with the rest of us to the 16th Assembly District group. I did issue him cards.

Mr. KUNZIG. He was in both the groups of which you were a member?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any others?

Mr. HILL. I have Emmett Teague, T-e-a-g-u-e.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know his occupation, if any?

Mr. HILL. He worked in the sign industry, sign painting. He was a very close friend of Clarence Tobey, both in the same union.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell Tobey?

Mr. HILL. T-o-b-e-y.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know him to be a member of the party, too?

Mr. HILL. Mr. Tobey?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.



Mr. HILL. Yes; he was the county chairman for quite some time. He, I believe, was instrumental in recruiting Mr. Teague into the party. Mr. Teague was never very active. We had a great deal of trouble getting him to meetings; he just drifted off, nothing much happened.

I have a lady by the name of Rosalind Lindesmith, L-i-n-d-e-s-m-i-t-h as I have the spelling. She was an Oakland public health nurse and did quite a lot of work in trying to organize people, recruit people, within the Oakland city nurse corps into the Communist Party. She distributed literature, took out the People's World paper, people who were interested, and invited them to open meetings.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was her employer? Was she in public employment?

Mr. HILL. City of Oakland, I believe.

Mr. KUNZIG. She attempted to recruit members, as you say, of the nursing group employed by the city of Oakland?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you happen to know whether she presently is employed by the city of Oakland?

Mr. HILL. I think she is not.

Mrs. Englehart.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you spell that?

Mr. HILL. E-n-g-l-e-h-a-r-t.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know her first name?

Mr. HILL. The initial, I believe, was "A." I didn't know what it stood for, no.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew her as Mrs. Englehart?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know her to be a member of the party?

Mr. HILL. Yes, we had a great deal of difficulty getting her to meetings. She was a garment worker in San Francisco. She was transferred out in New York City, and she worked rather long hours, and the only way we could get her to meetings was to send someone over after her and take her back. She was very inactive.

A young man by the name of Sig, S-i-g,<sup>1</sup> Hesse, H-e-s-s-e. Now that could be just one "S."

Mr. KUNZIG. What was Mr. Hesse's occupation?

Mr. HILL. He was a UCLA student in southern California and was transferred up here. He was a student at Cal. I was told that he was active in the YCL, Young Communist League, at Cal.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you knew him to be a member of your own group of the Communist Party.

Mr. HILL. I picked up his transfer card from Los Angeles and issued him a new card in our group.

Mr. KUNZIG. How old was he, roughly, if you know?

Mr. HILL. Well, I would say just under or slightly over 20, 19 to 21.

Mr. KUNZIG. And this would be in the period of 1947, roughly, 1948?

Mr. HILL. Somewhere in there, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. In that period of time?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

<sup>1</sup> Identified further as Sigfried Hesse.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you continue, please?

Mr. HILL. Now, those are primarily the people that I can readily bring to mind in our particular branch.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see. Well, we will come to some of the others then perhaps later.

Mr. Hill, could you explain to the committee: For what reason did you sever your membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Well, the main thing, there was the tremendous mental pressure on my wife and myself. It came to the point where she was so upset by the meetings, by the agitation that constantly went on in the meetings, the running down of everything, that she would shy away from meetings.

She refused practically to attend for the last 6 or 7 months of our association. I consequently had to cover up for her, which made an extra burden. As I told you before, I am in business, and I was attempting to run a business and attempting to keep my Communist Party affiliation covered up there, and on the other hand, I was trying to keep my other connections covered up within the party, and I found myself under mental pressure that was just too great, and an opportunity arose to drop out, which we did.

The Bureau tried very hard to get us to continue, but we both felt that we had contributed something, and we just couldn't really take too much more so far as the pressure was concerned.

Mr. KUNZIG. You had been contributing and working for the FBI as an undercover agent then for a little over 4 years?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. When you felt that the pressure was such that you finally left the party?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. In your position as membership director of the 16th Assembly District Club did you ever have occasion, Mr. Hill, to attend various meetings of the Communist Party other than your own regular group?

Mr. HILL. Yes, I attended section membership directors' meetings.

Mr. KUNZIG. The section is the next higher echelon, is that it?

Mr. HILL. That is right. I attended county membership directors' meetings, which is the next higher step. I attended State functionaries' meetings. I will say "meetings"—possibly two; one definitely.

Mr. KUNZIG. When would that have been, if you know?

Mr. HILL. That was early in the association.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you remember any of the names of the Communist Party members with whom you met in these various higher meetings of higher echelon groups?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. We are only interested in the people whom you knew to be members of the Communist Party at that time.

Mr. HILL. I have a Frank Parsons.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you spell that, sir?

Mr. HILL. P-a-r-s-o-n-s.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was Mr. Parsons' occupation, if you know?

Mr. HILL. I do not know.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you meet with him in a closed session of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. I have attended meetings that were—I don't recall whether it was membership or a general meeting, but they were closed meetings, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. In other words, to get in everybody had to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. You met him inside?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask, can you further identify the man, because there may be several people by the name of Frank Parsons. It would be an injustice to persons of that name unless you can specifically state the person named so we know more about him.

Mr. HILL. So far as identifying him is concerned, I couldn't say that I could make a definite identification. As I recall, it rose through hearing the name spoken when I was attending a meeting he addressed.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you meet him?

Mr. HILL. Not directly; no. In the course of the meeting he spoke.

Mr. MOULDER. On what subject did he speak?

Mr. HILL. I don't recall.

Mr. MOULDER. How do you know of your own knowledge that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. By the fact that he was at the meeting.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any others, and let us be—as Mr. Moulder was trying to say—as specific as we possibly can be on identifications.

Mr. HILL. Bill Lowe.

Mr. KUNZIG. Spell it.

Mr. HILL. L-o-w-e.

Mr. KUNZIG. Bill Lowe?

Mr. HILL. Right. He was affiliated with one of the Berkeley groups, and I met him at a fund-raising party at Emma Stanley's home. I beg your pardon, I don't mean to say I met him. I was at this function with him where he was being addressed.

Mr. KUNZIG. It was a closed function of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. I wouldn't say it was closed; no.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask, Can you specify where the meeting was held? Be a little more specific.

Mr. HILL. Yes; it was held at 6682 Pinehaven Road in Oakland.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you tell us, then, how you know that this particular person was a member of the Communist Party? As we said, we are only interested in those who are members.

Mr. HILL. The only information I have is from other people on the executive board mentioning Bill as being—whatever his function was. I think he was—well, he was a functionary at any rate. I can't recall his capacity.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any others, Mr. Hill?

Mr. HILL. I have a Leila Thompson.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell Leila?

Mr. HILL. Well, actually I have seen it spelled several ways.

Mr. KUNZIG. Thompson is the last name?

Mr. HILL. Thompson is the name.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know where she works?

Mr. HILL. I can't recall. She has had committee jobs with the county—functionary jobs.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean of the county of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. The Communist Party; right.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you know that she was a member of the party?

Mr. HILL. Well, I attended a session of a Marxist seminar at her home.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was this a Communist Party meeting?

Mr. HILL. Yes; it was definitely a closed meeting.

Mr. KUNZIG. At her home?

Mr. HILL. At her home, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know where that was?

Mr. HILL. In east Oakland, upstairs, as I recall. I couldn't give you the address.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any other people whom you met as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. I have one which actually, so far as I am concerned—I have no definite knowledge, only indirect, Rose Segure.

Mr. DOYLE. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that if he has nothing except indirect knowledge, that he doesn't give the name in public.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, I think that unless he has positive personal knowledge, unless there is positive personal knowledge on the part of the witness as to membership, the identification should be stricken from the record. It would be appreciated by the committee if the press will bear with us in that regard.

Mr. DOYLE. May I say, Mr. Chairman, that I make that observation subject, however, to the possibility that the witness has been able to identify this person definitely through our staff or the FBI. If that is the case, even though he doesn't remember it now, I think that is a different situation. I want to emphasize, I think the witness only ought to give us the names of people that he personally knows were Communists.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, I think the witness understands that the committee is not interested in hearsay, but we want to know the names of those individuals who are positively known to you personally to have been members of the Communist Party.

If there is any question, the additional information can be given to the investigative staff.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Hill, the 16th Assembly District Club of the Communist Party was in Oakland as you have testified; that is correct, is it not?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is it a correct assumption that your club fell within the jurisdiction then of the Communist Party of Alameda County?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Into how many sections, if you can tell us, of the Communist Party was Alameda County divided?

Mr. HILL. I couldn't tell you that definitely.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give us a rough number, I mean, to the best of your knowledge?

Was it 2; was it 30?

Mr. HILL. Well, there was West Oakland, East Oakland, Alameda, Berkeley, and——

Mr. KUNZIG. They are the ones of which you know definitely yourself?

Mr. HILL. I mean, they are basic ones. How those are split up in addition——

Mr. KUNZIG. If there were others, it doesn't lie within your knowledge, in other words.

Now, who were the top Communist Party officials for Alameda County while you were a member?

Mr. HILL. Steve Nelson was the first chairman or organizer of the Alameda County branch of the party when I came in. When he left for the East, Clarence Tobey.

Mr. KUNZIG. T-o-b-e-y?

Mr. HILL. T-o-b-e-y.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have already mentioned him this morning?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. What other officers?

Mr. HILL. And after that I believe Mr. Lehman, Lloyd Lehman.

Mr. KUNZIG. L-l-o-y-d L-e-h-m-a-n?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. What position did he hold?

Mr. HILL. He was the county organizer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of course it goes without saying you knew him to be a member of the Communist Party. What other officials of the party in Alameda County?

Mr. HILL. At one time a Mary Sherwood was the county membership director.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mary Sherwood?

Mr. HILL. Sherwood.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know anything about her occupation or where she lived?

Mr. HILL. I don't know.

Mr. KUNZIG. The sum total of your knowledge is that a Mary Sherwood was the membership director?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. For the county.

Mr. HILL. That is right, county.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any others?

Mr. HILL. And a Carol Barnes, C-a-r-o-l Barnes.

Mr. KUNZIG. That was a man?

Mr. HILL. Right. I believe at the time of my association with him he was the Peoples' World, the Communist paper director for the county.

Mr. KUNZIG. What would his function or duties be as the People's World director for the county of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Well, he would contact the various People's World directors of the branches and coordinate their activities with the county and the State office in stimulating circulation of the paper, stimulating

interest in the paper. I don't believe he had anything to do with press releases. It was primarily a circulation job, to build circulation.

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

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know any other officials for Alameda County?

Mr. HILL. Katrina Manley.

Mr. KUNZIG. Whom you have already mentioned this morning?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Wayne Hultgren, H-u-l-t-g-r-e-n?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was his capacity?

Mr. HILL. I don't recall. He was a county functionary, though.

Mr. KUNZIG. He was a county functionary of Alameda County of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew him to be such?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

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

Mr. HILL. That I don't.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any others in this capacity at this county level?

Mr. HILL. Emma Stanley.

Mr. KUNZIG. Whom you have already mentioned.

Mr. HILL. Mentioned before.

Mr. KUNZIG. She was a county functionary?

