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**INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
SAN FRANCISCO AREA—Part 5**

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

—————
DECEMBER 5, 1953
—————

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

INCLUDING INDEX



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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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EXHIBIT

Kendall Exhibit No. 1—National Organization of Masters, Mates, and Pilots of America, executive committee minutes, September 4, 1946, San Francisco, Calif., West Coast Local 90, containing a statement signed by James Kendall, dated September 4, 1946 (see p. 3489)

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 propagandist activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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

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

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as 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 5

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 5, 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 9:36 a. m., in the hearing room of the board of supervisors, city hall, Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Donald L. Jackson, Gordon H. Scherer, and Clyde Doyle (appearance noted in transcript).

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

Mr. VELDE. The subcommittee will be in order. For the purposes of the hearing this morning I will appoint Mr. Scherer, Mr. Jackson, and myself as chairman. Mr. Doyle is on his way here. He has been detained on account of official business, but will be here very shortly.

I would like at this time to state to those present that you are here as guests of the Congress of the United States. Any demonstration of approval or disapproval on the part of the audience will result in an order by the chairman for the immediate clearing of the hearing room. It is hoped that this action will not be necessary, but the Chair will not hesitate to take whatever action is necessary and is required to insure that the business of the United States Congress is conducted with dignity and expedition.

Mr. Counsel, will you call your first witness?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Harrison George.

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

Mr. GEORGE. Yes, sir.

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

TESTIMONY OF HARRISON GEORGE, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, LAWRENCE SPEISER

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mr. Harrison George?

Mr. GEORGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. GEORGE. Yes, sir; to my left.

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

Mr. SPEISER. Lawrence Speiser, staff counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California, 503 Market Street, San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I introduced in evidence Hudson Exhibit No. 1 during the testimony of Roy Hudson. This exhibit is a letter from Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., under date of November 27, 1939, addressed to the counsel of the Committee on Un-American Activities, enclosing a list of the national committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., as elected at the tenth convention.

When I referred to that document at the time of its introduction in evidence, I read into the record the names of those who were on this committee. One of them was Harrison George.

Mr. George, I think I should first ask you, however, when and where you were born.

Mr. GEORGE. Kansas, 1888.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation?

Mr. GEORGE. I am doing clerical work.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. George, I am not going to interrogate you regarding the details of your affiliation with the Communist Party as a high functionary as shown by the exhibit, but I do want to question you about a matter which the committee has had under investigation for some time and the part that you played in it, if you played any part in it.

The day before yesterday the committee in executive session took the testimony of Mr. Joe Koide, K-o-i-d-e, a Japanese national, regarding certain propaganda activities under circumstances indicating their connection with the Cominform, and in order to base questions upon it intelligently, it will be necessary for me to read a part of Mr. Koide's testimony to you.

Mr. Koide entered the United States as a student around 1925. He received his A. B. degree at the University of Denver in 1929. He states in substance in his testimony that he was extremely interested in aiding the Japanese people in resisting the military clique in Japan and that he considered that it was through the Communist Party that he could best accomplish that purpose.

In a conference with Earl Browder, after Mr. Browder's return from China, he was assigned to school, after becoming a member of the Communist Party, in Moscow, where he remained for more than a year.

Beginning at that point I will take up his testimony by reading it into the record so that you may understand:

Question. What did you do upon your return to the United States?

Answer. I contacted Clarence Hathaway. He had nothing to advise me at first. So I hung around about 3 weeks in New York. Then finally Hathaway told me to proceed to the west coast.

Question. Did he tell you what your assignment would be on the west coast?

Answer. No.

Question. Did he tell you who would contact you on the west coast?

Answer. No.

Question. What occurred? Did you go to the west coast as you were advised by Clarence Hathaway?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What happened after you arrived on the west coast?

Answer. I contacted Sam Darcy.

Question. Then what happened?

Answer. Sam Darcy wanted me to work for him.

Question. What type of work did he want you to do?

Answer. Well, he didn't specify, but he wanted me to work for the open party, engage in open activities.

Question. Of the Communist Party?

Answer. That's right.

Question. What was the approximate date when you arrived on the west coast?

Answer. About April 1933.

Question. Did you engage in open party work?

Answer. No.

Question. Why?

Answer. I didn't want to, that's one reason. Another was, Hathaway did tell me that "When you go to the west coast, get in touch with Darcy, and Darcy will tell you—or Darcy will let me get in touch with someone else. I am supposed to work for this person.

Question. Well, after you failed to go along with the assignment of working with Sam Darcy what did you do?

Answer. Sam Darcy took my address and promised that someone was to get in touch with me.

Question. Did someone get in touch with you?

Answer. Yes.

Question. Who was it?

Answer. Harrison George.

Question. Tell the committee what occurred.

Answer. After getting in touch with Harrison George—

Question. Just a moment. Did you get in touch with Harrison George, or did Harrison George get in touch with you?

Answer. He got in touch with me. I started working with him in translations and writing articles in Japanese for propaganda purposes directed toward Japan.

Question. Explain what you mean by propaganda being "directed toward Japan."

Answer. All the articles written had in mind the Japanese common people of Japan, of the prospective, shall we say, target or readers that articles written for the Japanese people to read and