Mr. HILL. She was a county functionary, and I believe she was the financial director of the Alameda County Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about a Wesley Bodkin, B-o-d-k-i-n?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. In what capacity?

Mr. HILL. I don't recall.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean you knew Wesley Bodkin as a party functionary?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. At the county level?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you knew him to be a member of the party, but you don't know what his specific function was?

Mr. HILL. That is right; I did know, but I don't recall.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are there any others that you can recall from the county level, before I turn to the section level?

Mr. HILL. Ray Thompson.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that R-a-y T-h-o-m-p-s-o-n?

Mr. HILL. Right. He was on the security commission, the county security commission.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now that you have mentioned the county security commission, Mr. Hill, could you tell the committee briefly what a county Communist Party security commission is?

Mr. HILL. Well, their responsibility there is to maintain a well-integrated organization within the party. Part of their responsibility is to attempt to prevent security leaks, to try to straighten out people who are not following the party line in any way. In other

words, it is more or less of a policing body. They interrogated people on charges brought up against them.

Mr. KUNZIG. Charges brought up by the Communist Party against them, you mean?

Mr. HILL. That is right. And they recommended or executed expulsion where they found it was necessary.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was being hauled up before a meeting of the security committee a serious matter to be considered in the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Very definitely; yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did members worry about that sort of thing?

Mr. HILL. Well, I have heard mentioned several times that certain people were brought before the county security commission and expelled, brought up by charges, and it was said in a manner that would indicate that they thought that was the lowest conduct.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think it is interesting to note for the record, Mr. Chairman, that this coincides exactly with the testimony of Dr. Bella Dodd taken before this committee in New York City, the opposite end of this country, the same effect as to the working of the security commission of the Communist Party.

Did you know a Nori Lafferty, N-o-r-i L-a-f-f-e-r-t-y?

Mr. HILL. Yes, yes; I attended a meeting at her home.

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

Mr. HILL. At the time I attended the meeting she was the county membership director.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of Alameda County?

Mr. HILL. Of Alameda County.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about Bernadette Doyle?

Mr. HILL. I attended 1 or 2 early meetings with her.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were these closed meetings so that only Communists got in?

Mr. HILL. One was.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you knew her to be a member of the Communist Party of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. HILL. Yes. I, however, didn't issue a card or anything of that sort.

Mr. KUNZIG. Your knowledge comes from sitting in a meeting with her?

Mr. HILL. And from her writings in the party and her functions in the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. What were her functions, if you know?

Mr. HILL. I believe that she was the educational director for the State at one time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you estimate a date to the best of your knowledge? But it would have been from the period from 1945 to 1949.

Mr. HILL. Much of the information there was filled in for me by Katrina Manley, questioning her about certain people that we met. She would outline the background in an educational manner.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now I would like to turn your attention, Mr. Hill, to the section that encompassed your club. We will turn from the county down to the section. Who were the officials of the section?

Mr. HILL. Well, of course that changed at least twice during the time I was in the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Give it to the best of your recollection.

Mr. HILL. Part of the duration of my membership Florence Tobey was the section chairman or organizer.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have already mentioned her. Is she any relation to Clarence Tobey?

Mr. HILL. The wife.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you knew both husband and wife to be members of the party?

Mr. HILL. Right. They were expelled from the party during the time I was in, and a man by the name of Jim McFadden took her position as the chairman of the section, east Oakland section.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know what his occupation was?

Mr. HILL. I don't recall now.

Mr. DOYLE. I will ask the counsel if the witness can say what the cause of expulsion was.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell us the cause of the expulsion, if you know?

Mr. HILL. I believe basically it was the charge of white chauvinism, a term that is used in the party. I mean, is it all right to bring up another member of the family?

Mr. JACKSON. A member of the party?

Mr. HILL. I only know on hearsay.

Mr. JACKSON. I would suggest that you do not mention the other party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then you can't state the reasons for expulsion, I take it, without mentioning the name of the other person whom we do not wish—

Mr. HILL. I can't explain it, no.

Mr. KUNZIG. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, perhaps we could get this explanation in executive session.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Frances Capelle?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. What position did she hold with your section?

Mr. HILL. She was the membership director of the section.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know any further identification on Frances Capelle, her occupation or anything of that nature?

Mr. HILL. I don't recall.

Mr. KUNZIG. But since you knew her as the section membership director, of course it goes without saying that you knew her as a member of the Communist Party.

You testified that you attended executive meetings of your branch. Do you recall, Mr. Hill, what was generally discussed at these meetings? What took place?

Mr. HILL. Well, a very wide variety of subjects, one of which, of course, was always stimulating membership, stimulating the process of recruiting new members to the party, methods of so doing, planning meetings, planning group meetings, planning educational talks to be given at future meetings, planning concentration points—a term used in the party—and one of our concentration points happened to be the Westinghouse Electric plant in Emeryville.

Mr. KUNZIG. What would be discussed about the Westinghouse Electric plant?

Mr. HILL. Methods of selling the People's World at the gate, methods of getting workers there interested in the party.



Mr. KUNZIG. What would be the purpose of getting workers from Westinghouse into the party?

Mr. HILL. Well, of course the basic idea there was to try to organize a Communist cell in the plant. The objective at that period of the party all the way through after the change in party line, after the Duclos letter, was to do everything possible to work into industrial plants in the country. That was nationwide. That wasn't just local.

Mr. KUNZIG. But you saw of your own knowledge and with your own eyes that policy of attempting, on the part of the Communist Party, to work into industrial plants was carried out? You saw them endeavor to do that?

Mr. HILL. Oh, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. You endeavored yourself?

Mr. HILL. Right. That was also a good source of getting signers for the third-party petitions, the Independent Progressive Party petitions to have it placed on the ballot.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you explain about this Independent Progressive Party?

Mr. HILL. Well, as much as I know, the party felt that in—

Mr. KUNZIG. When you say "the party," let us make it specific.

Mr. HILL. The Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. You mean the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. All right.

Mr. HILL. Leadership felt that the development of a third party as a media to work around, as an issue to work with, would be very advantageous. The object, of course, was to give the party rank and file, the party membership, a chance to go to homes, to distribute and sell the People's World, the Communist paper, to get into the homes after taking out free copies for a followup, to try to sell a subscription, to get third-party petitions signed; in other words, to give the party a chance to bring in new people.

It was considered, hoped, to be a very rich source of new recruits, using another political party as an issue. They felt that they could give very good reasons for people not supporting the Republican or the Democratic Parties, and they felt there was a great need for another party, and that it was a very opportune moment to work in that manner in enlarging the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever hear of a Political Affairs Committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes, I did.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was the Political Affairs Committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. I can't say enough on that to be very revealing. I know there was a Political Affairs Committee, and I know that many housewives were asked to help out in the thing. But the complete function of it escapes me.

Mr. JACKSON. At this time the committee will stand in recess until 3 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 2:43 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 3 p. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 3 p. m.)

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order.

Will you proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Hill, you have mentioned your own club of the Communist Party, and you have mentioned section and the county group. I am going to read to you a list of alleged Communist Party clubs in this area in Alameda County and ask you whether you have heard of these clubs, whether you know of the existence of these clubs. I realize that clubs rise and then die again, and the time element in these clubs is during the period of time that you were active in the Communist Party.

Do you know of a Harbor Homes Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes, I have heard of that club. I have seen it listed in financial drives, and I have talked to people about the club.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about the Abe Lincoln Club?

Mr. HILL. I have just heard of that.

Mr. KUNZIG. You heard it mentioned in your Communist meetings and so forth?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Albany El Cerrito Club?

Mr. HILL. I have heard that mentioned on several occasions.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever hear of an Anita Whitney Club in Oakland?

Mr. HILL. Yes, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew of the existence of that club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you know generally where these were located? If you do know, in the course of the interrogation will you indicate in what particular area of the section or district it was located?

Mr. KUNZIG. How about a Ben Davis Club?

Mr. HILL. I have heard that mentioned.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know an Anna McIntosh?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was Anna McIntosh's connection with the Ben Davis Club?

Mr. HILL. Katrina Manley told me that she was the organizer of that branch.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Anna McIntosh to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. I have attended meetings, meetings that would be closed if she wasn't.

Mr. JACKSON. That is, closed meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, the Bernadette Doyle Club. You have already mentioned Bernadette Doyle today.

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever hear of a Bernadette Doyle Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have mentioned Nori Lafferty. Did you know her to be a member of that club?

Mr. HILL. I can't say that I did, no.

Mr. KUNZIG. But you knew Nori Lafferty to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes, definitely.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Florence Hutchinson?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Only that she attended the functionary meetings.

Mr. KUNZIG. Communist Party functionary meetings?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were they meetings at which only party members were allowed in?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. You attended them with her?

Mr. HILL. Right—not with her in the sense that I went with her, but was in a group.

Mr. KUNZIG. You sat in a meeting with her and other people?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, did you ever hear of the Mother Bloor Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know where that was, where it was situated?

Mr. HILL. I am afraid I can't say.

Mr. KUNZIG. You just knew of the existence of the club?

Mr. HILL. That is right. I have seen it listed on the reports.

Mr. KUNZIG. Party reports which came before your eyes, is that it?

Mr. HILL. Well, generally fund-raising campaigns where we had certain quotas; one branch was pitted against another, lists come through to the executive officers as comparison of the standings and also on People's World drives.

Mr. SCHERER. Were all these clubs in the general Bay area?

Mr. HILL. Yes, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about any campus clubs? Did you ever know of the Merriman Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where was that?

Mr. HILL. That was in Berkeley.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about the H. Alden Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. These are all clubs—

Mr. HILL. Those are young college people primarily.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any connection with the university?

Mr. HILL. Yes—well, that is, they were students of the university largely.

Mr. KUNZIG. I want to make it very clear for the record, Mr. Hill, all these clubs are clubs which you have known of as Communist Party clubs?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Actual groups in which Communists met?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about the Cannery Workers' Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes; I know of that through a person with whom I have attended meetings, a girl by the name of—her nickname was Dobie Walker Roberson. Dobie was the name she went by in the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Could it have been Doris Walker Roberson?

Mr. HILL. Yes, that would be it; Doris, that is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you tell us something about Doris Walker Roberson?

Mr. HILL. Direct knowledge, the only knowledge I have is that she was the organizer of the Cannery Workers' branch; that was her responsibility. Indirectly, through briefing by other people on the executive board, that she was an attorney.

Mr. KUNZIG. A member of the bar?

Mr. HILL. A member of the bar, and that she had gone into this other work; that she actually was a member of the bar.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you knew her definitely to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes—well, I knew her in that she attended meetings that were definitely closed, that is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever hear of the Central Berkeley Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. About the Dorie Miller Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Lily Belle in connection with the Dorie Miller Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was Lily Belle?

Mr. HILL. She was a Negro lady who had a connection with—what I am trying to say is that I believe she and Katrina Manley and my wife were part of the committee on women's problems in the party. I realize that is rather vague, but that is what is coming to my mind.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew Lily Belle then to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about the Codornices Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was there such a club in the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Mary Bradsher in connection with that club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. B-r-a-d-s-h-e-r?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Mary Bradsher to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. In that she came into the Alameda County office of the Communist Party and was a rather close friend of Emma Stanley and Ida Wood.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you ever attend a meeting of the Communist Party where she was present?

Mr. HILL. Where she was present?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Mr. HILL. I probably did, but I would rather not say definitely because I can't recall a definite instance.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have in my hands a deposition taken the second day of November 1953 from Mary Elizabeth Parrott Bradsher in which she goes into detail under oath before this committee as to her previous Communist Party activities, and cooperated at length with this committee.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know of an East Oakland Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. In connection with that club did you know Clarence Tobey? You have already mentioned Mr. Tobey.

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And how about Roger Capelle?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And Frances Capelle I believe you already discussed.

Mr. HILL. Wife.

Mr. KUNZIG. All those three people you knew as connected with the East Oakland Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, how about the East Lake Club, did you ever hear of that?

Mr. HILL. Yes, I have heard it mentioned. It wasn't in existence at the time I was in the party, I believe, or possibly it was——

Mr. KUNZIG. Prior to that time?

Mr. HILL. Just prior to that time, but I have definitely heard the name.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about the Encinal Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about the Evans Carlson Club?

Mr. HILL. I know the name.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was that a club of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. These clubs—and I want this to be clear for the record—Mr. Hill, were all in Alameda County, is that right?

Mr. HILL. Right, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about the Railroad Workers' Club, does that strike a chord in your memory?

Mr. HILL. Yes, yes; a man by the name of Bill Rutter, I believe I have already testified, was the organizer of that group at one time at any rate.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever hear of a Frances Brown Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was that a club of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about the Harriet Tubman Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. The Haywood Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. H-a-y-w-o-o-d?

Mr. HILL. No, I believe that that would be Hayward.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell it then to the best of your knowledge?

Mr. HILL. H-a-y-w-a-r-d. To the best of my knowledge there was no activity there. It was primarily Russell city, which is quite connected with Hayward. There was a Russell city branch.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about the Herman Boetcher Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew that as a club of the Communist Party in Alameda County?

Mr. HILL. Yes, right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Joe Hill Club?

Mr. HILL. I have heard the name. I don't recall having seen it on lists.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about the Morrie Smolan Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew that to be a club of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you know where any of these were located geographically?

Mr. HILL. Actually it is hard for an outsider to believe that you can be in the party and not know the location of a branch, but you can be. There are many things that you know of in the party that you don't know, the physical location or you don't know the whole detail, but you know of it.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. KUNZIG. We are to understand then that the knowledge of these clubs came from records and documents and so forth which would come before you, and you would know they existed, even though perhaps you never attended any meetings at these clubs?

Mr. HILL. Right, right.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about the Steve Nelson Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes, I have heard the name, but I frankly don't believe it ever existed. I think it was an honorary name of a club that was used temporarily.

Mr. KUNZIG. In honor of Steve Nelson, in other words?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you don't know if there was any actual membership of that club?

Mr. HILL. I couldn't say that there was. I don't recall anything of it.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about a John Reed Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. The Transformer Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What field was the Transformer Club in, if you know?

Mr. HILL. Well, that was in the electrical workers' field, and while about all I had was second-hand information, Katrina Manley explained that it was an organization of people in the electrical workers' industry, Westinghouse, and I believe General Electric.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever hear of a super-hush-hush group called the special section in connection with that?

Mr. HILL. Yes; not just in that way, but the special section was referred to often.

Mr. KUNZIG. And what was it, if you know?

Mr. HILL. Well, from what I could glean it was professionals who didn't want to be known even within the party.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about the Maritime Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is a club that you knew of in the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. The Mike Quinn Club?

Mr. HILL. I believe that was Berkeley.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was that a student group, too?

Mr. HILL. I believe so. I am a little confused on that because there was a Mike Quinn Club in Los Angeles in connection with UCLA, and I have seen it in the reports, but I am also positive there was one in Berkeley, a branch.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know of the Bethune Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. That was in Alameda County also?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. The North Oakland Professional Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes. That was referred to commonly, but in my own mind I always felt that the special section and the professional club were one and the same.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have already mentioned Paul Chown. Did you know him to be active in the North Oakland Professional Club?

Mr. HILL. On two occasions where I brought up the issue of why he wasn't attending our meetings, why he wasn't coming to our meetings, since his wife was, and since they were living in our area, and the answer was that he was in the special club or in the professional club, I beg your pardon.

Mr. KUNZIG. Which you just said you thought were the same?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about Robert Treuhافت?

Mr. HILL. The same there.

Mr. KUNZIG. The same thing; in other words, he was——

Mr. HILL. I was questioned there, too, and the answer was that he attended another branch, the professional.

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

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any further identification of Robert Treuhافت?

Mr. HILL. He is an attorney; he is associated with the Bertram Edises firm. His wife, Decca Treuhافت, D-e-c-c-a, was a member of our 16th Assembly District group.

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

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Decca Treuhافت?

Mr. HILL. I issued cards to her. She also was one of our functionaries at one time; I mean in our particular branch, and then she had county functionary jobs. I think toward the last she headed the political affairs committee while in the county.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know of a Paul Robeson Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. South Berkeley Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Southwest Berkeley Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. These are all different clubs, is that right?

Mr. HILL. To my knowledge, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know of a Thomas Jefferson Club in connection with Government employees?

Mr. HILL. I have heard it mentioned; I have heard it on two occasions, and on both occasions it was pointed out that they were Government workers in a very small club.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know the Tom Paine Club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. West Oakland Club?

Mr. HILL. Well, I think the West Oakland Club, as was the East Oakland Club, was more or less of a section rather than a club. I think it was all-inclusive of the various branches in the section.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Morris Keller in connection with this group?

Mr. HILL. I have heard the name, yes, and I attended a meeting where he had been. I was told afterwards, so that is as close as I can come on that.

Mr. KUNZIG. This meeting that he had attended was a meeting of members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. It was a security meeting.

Mr. KUNZIG. A security meeting, you say?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Counsel, wait just a minute, please. I have asked the chairman whether he thought that sort of testimony ought to stand as sufficient naming of a man as a Communist. Personally I don't. All this witness says is that he was told that this man had been at a meeting. He has no personal knowledge himself. I think that is going pretty far afield.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you receive any information subsequently in any other way which would serve to strengthen your identification of the individual in question?

Mr. HILL. Well, the name was discussed—I mean, the name was brought up by several people on the executive committee from time to time; the name arose.

Mr. JACKSON. Specifically as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, that is different testimony. I mean, that is additional to what he stated before.

I want to say again, counsel, I think this witness ought not to give hearsay. He is going far afield in my book, and I simply want to be very careful; otherwise we will do damage to people that don't deserve it.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have instructed and will continue to instruct, and I have said several times, Mr. Doyle, today that we are only interested—I will say it again to Mr. Hill—in people whom you can identify and whom you knew to be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. I know you have, counsel, and I want to compliment you on taking that position.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well; proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know the Woodworkers' Club?

Mr. HILL. I have heard of it, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have already mentioned, I believe, Harrie Woods and Hilda Woods in connection with that group?

Mr. HILL. Well, Harrie Woods possibly, but I don't think Hilda Woods. They were both, of course, members of our group.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see. But you don't know whether Hilda Woods was a member of the Woodworkers' Club?



Mr. HILL. No, I don't.

Mr. KUNZIG. But Harrie Woods was?

Mr. HILL. At one time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Josephine Woods Eidenoff, E-i-d-e-n-o-f-f?

Mr. HILL. Yes, but I don't think that is the correct spelling. I was trying to think.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is the spelling to the best of your recollection?

Mr. HILL. I don't think it is "hoff."

Mr. KUNZIG. E-i-d-e-n-o-f-f?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Thank you. What is your knowledge of Josephine Woods Eidenoff?

Mr. HILL. She is the daughter of Hilda and Harrie Woods. She was a Communist Party member. I issued cards.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you knew all of them to be Communist Party members when you issued cards?

Mr. HILL. Also her sister, Dorothy.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dorothy Woods?

Mr. HILL. Dorothy Woods, right.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about a Canal Club, C-a-n-a-l?

Mr. HILL. I have heard of it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Victory Club?

Mr. HILL. I have heard of it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, that concludes the list of names of clubs that I said I wanted to read to you. All those clubs that you have heard of were Communist Party clubs in Alameda County, right?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, there are a few more names here I would like to go into, Mr. Hill. I will ask you whether you knew these people to be members of the Communist Party. Did you know a Robert Neville, N-e-v-i-l-l-e?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How did you know Robert Neville, and what was his occupation if you can tell us?

Mr. HILL. I don't know what his occupation was. I attended meetings with him at the labor school in Oakland.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. KUNZIG. A Communist Party meeting?

Mr. HILL. Closed meeting, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about Billie Wachtel, B-i-l-l-i-e W-a-c-h-t-e-l?<sup>1</sup>

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. I attended closed meetings with her.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where would they have been if you remember,

Mr. HILL. One was at Norway Hall, as I recall.

Mr. KUNZIG. Roughly when, if you know, Was it the early part of your membership or the latter part?

Mr. HILL. I would say in the early part.

Mr. KUNZIG. Which would be 1946 or that period of time?

<sup>1</sup> This person is believed to be the same as Billie Wachter, identified by Ames.

Mr. HILL. I would say 1946 probably.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Nat Yanish, Y-a-n-i-s-h, and Ann Yanish?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were they related?

Mr. HILL. Husband and wife, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know them both to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was Mr. Yanish's occupation, if you know?

Mr. HILL. He worked for the People's World.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know in what capacity he worked?

Mr. HILL. He was from the State, from San Francisco.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a Doris Fogarty?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. In what capacity did you know her?

Mr. HILL. She attended our meetings when I was in the north Oakland branch.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know her work or her residence or any further identification of Doris Fogarty?

Mr. HILL. I have been to her home, but I can't recall right off.

Mr. KUNZIG. You don't remember where?

Mr. HILL. No.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you at Communist Party meetings in her home?

Mr. HILL. No.

Mr. KUNZIG. Not party meetings?

Mr. HILL. No.

Mr. KUNZIG. The meetings you attended with her were elsewhere?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about a Bimbo Brown?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How did you know Mr. Bimbo Brown?

Mr. HILL. He gave a talk before a panel in a meeting at San Francisco at the time of the Duclos letter revelation.

Mr. KUNZIG. Communist Party meeting? Did you know any other members of the Brown family as Communists?

Mr. HILL. I can't say that I do.

Mr. DOYLE. May the witness fix the date of that Duclos letter which was considered out here by the Communist Party club, out here in the West? A month, if you know; approximately the month and the year.

Mr. HILL. It was very early in my career in the party. It must have been in the spring of 1945, I believe.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about a Pat Fogarty?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that any relation to the previous Doris Fogarty that we mentioned?

Mr. HILL. I believe they were husband and wife, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about a Gordon Williams?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How did you know Gordon Williams? Was that in connection with the labor school?

Mr. HILL. Right.

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

Mr. HILL. Only through the fact that I attended a meeting there that was a closed meeting with his presence.

Mr. KUNZIG. We will understand for the future testimony here, Mr. Hill, that if you attended a closed meeting of the Communist Party where only Communist Party members were in attendance, that you knew them to be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. HILL. In that particular case he was another person who lived in our community, and I brought the issue up in an executive committee as to why he wasn't attending and why his wife wasn't attending our meetings, and it was pointed out that they were in another group, and nothing more was brought up on it.

Mr. JACKSON. But prior to that you had attended closed meetings of the Communist Party—

Mr. HILL. I wouldn't say whether it was prior or after on that.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, on some occasion?

Mr. HILL. Yes, and the same with his wife.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about an Edward Barlow, B-a-r-l-o-w?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And Elizabeth Barlow?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were they related?

Mr. HILL. Husband and wife, I believe, at the time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where did you meet with them as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Several meetings which I can't recall; one I recall very vividly, a meeting in east Oakland, in the rumpus room of their home.

Mr. JACKSON. Closed meeting of the party?

Mr. HILL. Yes; security meeting, in fact.

Mr. KUNZIG. Jessie Pedrick, P-e-d-r-i-c-k?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. In what capacity? How did you get this knowledge?

Mr. HILL. Well, she may have at sometime held a position; so far as I know, just rank and file.

Mr. KUNZIG. Rank-and-file member?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you meet with her as a member?

Mr. HILL. At a meeting, yes; closed meeting.

Mr. JACKSON. The Chair would like to say that in the matter of identifications which are made from the witness chair that the policy of the committee has long been that any person who feels that he or she has been adversely affected by such testimony should contact the counsel of the committee in order that an official denial or affirmation may be entered on the record and that the person be given an opportunity to so confirm or deny the allegations.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I think as long as our subcommittee chairman has specifically mentioned that, it might be appropriate for me at this point, instead of later in the record where I intended to have it introduced, to read rule 10 of our committee.

I would like permission to read it at this point. It will just take a minute.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. DOYLE. It is right on the same subject.

I read rule 10 of the rules of procedure of the Committee on Un-American Activities adopted July 15, 1953:

THE RIGHTS OF PERSONS AFFECTED BY A HEARING

Where practicable, any person named in a public hearing before the committee or any subcommittee as subversive, Fascist, Communist, or affiliated with one or more subversive-front organizations who has not been previously so named shall, within a reasonable time thereafter, be notified by registered letter to the address last known to the committee of such fact, including (1) a statement that he has been so named; (2) the date and place of said hearing; (3) the name of person who so testified; (4) the name of the subversive, Fascist, Communist, or front organization with which he has been identified; and (5) copy of the printed rules of procedure of the committee.

(b) Any person so notified who believes that his character or reputation has been adversely affected or to whom has been imputed subversive activity may, within 15 days after receipt of such notice (1) communicate with the counsel of the committee and/or (2) request to appear at his own expense in person before the committee or any subcommittee thereof in public session and give testimony in denial or affirmation relevant and germane to the subject of the investigation.

Any such person testifying under the provisions of (b) (2) above shall be accorded the same privileges as any other witness appearing before the committee and may be questioned concerning any matter relevant and germane to the subject of the investigation.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you, Mr. Doyle.

The committee is anxious to insure that no innocent parties be damaged in any way by testimony. It is certain that in extensive hearings of this kind there will be duplications of names of individuals who are not in fact the persons intended by the witness. The committee invites those individuals to communicate with the committee in order that it may be clear, wherever possible, that they were not the ones so identified.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Van Frederick?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How did you know Van Frederick?

Mr. HILL. I met him at the home of Emma Stanley. He was introduced as a functionary of the Codornices Village branch.

Mr. KUNZIG. As a Communist Party functionary?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know him ever as George Van Frederick?

Mr. HILL. I don't recall that I ever heard the name George. "Van" they always called him.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew him as Van Frederick?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Buddy Green?

Mr. HILL. Yes, I attended meetings with him.

Mr. KUNZIG. You attended meetings with Buddy Green of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know what his work was, his employment, address, any information?

Mr. HILL. He was Negro.

Mr. KUNZIG. Negro?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know where he was employed?

Mr. HILL. That I don't, no.

Mr. KUNZIG. The sum total of your knowledge then is that you attended meetings with a Negro by the name of Buddy Green?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about Paul Heide, H-e-i-d-e, and Ruby Heide?

Mr. HILL. Well, I brought both of those names up before the executive committee several times in a search for membership, and on the occasions that they were brought up they were in their own group branches.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Of the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. And therefore did not come into your group, is that it?

Mr. HILL. Did not attend our group.

Mr. KUNZIG. This came to your attention then in the capacity you have already testified before, that you were a membership director, and as membership director, you would bring these people's names up?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. And so the records would come to your attention?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about Herb Kalman, K-a-l-m-a-n?

Mr. HILL. I knew of him as the husband of—

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know a group of Kalmans as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes, I have attended meetings with some of them.

Mr. KUNZIG. Can you give any information as to their first names or identify them further?

Mr. HILL. One was Bernice.

Mr. KUNZIG. Bernice Kalman?

Mr. HILL. One was Herb.

Mr. KUNZIG. You did attend meetings with Bernice Kalman and with Herb Kalman?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. What does Bernice Kalman do, if you know?

Mr. HILL. I can't recall.

Mr. KUNZIG. David Kinkead, K-i-n-k-e-a-d?

Mr. KUNZIG. David Kinkead?

Mr. HILL. Well, there is another case where—on many occasions I had to get names by asking other people who a person was that I saw at a meeting.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you see a person at a meeting which was a Communist Party meeting who was then identified to you by someone else as David Kinkead?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think that should stand, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. KUNZIG. And again for the sake of getting the record correct, Mr. Hill, you made such reports to the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Johnny Lindesmith, L-i-n-d-e-s-m-i-t-h?

Mr. HILL. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know Johnny Lindesmith's occupation, work?

Mr. HILL. He was a piano tuner.

Mr. KUNZIG. And a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. He was not a member of our branch, and I would say that I had never determined that he was. He was the husband of Rosalind Lindesmith, and he did stay in the house during meetings sometimes, and he did come to pick her up for meetings and would sit through the latter part of the meeting.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Rosalind Lindesmith to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. I have issued cards to her.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have issued cards to Rosalind Lindesmith?

Mr. JACKSON. Were these closed meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. He would come into a closed meeting during the latter part of the meeting and remain and take her out of the meeting?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. I think, Mr. Chairman, that is pretty close there. I am not sure; I think we ought to have further identification. The fact that a group of neighbors let a man come in and take his wife home is no sign that he was a member of the group, as I see it.

Mr. JACKSON. The Chair is constrained to say that it depends on what the group of neighbors was doing.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON. It has been testified by the witness that this group of neighbors was engaged in a Communist Party meeting which was closed. Therefore, it would seem to me that closed meetings of the Communist Party where none but Communist Party members could enter would well establish—

Mr. MOULDER. I think the record speaks for itself. You don't say he is a Communist or was; is or was?

Mr. HILL. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. Just as you describe, if you want to let the record stand that way.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. KUNZIG. Joseph Melia?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

(Representative Gordon H. Scherer returned to the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. KUNZIG. How did you know Joseph Melia?

Mr. HILL. I attended several meetings, closed meetings, where he was in attendance. The final thing was he was set up as a director of the IPP within the party, and he came to the various branches and made talks, lectures, on the formation of the Independent Progressive Party.

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

Mr. HILL. To that extent, yes. That was a county job that he had, this IPP job.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask how that record stands? What was the name of the last man that you said came to the meetings and talked about the IPP? Do you identify him as a Communist?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. That last man?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. At closed meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. Counsel, may we have the remaining names upon which the committee has information?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Will the investigator please take the list to the witness, and if the witness is able to identify any of the names out of his own knowledge from attendance at closed sessions of the Communist Party or by the fact of having issued a card, will the witness please state those names and pass over the others?

Mr. HILL. Rude Lambert, in attendance at a closed meeting.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any further identification as to occupation or the location of the meeting?

Mr. HILL. He was referred to as a member of the security commission, Alameda County Security Commission.

Mr. JACKSON. Referred to in the meeting?

Mr. HILL. As a member of the commission.

Mr. MOULDER. That is the Communist commission you are referring to?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Josephine Eidenoff, who has been covered.

Loretta Starvus of the California State board of the Communist Party.

Celeste Strack of the California State board of the Communist Party.

George Edwards as the West Oakland organizer of the Communist Party.

There are three names here I would like to confer with somebody on.

(At this point Mr. Hill conferred with Mr. Wheeler.)

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel, quite obviously there is some question as to the names involved. Is the committee in possession of the information?

Mr. WHEELER. He is ready, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. HILL. I have a case here of a man who lived in our district, was within our jurisdiction. His wife attended our meetings, was a member of our group, but the man himself did not attend our group. Again I brought this up in executive committee meeting, and it was pointed out that he attended meetings in his own branch.

Mr. JACKSON. This was an authoritative statement in a committee meeting, in closed meeting of the Communist Party by someone who had enough authority to speak on the subject?

Mr. HILL. Yes, yes. Should that name be brought up?

Mr. DOYLE. I would object to it. I think it has to be personal knowledge rather than hearsay in this kind of a case.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well; the committee is in possession of the information in any event.

Mr. HILL. I will pass the others.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well; proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, the witness has gone into great detail concerning clubs which he knew, members, people with whom he met as Communists, and he has completed the testimony, and I have no further questions to ask at this time.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. Just 1 or 2. Mr. Chairman. In order to clear up some of the possible inferences that might be drawn from your testimony, the position which you held was in the 16th Assembly Club; is that the way you referred to it?

Mr. HILL. Yes, Assembly District.

Mr. MOULDER. Would you give us the approximate total membership, Communist membership, of that organization which you have referred to as the 16th Assembly Branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. It would be rather hard to give that as of a particular date.

Mr. MOULDER. Well, I am just referring to the approximate average membership of that organization.

Mr. HILL. I would say in the twenties.

Mr. MOULDER. Approximately 20 in number?

Mr. HILL. In the upper twenties, 24, 25, 22.

Mr. MOULDER. Within that area of the 16th assembly district were there other clubs such as you mentioned awhile ago; that is, by local names?

Mr. HILL. No, our 16th Assembly District was the branch.

Mr. MOULDER. I see.

Mr. HILL. It was under the east Oakland section.

Mr. MOULDER. In your testimony you have identified or referred to approximately 30 local clubs that were named to you by counsel. Can you give us, according to your best opinion, the approximate or average number or membership of the Communists in each of those clubs?

Mr. HILL. I am afraid that would just border on guess work entirely, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Isn't it true that sometimes there may have been a club, say, here in Alameda County called the Ben Davis Club that may be only 3 or 4 persons were actually members of that club?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Isn't it true that in many instances they didn't get—in fact, it would be a rather large club that would be composed of 20 members, such as your 16th assembly?

Mr. HILL. In some cases, yes.

Mr. MOULDER. It would be what you might call a little home club where 2 people might invite 2 or 3 other people, and that is called a club; is that it?

Mr. HILL. It could be very easily, yes.

Mr. MOULDER. For example, I especially want to clarify your testimony when you made reference to the Railroad Workers' Club. That might have been composed of only 1 or 2 railroad workers or maybe 1 or 2 persons that once worked with a railroad that might have been members of that club; isn't that so? The point I am getting at is not to give the impression that there was a large number of railroad workers because that was not true; isn't that so?

Mr. HILL. That would be true; yes.



Mr. MOULDER. It might be only 2 or 3 or 4 people belonging to that club, and one of which might have been a railroad worker, or there might not have been any railroad workers as members of the club, but just a name given to it by Communist leadership in order to give the impression the railroad workers were participating in their organization; isn't that so?

Mr. HILL. True, for propoganda purposes.

Mr. MOULDER. Yes. That is all.

Mr. HILL. Another point on that issue: It could also parallel our club, which I can recall was as low as 5 members and as high as 35 members.

Mr. MOULDER. Which club is that?

Mr. HILL. Our 16th Assembly District group. There was quite a lot of fluctuation.

Mr. MOULDER. I am just clarifying those things just so that someone might not get the erroneous impression, the basis for exaggeration that this was composed of thousands and thousands of people, something of that sort.

Thank you very much.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Hill, please tell us the month in 1945 you went to work for the FBI and the month you left the FBI in 1949 for the record. I think it is important that we have that—not the day, but the month. You began in the early spring in 1945, you said, and you left in the fall of 1949.

Mr. HILL. I would say we left in—this is as nearly as I can figure—in September or October, possibly as late as November in 1949.

Mr. DOYLE. You went to work what month?

Mr. HILL. In approximately April of 1945.

Mr. DOYLE. Your wife went to work the same month and quit the same month?

Mr. HILL. Yes, although we were actually reporting information of meetings and things, names and one thing and another, back as far as the late summer and fall of 1944.

Mr. DOYLE. And then after you quit with the FBI, did you continue to furnish classified information to them after, say, November of 1949?

Mr. HILL. On anything that we could; yes.

Mr. DOYLE. How long did you continue doing that?

Mr. HILL. Up until the time we were uncovered, when my wife testified in the east this spring in Pittsburgh.

Mr. DOYLE. One more question. We all know that the Duclos letter, which was released from France in the early spring 1945, was a very important document in the interests of the Communist conspiracy all over the world. At that time he testified, and we know as a matter of record, Earl Browder was deposed or removed, and Will Foster was put in.

Now, do you know whether or not it is a fact that in connection with the promulgation of the Duclos letter, when Mr. Foster came in, there was almost a complete reversal in policy within the Communist Party?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, they began again to advocate more openly force and violence?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. They began to do it in their meetings?

Mr. HILL. Closed meetings, yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Closed meetings. All right, thank you.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Hill, when you were subpoenaed did you go up to the Federal Bureau?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. When you were subpoenaed by this committee?

Mr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Did the Federal Bureau have any knowledge of your subpoena at the time you appeared there?

Mr. HILL. I can't answer that question; I mean, I don't know the answer to the question.

Mr. JACKSON. I understood from the staff—

Mr. HILL. I believe they did know of it.

Mr. JACKSON. Were you given any promise or payment or any emolument for your appearance here today?

Mr. HILL. No.

Mr. JACKSON. On behalf of the committee and Congress I want to extend our thanks to you for your testimony which has given some indication of the wide extent of Communist operations in the Alameda area. It is through the nature of testimony of this kind and through the nature of the reports which you submitted to the Federal Bureau over a long period of time that this committee and others have been able to piece together the pattern of Communist operations.

I think that the Congress and the Nation owe a debt of thanks to those who are willing to in large part cut themselves off from family life and other social life in order to enter into the conspiracies for the purpose of gathering vital information of this kind.

You will be continued under the protection of Federal subpoena until notified to the contrary.

Mr. Counsel, is there any reason why the witness should be further retained?

Mr. KUNZIG. No, sir; there is none.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well; with the thanks of the committee you are excused.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Van Frederick, please.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FREDERICK. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, please.

#### TESTIMONY OF GEORGE VAN FREDERICK, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, RICHARD GLADSTEIN

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. FREDERICK. George Van Frederick.

Mr. KUNZIG. How do you spell Frederick?

Mr. FREDERICK. F-r-e-d-e-r-i-c-k.

Mr. KUNZIG. When and where were you born, sir?

Mr. FREDERICK. Close to Enid, Okla., July 2, 1910.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would counsel please state his name and address for the record?

Mr. GLADSTEIN. Yes. My name is Richard Gladstein, attorney at law, 240 Montgomery, San Francisco.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Frederick, were you present in the room to hear the testimony of the last witness, at least in the last hour or two?

Mr. FREDERICK. I was.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then you heard the last witness identify you as a member of the Communist Party?

(At this point Mr. Frederick conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. FREDERICK. I heard what he said.

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

(At this point Mr. Frederick conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. FREDERICK. Mr. Counsel, I feel that my political convictions, my political ideas, are my own business. I decline to answer—

(At this point Mr. Frederick conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you attempting to say, sir, that you do not wish to answer the question and that you refuse to answer on the ground that you might incriminate yourself?

Mr. FREDERICK. Mr. Counsel, I wish to answer this question in my own way.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I recommend that the witness be directed to answer the question, Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party? It is very simple; he can say "Yes" or "No," or he can refuse to answer.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is directed to answer the question. Following that answer he will be given every opportunity to explain his reasons.

(At this point Mr. Frederick conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. FREDERICK. I decline to tell this committee anything of my political activities, based upon the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. And in response to the specific question you decline to answer?

Mr. FREDERICK. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are we to understand, Mr. Frederick, that you feel that membership in the Communist Party is merely a political matter?

(At this point Mr. Frederick conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. FREDERICK. Mr. Counsel, Mr. Chairman, I believe it is written in the laws of this country that you can be a member of any political organization, any organization, without having to be interrogated or intimidated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then you feel the Communist Party is merely a political organization and nothing more?

(At this point Mr. Frederick conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. FREDERICK. I understand that the laws are written such that you can be a member of the Communist Party, because the Communist Party legally—it is legal to belong to the Communist Party; also to be an officer of this party.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are absolutely right; it is not illegal to be a member of the Communist Party. Therefore, how could you possibly feel it would incriminate you to answer the question?

(At this point Mr. Frederick conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. FREDERICK. Because I heard your chairman say that being a member of the Communist Party is the same thing as being a part of a subversive conspiracy.

Mr. KUNZIG. That was not only said by the chairman, but was also said, Mr. Frederick, by justices of the Supreme Court of the United States of America.

Now I have another question to ask you. I have here testimony by Mary Elizabeth Parrott Bradsher, taken the 2d day of November 1953, when she was asked the following question:

Mrs. Bradsher, to the best of your recollection can you tell me whom you met and worked with as members of the Communist Party since the reformation of the Communist Party in October 1945 until you became inactive?

And her answer was:

There was a fellow named Jerry; there was a Jean Fredericks and a Van Fredericks, man and wife; Marian Redner, R-e-d-n-er, whom we knew as Marian Hammond and Jean Hammond; Bill Redner; Clara and Bob Ragland, R-a-g-l-a-n-d; Bimbo Brown; Ella and Jack Gonzales, G-o-n-z-a-l-e-s; Bruce Anderson; June and Herb Naboisek, N-a-b-o-i-s-e-k; Frank Parsons; Bob Neville, N-e-v-i-l-l-e—

(At this point Mr. Frederick conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing to read).

Ray Thompson; Naomi and Al White; Gene and Jean Lien; and Willie Laughery, L-a-u-g-h-e-r-y; and a D. D. Jones.

In that group named by Mrs. Bradsher is Van Fredericks named as a member of the Communist Party. Do you wish to affirm or deny that statement?

Mr. FREDERICK. Mr. Counsel, before I answer this question I would like to understand as to whether the committee, according to what I read in the paper, is going to refuse to answer the questions to me and my lawyer for the suit I have filed against them, causing me to lose my job with the corporation with which I was working here in San Francisco, or if by the fact that you refuse questions, refuse to answer questions, as the press has stated, that if this is the case, then are there 2 laws written, one for Congressmen, and one for common citizens like myself.

Mr. JACKSON. There has been—while the chair is not inclined to engage in personalities—no refusal on the part of anyone with respect to the suit in question. The matter is taking its due course and due process in the courts, it is my understanding, and we will see what comes out of that action.

However, at the present moment there is a question pending from the counsel which I wish we could have answered.

Mr. FREDERICK. I read in the paper, in the San Francisco Chronicle—

Mr. JACKSON. What you read in the paper, sir, is not of the slightest moment at this time. There is a question pending, and I wish you would answer it or decline to answer it.

(At this point Mr. Frederick conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. FREDERICK. May I consult with my attorney for a moment?

Mr. JACKSON. Of course, at any time.

(At this point Mr. Frederick conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. FREDERICK. Mr. Counsel and Mr. Chairman, I am not interested in commenting on what this last witness has said. I decline on the grounds of the fifth amendment which the Constitution affords me.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. Frederick, would you state your address, please, for the record? I don't believe we got that.

Mr. FREDERICK. My address at present is 2011 Bridgeway, Sausalito, Calif.

Mr. KUNZIG. And what employment have you had recently that you just discussed where you are no longer employed?

(At this point Mr. Frederick conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. FREDERICK. For the past 3 years I have been a draftsman. This was up until the time your man served me with a subpoena in my home, and I was fired by the company with which I was employed at that time.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was the company?

Mr. FREDERICK. Bechtel Corp.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell that, please?

Mr. FREDERICK. B-e-c-h-t-e-l Corp.

Mr. KUNZIG. What type of work does that corporation do?

Mr. FREDERICK. Engineering and construction.

Mr. KUNZIG. Does the company, if it lies within your knowledge, do any defense work of any kind whatsoever?

Mr. FREDERICK. Not to my knowledge. I was strictly on power-plant for Pacific Gas & Electric.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of this witness.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I think, Mr. Chairman, the record ought to show—and I may say for the gentleman—the fact that a man is subpoenaed is no sign that he is guilty of anything, and this committee regrets that any employer discharges any person merely because a person has been subpoenaed to come before this committee.

This committee is interested in finding facts, whatever they may be. I wish to say that so far as I am concerned that the fact that any witness is subpoenaed before this committee doesn't mean in my book that he is a bad citizen—

(At this point Mr. Frederick conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. DOYLE. Nor that he is subversive necessarily.

Of course I do think very clearly the record shows that by and large men who have continued to be Communists since 1945, since the Duclos letter, do it with their eyes open, and that most of them are probably members of the Communist conspiracy if they are still Communists after April 1945.

I just wish to say, Mr. Chairman—and I know you other members quite agree with me—the fact that a man is subpoenaed is no sign he is a bad citizen in any sense.

Mr. JACKSON. Is there any reason why the witness—

Mr. FREDERICK. Mr. Doyle—may I ask Mr. Doyle a question?

Mr. KUNZIG. There is no further—

Mr. FREDERICK. May I say something to Mr. Doyle?

Mr. JACKSON. Is there a question pending?

Mr. KUNZIG. There is no question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

(At this point Mr. Frederick conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. KUNZIG. No, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FREDERICK. May I reply to Mr. Doyle?

Mr. JACKSON. I don't know that the observation——

Mr. DOYLE. I didn't make a statement in order to ask for a reply at all. I just felt that you were entitled to have that statement from me as one member of the committee, and I know no record to the contrary.

Mr. FREDERICK. I would like to invite you, Mr. Doyle, to talk to Bechtel and get my job back for me, and I will tell you why. I have a daughter 17 years old who lives with me, one that does not live with me that I have to support. I have a pregnant wife. This job is very important to me. I invite you personally to go to Bechtel and get my job back for me.

Mr. JACKSON. May I extend you an invitation to answer the question as to whether you are now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FREDERICK. I have answered that.

Mr. JACKSON. You decline to answer that question?

Mr. FREDERICK. I have answered it. It is in the record.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. KUNZIG. There is no reason, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is excused.

Mr. KUNZIG. James Fenton Wood.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WOOD. I do.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed.

#### TESTIMONY OF JAMES FENTON WOOD, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, RICHARD GLADSTEIN

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Chairman, I don't wish to have these photographers photograph me while I am testifying. They can photograph me before or afterwards. Is that permissible?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, if the press will.

Mr. WOOD. Is that agreeable with the press? Before or after, please.

Mr. JACKSON. Let it be understood that the press is here as a public information media. I am not going to restrict them unduly to any activities that may take place during the course of your interrogation. If it is convenient for the press to get their pictures now or later, that is quite all right.

If there are developments——

Mr. WOOD. I asked the press to agree to that.

I have one more request: I would like them not to turn up this microphone when I am consulting. There was a return when he was turning up that microphone. I want private.

Mr. SCHIERER. If counsel will leave his hand off the microphone when he talks to you, that won't happen.

Mr. WOOD. I know enough about electricity to know they were turning it up.

Mr. JACKSON. There will be no changing of the volume unless it is necessary because someone has placed his hand over it and we are getting feedback, in which instance it will be turned down.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you state your full name for the record, please?

Mr. WOOD. James Fenton Wood.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would counsel please state his name and address for the record?

Mr. GLADSTEIN. My name is Richard Gladstein, attorney at law, 240 Montgomery Street, San Francisco.

Mr. KUNZIG. When and where were you born?

Mr. WOOD. Ogden, Utah, 1918.

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

Mr. WOOD. 975 Grove Street.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where is that?

Mr. WOOD. San Francisco.

Mr. KUNZIG. And your present occupation, sir?

Mr. WOOD. I was a draftsman until I was laid off just recently due to a subpoena.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where were you a draftsman?

Mr. WOOD. At Bechtel Corp.

Mr. KUNZIG. The same corporation as the last witness?

Mr. WOOD. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, were you present in the room and did you hear the testimony previously given during this day with regard to yourself?

(At this point Mr. Wood conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. WOOD. I heard part of this testimony that was given.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you hear the testimony of Mr. Hill to the effect that he knew you as a member of the Communist Party in Alameda County?

Mr. WOOD. I heard the testimony.

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

(At this point Mr. Wood conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. WOOD. I first want to say that I would never admit having known Mr. Hill. I think it would be the most degrading thing I could think of doing.

Mr. KUNZIG. Just answer the question instead of worrying about degrading yourself. Just answer the question. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WOOD. Well, I wish to say that I decline on the first amendment because this is an invasion of my private political beliefs. I fought in the Army as a citizen to insure that private political freedom of thought would continue to exist and also—

Mr. KUNZIG. You do know, don't you, the Supreme Court of the United States has settled the question of whether you can use the first amendment in a situation like this? The people who used it went to prison. Is there any other amendment you would like to use?

(At this point Mr. Wood conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. WOOD. I have no knowledge that the Supreme Court has made such a decision. If they are about to act on it, that may be a different thing.

Mr. KUNZIG. This was several years ago, but just answer the question. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

(At this point Mr. Wood conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. WOOD. I want to state that I still believe that the first amendment is a very valid reason for declining to answer such a question, and once more, I am told that I should invoke the fifth amendment, so I will.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, you are refusing then to answer on the ground that to answer might incriminate you, is that correct?

Mr. WOOD. Could you state the question again?

Mr. KUNZIG. I am stating so we get the record straight, I want to understand: Are you refusing to answer the question on the grounds that it may incriminate you to so answer?

(At this point Mr. Wood conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. WOOD. Yes, I am.

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

Mr. WOOD. I decline to answer on the grounds that the fifth amendment to the Constitution says I do not have to be a witness against myself.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee is aware of what the Constitution says.

Mr. WOOD. You asked me my reason. You asked me a question; I am answering.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee has listened for a long time to what the Constitution says, and I am sure they are as fully aware of it as is the witness.

Mr. WOOD. I think they should take it to heart a little bit.

Mr. JACKSON. That we are doing and trying to preserve it. Are there any further questions?

Mr. KUNZIG. I would just like to ask one more. Was Dickson Hill correct in his identification of you as a member of the Communist Party?

(At this point Mr. Wood conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. WOOD. I have answered the question that you infer, and I decline to answer further.

Mr. KUNZIG. You refuse to answer this particular question on the grounds of the fifth amendment, is that right?

(At this point Mr. Wood conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. WOOD. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. None.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you ever meet or know Mr. Hill before in your life?

(At this point Mr. Wood conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. WOOD. Same answer.

Mr. JACKSON. For the same reasons?

Mr. WOOD. Same reason.

Mr. MOULDER. How old are you?

Mr. WOOD. Thirty-five.

Mr. MOULDER. Are you married?

Mr. WOOD. Yes.



Mr. MOULDER. Have you ever served in any branch of the armed services?

Mr. WOOD. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. What branch?

Mr. WOOD. Army.

Mr. MOULDER. How long were you in the Army?

Mr. WOOD. Three years. I would like to make a statement for the reason I was there.

Mr. MOULDER. I was asking that for the record for your own——

Mr. WOOD. I would like——

Mr. MOULDER. You were three years in the armed services?

Mr. WOOD. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. In the Army?

Mr. WOOD. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you serve overseas?

Mr. WOOD. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. As what?

Mr. WOOD. I was with the Air Force?

Mr. MOULDER. In the Air Force?

Mr. WOOD. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. What section of the overseas service were you in?

Mr. WOOD. I was a radio technician.

Mr. MOULDER. Where?

Mr. WOOD. I was in England for most of the time and went to France, Belgium, Holland.

Mr. MOULDER. In what business is the Bechtel Corp. engaged?

Mr. WOOD. Engineering, construction.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you a member of the Communist Party while you were in the United States Army?

(At this point Mr. Wood conferred with Mr. Gladstein.)

Mr. WOOD. I think this question has been previously asked, and I refuse to answer further.

Mr. SCHERER. For the same reason?

Mr. WOOD. Same reason.

Mr. MOULDER. One more question: Was your discharge honorable or dishonorable?

Mr. WOOD. Honorable.

Mr. JACKSON. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. WOOD. I also have citations, I might mention.

Mr. JACKSON. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused? The witness is excused.

Mr. WOOD. Will the committee take action to get me my job back?

Mr. JACKSON. Will you take action to cooperate with the committee in telling us what you know about the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. WOOD. If the committee will abide in a constitutional manner——

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is excused.

Next witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Eugene Toopekoff.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF EUGENE ALEXANDER TOOPEEKOFF, ACCOMPANIED  
BY HIS COUNSEL, LAWRENCE SPEISER**

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Eugene Alexander Toopeekoff.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell that, please?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. T-o-o-p-e-e-k-o-f-f.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see that you are represented by counsel. Would counsel please state his name and office address for the record?

Mr. SPEISER. Lawrence Speiser, and I am the staff counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union. My office address is 503 Market Street, San Francisco.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, would you state when and where you were born, Mr. Toopeekoff?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I was born in Russia on February 12, 1900.

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

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. 1050 Mountain Boulevard, Oakland 11, Calif.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where are you presently employed, Mr. Toopeekoff?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. C. C. Moore & Co., engineers.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell that company, please?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. C. C.—that is initials—Moore, M-o-o-r-e.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that at 450 Mission Street?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. That is correct, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. In San Francisco?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. San Francisco.

Mr. KUNZIG. What type of work do you do there?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Draftsman.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you present in the room to hear the testimony of the witness, Mr. Hill, today?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. A part of the time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you hear Mr. Hill's testimony regarding yourself as a member of the Communist Party?

(At this point Mr. Toopeekoff conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Yes, I have.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Toopeekoff?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Would you state your answer once more?

Mr. KUNZIG. What is that?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. What was the question once more?

Mr. KUNZIG. I believe it was, Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of self-incrimination, or I don't want to be a witness against myself.

Mr. KUNZIG. You refuse to answer?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. But at the same time I would like to state that I am not now and I have not been a member of the Communist Party for the past 5 years.

Mr. KUNZIG. For the past 5 years?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. When did you leave the Communist Party?

(At this point Mr. Toopeekoff conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I claim the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1950? I presume the answer is "No" since you said you were not in the last 5 years.

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. That is correct; last 5 years.

Mr. KUNZIG. The answer is "No," you were not a member of the Communist Party in 1950?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. How about 1949; were you a member of the Communist Party in 1949?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Well, I believe that the 5-year period will take you to December 1, 1948, sir, if my calculations are correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then suppose I ask you, were you a member of the Communist Party on December 2, 1948?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I would say "No."

Mr. KUNZIG. How about November 30, 1948?

(At this point Mr. Toopeekoff conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of the Communist Party on November 30?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I will claim the privilege of protection.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of the fifth amendment?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you refuse to answer the question as regards to November 30, 1948, but you were not a member on December 2? How about December 1?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I would claim the protection, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. The switch came somewhere between the first and the second; is that right?

(At this point Mr. Toopeekoff conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I claim the privilege, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Toopeekoff, are you a naturalized citizen at the present time?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I am, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you become a naturalized citizen?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I believe that was in May 1934. That is correct, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, I would like to ask you, going back through the years now, Mr. Toopeekoff, were you a member of the Communist Party in 1947?

(At this point Mr. Toopeekoff conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I wish to claim the privilege of the fifth amendment, protection of the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. 1946?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Answer would be the same.

Mr. KUNZIG. 1945?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Would be the same.

Mr. KUNZIG. 1944?

(At this point Mr. Toopeekoff conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I would like to claim the privilege of protection.

Mr. KUNZIG. 1943?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Same thing, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. 1942?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I came to California in April 1942.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you join the Communist Party when you came to California? Is that the point?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I would claim the protection of the Constitution.

Mr. KUNZIG. You didn't answer my other question, though. In 1942 were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. No; I was not a member of the Communist Party on the day when I went to California.

Mr. KUNZIG. So you refuse to answer the question between 1942 and 1948, I guess it was, wasn't it? Check the record again, will you?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Yes, sir; December 1, 1948.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see. Did you ever engage in your work that you told us about as an engineer—as a draftsman, did you ever engage in war work of any kind, any confidential work?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I don't believe so, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you do any work that had to do with the war during those periods in the United States?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Yes, I did; yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What type of work was that?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Draftsman, drafting work.

Mr. KUNZIG. Draftsman work that had to do with the war effort?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. That is right, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. During the time that you were doing that work were you a member of the Communist Party?

(At this point Mr. Toopeekoff conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I will claim the protection of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

(At this point Mr. Toopeekoff conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give the committee a résumé of your employment background, Mr. Toopeekoff, since you came to this country, let us say?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Since I came to this country. Would you mind if I will refer to the records I have here?

Mr. KUNZIG. No; go right ahead.

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Since I came to United States in the fall of 1923, I was employed at Armour & Co. in Chicago, stockyards.

Mr. KUNZIG. What type of work?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I was steamfitter helper.

Mr. JACKSON. How long did that employment last? What period of time?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I would say it lasted from 1923 through 1928, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. If you can, will you give the approximate period of time involved in each of your—

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Well, I would say I was employed on and off while going to school—that is, at the same job—and that was about 5 years altogether, in the capacities of steamfitter helper first, and then in the engineering department of the same company, Armour & Co. stockyards.

That was Armour. Then I was also employed by X-L Refrigerating Co., also in Chicago, I would say maybe for a year.

Then again I was intermittently employed by a fellow by the name of G. P. Swartz, also in Chicago. I believe his name was S-w-a-r-t-z,

G. P. The work also was of an intermittent nature while going to school.

Then I was employed by Emergency Relief Commission. That was a period, I don't remember exactly, of perhaps a year, year and a half. I have down here 1932, 1934.

Then I went to Rochester, N. Y., and I worked with American Zinc Corp. I have it down here as 1934, 1935. Then I came back to Chicago and worked for United States Cold Storage Co. in Chicago on Pershing Road, and the period I have here is close to 6 years. That takes me down to 1941.

I was unemployed for a period of time, 1941, and then I went to Sturgeon Bay, Wis., and at the end of my unemployment period I found a job with Leathem D. Smith Co. They were shipbuilders located in Sturgeon Bay, Wis., and I was with them until spring of 1942.

Then I came back to Chicago, and I worked for perhaps a couple of weeks at the Aircraft Production Engineers. That was in the year 1942, spring of it, and then I boarded a bus and came to California. That was in the spring, April of 1942.

Mr. JACKSON. What is your record of employment since 1942?

Mr. TOOPEKOFF. When I came to California I started to work for Pacific Bridge Co. in Alameda, and I was there, I believe, up to February 1943. Then I changed the employment to Kaiser Cargo offices in Oakland, downtown Oakland, and I believe I worked there up to October of 1943. Then I changed employment to that of Walsh-Kaiser Co.—W-a-l-s-h. Their offices, temporary offices, were located in San Francisco in the same building where—I think it was on Montgomery Street.

Mr. JACKSON. What type of work was performed by that organization?

Mr. TOOPEKOFF. That particular work, draftsman also. That was as a draftsman, too.

Mr. JACKSON. What type of work did the firm do? What was the nature of that?

Mr. TOOPEKOFF. That was in connection—Walsh-Kaiser were building some of the cargo ships, I think, and the ships were designed by another engineering office—what was it, I am sorry, I have forgotten; it was on Montgomery Street, an engineering office specializing in maritime construction, and we did some work in connection with their work. I believe we were subcontractors or something like that, doing some detail work for that company.

I am sorry I don't remember the name of that, that Walsh-Kaiser. Then I changed my employment to that of United Engineering in Alameda where I was up to November 1945. Then I was employed by E. J. Wegener, W-e-g-e-n-e-r, and I believe I was with his office up to May 1946.

Then I went back to Cincinnati Engineering and stayed there up until December of 1946, and then I changed the job and went to work for C. C. Moore Co., and I was then employed by that concern as of the moment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions to ask. I would like to suggest that since the witness obviously keeps most exact records about various things that he has done in his life, that

I am sure if he would answer the questions that were asked, he could be of great assistance to this committee from the records which he obviously keeps.

I hope that at some time in the future, if this witness sees fit to answer these questions, he can come before this committee and answer them and be of the great assistance that I feel sure he could be.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. How old were you when you came to the United States from Russia?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I came in 1923, so that makes it 23 years old, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Are your parents still living over there?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. No, they are not. I mean, they are deceased.

Mr. MOULDER. Since arrival in this country have you at any time been in contact with the Soviet Union consul or Embassy or any of their representatives over in this country?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I don't believe so, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. That is all.

Mr. DOYLE. After you left the Communist Party as a member, did you take any steps to let your friends and neighbors know that you retired from the party, and if so, what steps?

(At this point Mr. Toopeekoff conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I am sorry, sir; that is a compound question. Would you please break it down so that I can answer it?

Mr. DOYLE. I note the same distinguished counsel is with you now as was here this morning. He called attention then that it was a compound question that was asked. Well, I will try to make it simple for you. What have you done, if anything, since you left the Communist Party membership to inform any of your friends and neighbors that you no longer were a member of the Communist Party?

(At this point Mr. Toopeekoff conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. It sounds exactly the same way, sir. It is a compound question. I am sorry, but that is the way it looks and sounds to me.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, you don't want to answer it. You know what I mean by the question, don't you? That is in plain English language, isn't it? You understand what I am asking you to answer, don't you?

(At this point Mr. Toopeekoff conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Well, sir, you have asked me a question on which I have claimed the privilege of protection under the fifth and the first amendments before, and I have answered those.

Mr. DOYLE. I am sure you didn't answer that question before, sir. I am sure that it was not asked you.

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Well, the implication is still there, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I think I have no more questions.

Mr. JACKSON. I believe you said, sir, that you were not presently a member of the Communist Party; is that correct?

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Yes, yes.

Mr. JACKSON. The only conclusion that one can draw is that during the period about which you refused to testify you were a member of

the Communist Party or were otherwise involved in something which would involve a measure of self-incrimination for you to answer questions. Over that period of time did you take any step or make any move which you consider to have been the act of a disloyal citizen during the period of time in question?

(At this point Mr. Toopeekoff conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. Would you let me read a statement which I have prepared for the committee? That would answer your question.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be very happy to receive in written form any statement that you have, and, subject to the rules of the committee, it may be inserted in the record.

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I see.

(At this point Mr. Toopeekoff conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I am pretty sure the statement will answer the question, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it possible to answer the question briefly as to whether or not you engaged in any disloyal activity or any activity of a subversive nature during the period of time about which you refused to answer questions?

(At this point Mr. Toopeekoff conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. TOOPEEKOFF. I am not going to read the whole statement. I will just read the part of it that applies to your question:

I have never been a spy nor have I ever advocated the overthrow of our Government by force and violence. I have not been a witness to anyone advocating the overthrow of our Government by force and violence.

Mr. JACKSON. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is excused.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Eugene Eagle.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. EAGLE. Yes, I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF EUGENE EAGLE, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, JULIUS M. KELLER

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you state your full name, please, sir?

Mr. EAGLE. My full name is Eugene Eagle, E-a-g-l-e.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would counsel please state his name and address for the record, sir?

Mr. KELLER. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Counsel, would you kindly now state your name and address for the record?

Mr. KELLER. My name is Julius M. Keller, 68 Post Street, San Francisco.

Mr. KUNZIG. Dr. Eagle, would you please state your present address?

Mr. EAGLE. 1324 Broadway, San Francisco.

Mr. KUNZIG. And your occupation, sir?

Mr. EAGLE. I am an optometrist.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you present in the room to hear the testimony of the witness prior—

Mr. EAGLE. I heard the testimony, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you hear the testimony given by Mr. Hill earlier that he knew you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EAGLE. I heard the testimony, yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, Dr. Eagle?

Mr. EAGLE. For the last couple of days and weeks I have been wondering just what Congress took up before they began these un-American investigations—

Mr. JACKSON. Will the witness kindly confine his remarks to the answer of the question.

Mr. EAGLE. I am going to answer that question, sir, and I would like for the committee—

Mr. JACKSON. Very well, answer it, and then if you have any explanation to make, we will be very happy to—

Mr. EAGLE. I would like for the committee to accord me the same courtesy in answering these questions as they did a couple of other witnesses here yesterday.

Mr. JACKSON. You will be accorded every courtesy which is consistent with your own conduct toward the committee. If you will answer the question which is presently pending, you will be given an opportunity to explain your answer.

Mr. EAGLE. The sum total of my answer to that question is that I refuse to answer that question on various grounds.

I was very much struck with awe at the friendly witnesses. I have been and am very much an admirer of the American production techniques, and I notice that one of the things we produce best and quickest today are Communists. In Hitler Germany they produced Jews—

Mr. JACKSON. The committee is not here to listen to a lesson in history nor in constitutional law. It is here to ask you some questions, to seek some information from you, to elicit some answers from you.

(At this point Mr. Eagle conferred with Mr. Keller.)

Mr. JACKSON. You have declined to answer the question?

Mr. EAGLE. I decline to answer the question on the grounds of the fifth amendment, and I mean the entire fifth amendment. I also decline to answer on several other grounds. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fourth amendment; I decline an answer on the grounds of the first amendment and on the grounds of the tenth amendment. Such an answer maybe is a compound answer.

Mr. JACKSON. That is sufficient answer.

Mr. EAGLE. I would like to—

Mr. JACKSON. Nothing further is needed.

Mr. EAGLE. This committee came all the way from Washington to hear me say that?

I understand this committee came—

Mr. JACKSON. Just a moment. The Chair again feels constrained to warn the audience that any demonstration of any sort, of approval or disapproval, will immediately result in the clearing of the hearing room. This is the second time that it has been necessary to bring this to the attention of the audience. This is a congressional committee operating under the authority and the power of the United States Government. There will be dignity and decorum in the hearing room if it is necessary to clear the entire hearing room in order to achieve it.



The officers about the hearing room will please observe those who are responsible for any further outbreaks and will take them out of the hearing room.

Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Dr. Eagle, would you answer this question: Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. EAGLE. In view of what has gone before in this hearing, and in view of the fact that people like Truman and Clark are suspected of harboring or aiding or abetting foreign countries, in view of the general situation in this country, I will have to plead and stand on the privilege guaranteed in the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, this witness does not have to stand on anything. Do you stand on the fifth amendment?

Mr. EAGLE. I do stand on the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Let the witness clearly understand that he is under no compulsion to stand on anything. If he chooses to take his constitutional privilege, that is his privilege. He is under no compulsion to do so.

Mr. EAGLE. I feel that I am——

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. No.

Mr. JACKSON. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. KUNZIG. No, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is excused.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Bernice Kalman.

Mr. TREUHAFT. That witness was called for yesterday's session, I believe; she received a telegram stating that she should be here yesterday. She was here with her attorney at that time. Her attorney is unable to attend today and asked me to state that if the committee wishes to notify her of some convenient time when she may be heard, that she will be here.

She was not given any instructions yesterday about returning. She was subpoenaed for yesterday, not for today.

Mr. JACKSON. I am advised by counsel that the earliest time that we can accommodate the witness will be Friday. However, I am further advised that the subpoenas which are issued are on a continuing basis, subject to the work of the committee which it is not possible to plan in advance to an hour. Therefore, any other witnesses who may be in the hearing room are expected to return tomorrow.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would the gentleman who has just spoken please identify himself for the record?

Mr. TREUHAFT. Yes; my name is Robert Treuhaft. I am an attorney.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well; Friday morning at 10 o'clock for the witness.

Do you have any further witnesses?

Mr. TREUHART. I might say that I am not the attorney for this witness. All I can do is communicate the information to the attorney for the witness.

Mr. SCHERER. Who is the attorney for the witness?

Mr. TREUHART. The attorney for the witness is Mr. Edward Grogan, G-r-o-g-a-n.

Mr. DOYLE. You appeared here at his request, didn't you?

Mr. TREUHART. I did.

Mr. DOYLE. You appeared here at the request of the attorney for the lady?

Mr. TREUHART. I did.

Mr. DOYLE. You appeared here, therefore, officially for him as her attorney.

Mr. TREUHART. I appeared here at his request and as a courtesy to him.

Mr. DOYLE. And you will report to him immediately that that hour is set?

Mr. TREUHART. I will likewise, as a matter of courtesy, inform him of what the members of the committee have said.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I am a member of the bar also, and I know that we will receive his and your cooperation.

Mr. TREUHART. Yes. I trust that the subpoenas that are issued and the proceedings in which you are a member of the bar are in better form than the subpoenas that are issued here.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. As long as the subpoenas are answered, that is all.

Do you have any further witnesses?

Mr. KUNZIG. Dan Mah, M-a-h.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MAH. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF DAN KEW MAH, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, CHARLES R. GARRY

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you state your full name for the record, please?

Mr. MAH. Dan Kew Mah.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell it, please?

Mr. MAH. D-a-n K-e-w M-a-h.

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

Mr. MAH. San Francisco, Calif.

Mr. KUNZIG. And your street address, please?

Mr. MAH. San Francisco, Calif.

Mr. KUNZIG. There must be more. Would you give us the street, please?

(At this point Mr. Mah conferred with Mr. Garry.)

Mr. MAH. I will write the address down and give it to the committee secretly.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well, if you will furnish the committee with your address, it will be satisfactory.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would the counsel please state his name and address for the record?

Mr. GARRY. Charles R. Garry, G-a-r-r-y, 68 Post Street, attorney at law.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Mah, what is your present employment?

(At this point Mr. Mah conferred with Mr. Garry.)

Mr. MAH. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, you direct the witness to answer.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, it is part of proper identification. I think the question is entirely proper. You are directed to answer the question as to your present occupation.

(At this point Mr. Mah conferred with Mr. Garry.)

Mr. MAH. On the following grounds.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you persist in your refusal to answer?

Mr. MAH. Well, this is a private matter. From some of the testimony I have heard today, people has been deprived of their jobs, and I don't wish to be deprived of my job.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you persist in your declination to answer?

Mr. MAH. I certainly do.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. For what reasons?

Mr. MAH. On the ground that I do not wish to be a witness against myself.

Mr. JACKSON. Would disclosing the true nature of your employment be a criminal offense?

(At this point Mr. Mah conferred with Mr. Garry.)

Mr. MAH. I decline to answer that.

(At this point Mr. Mah conferred with Mr. Garry.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Mah, in the case of the *United States of America v. William Schneiderman* in the United States District Court, Southern District of California, Central Division, there was testimony taken Tuesday, April 1, 1952, where testimony was given by William Ford to the following effect—I will read it to you:

Have you attended any Communist Party meetings at which Oleta O'Connor Yates was present other than the one you have just related?

Yes; I have. She attended a meeting of the executive committee of my branch of the party in my apartment at 926 Grove Street, San Francisco.

And when did that take place?

That took place in about, as near as I can recall, September of 1946.

And who else was present at that meeting?

Harry Williams was present and Dan Mah. D-a-n M-a-h.

Then Mr. Ken Stone says:

Your Honor, may I assist the reporter on that? It is my understanding the name is spelled M-a-h.

The court asked, "Does that refresh your recollection?"

And the witness said, "yes, sir."

Now, Mr. Mah, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

(At this time Mr. Mah conferred with Mr. Garry.)

Mr. MAH. Before I answer this question I wish to state that I didn't get an opportunity to finish my answer to the last question because I did not wish to interrupt the chairman when he spoke.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. Complete the answer to your last question.

Mr. MAH. What I wished to say, following what I said, was that on the same ground, which I failed to inject into the record.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well, and now, the question, I believe, pending is, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MAH. I refuse to answer that question on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. May I suggest you give him an opportunity to deny, affirm, or explain that testimony which you have read to him, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. I now wish to ask you, Mr. Mah, whether you would please affirm or deny this testimony taken in the United States court record in which you were identified as having been present at Communist Party meetings.

(At this point Mr. Mah conferred with Mr. Garry.)

Mr. MAH. I would decline to answer that question on the ground of the first amendment and also on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. When and where were you born, Mr. Mah?

Mr. MAH. When was I born?

Mr. KUNZIG. And where; yes.

Mr. MAH. I was born in Fresno, Calif., in the year August 27, 1899.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Mah, are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MAH. I decline to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give the committee a résumé of your employment background?

(At this point Mr. Mah conferred with Mr. Garry.)

Mr. MAH. I decline to answer that question on the ground of the first amendment, because I don't think this is any affair of this committee. It is a private matter, and also on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Mah, I will come back to this in a moment. Where did you attend school here?

Mr. MAH. In Fresno, Calif.

Mr. KUNZIG. How far did you go in school?

Mr. MAH. First year high.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was the name of the high school?

Mr. MAH. Fresno High School.

Mr. KUNZIG. What year did you graduate?

Mr. MAH. I did not graduate. I said first year high.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are absolutely correct. What year did you leave high school, to the best of your recollection?

Mr. MAH. Approximately 1914.

Mr. KUNZIG. In 1914 what was the first employment you had after you got out of school, after you left school?

Mr. MAH. I have already stated the reason I will not answer that question.

Mr. KUNZIG. You refuse to answer—let me make sure that this is clear for the record—what your employment was in 1914 when you left high school at the end of the first year because you fear that to answer that question might tend to incriminate you, is that correct? In 1953?

Mr. MAH. For the same three reasons I gave.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully request that the witness be directed to answer this question.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is so directed.

Mr. MAH. On the ground of the first amendment, because I don't believe it is any concern of the committee, and also as a private matter, and thirdly on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Mah, I now ask you this question: Will you give the committee, please, in detail your employment from the time you left school until the present time?

Mr. MAH. For the very same reason I just gave previously.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully request the witness be ordered to answer this question.

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

Mr. MAH. Mr. Chairman, I can't understand; I have already gave the reasons.

Mr. JACKSON. That is quite all right; you can persist in your declination if you desire. However, you are directed to answer the question.

Mr. MAH. On the grounds of the first amendment, I don't believe it is any concern of this committee; secondly, it is purely a private matter; thirdly, on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. JACKSON. You decline to answer?

Mr. MAH. I decline to answer on all those grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of this witness.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. KUNZIG. No, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is excused.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Kenneth Austin.

Mr. MAH. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman, before I am excused? I would like to ask a question. I have been served a subpoena to be here, and I am here, but I also would like to make the statement to the committee—

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will receive the statement, and if it is in accordance with the rules of the committee, it may be incorporated in the record. The statement will be received. The witness is excused.

(Addressing Mr. Austin.) Do you solemnly swear in the testimony you are about to give you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. AUSTIN. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF KENNETH CRAIG AUSTIN, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, LAWRENCE SPEISER

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you state your full name, please, sir?

Mr. AUSTIN. Kenneth Craig Austin.

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

Mr. AUSTIN. Apartment 33, 535 Columbus Avenue, San Francisco, Calif.; phone number is Douglas 2-5055.

Mr. KUNZIG. Thank you very much for the complete answer. Now, Mr. Austin, would you tell us your present employment, please?

Mr. AUSTIN. My present employment is longshoreman.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where are you employed?

Mr. AUSTIN. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you connected with the ILWU, Mr. Austin?

Mr. AUSTIN. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the first and the fifth amendments for the reason that I believe the committee asking me such a question would open the gate so that they could ask me questions as to the names of persons, and at this time I would like to state that on the grounds of the first amendment and the fifth amendment I would like to inform the committee that I will answer no questions as regards my private opinions—

Mr. JACKSON. You can inform the committee—

Mr. AUSTIN. My religious convictions—

Mr. JACKSON. The witness will be in order. You can inform the committee as to your intentions when the questions are asked you. I understand that the first declination is on the grounds of the first and fifth amendment, is that correct?

Mr. AUSTIN. That is true, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Counsel, we recognize you as having been here previously today with other witnesses, but would you kindly state your name again for this record?

Mr. SPEISER. My name is Lawrence Speiser. I am the staff counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, 503 Market Street, San Francisco.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. Austin, in the same testimony given in the United States District Court, Southern District Court of California, Central Division, in *United States of America v. William Schneiderman et al*, on Tuesday, April 1, 1952, testimony was taken as follows:

Question of Mr. William Ford, Mr. Ford was asked,

Mr. Ford, were you present at a meeting of the Communist Party in which action was taken with respect to Walter Lambert?

Yes, I was.

Where did that meeting take place?

The meeting took place at 10 Golden Gate Avenue.

And when did it take place?

I think I stated previously here May or June of 1946.

Who was present at the meeting?

William Schneiderman, Oleta Yates, Rude Lambert, and that is all the defendants that I know of that were present.

Is this the same meeting that you were testifying to a few moments ago?

It is the same meeting.

Anyone else present besides the defendants in this case whom you have named?

The defendants, Mr. Chairman, were defendants in the Smith Act case that was being tried.

And the answer says:

There are two different defendants, persons who were brought up on charges within the party of antiparty and antilabor activity.

Suppose you name them.

Levin Moskoff; Rude Lambert's brother.

What was his name?

Walter Lambert; Kenny Austin, and Elaine Jay.

Then he went on to say :

The majority of my particular branch were members of this meeting, Communist Party meeting.

Mr. Austin, do you care to affirm or deny that testimony as to whether you were present at this Communist Party meeting as testified to in public record of a court of this State?

Mr. AUSTIN. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and the fifth amendments to the Constitution of the United States; it is none of the business of this committee.

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

Mr. AUSTIN. I decline to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

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

Mr. AUSTIN. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have no other questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Is there any reason why the witness should not be excused?

Mr. KUNZIG. No, sir, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness is excused.

Mr. AUSTIN. Thank you. I would like to make formal request that I be paid for today inasmuch as I lost a day's work.

Mr. JACKSON. If you will see the administrative clerk of the committee, you will get your transportation, which is the custom of the committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. I am glad the witness just mentioned that. I was about to make a statement, Mr. Chairman, that all those who testified today please, if you will, report to the committee clerk sitting on my right to sign proper papers for the witness fees and transportation.

Mr. JACKSON. At this time the committee will stand in recess until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:15 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 9:30 a. m., Thursday, December 3, 1953.)





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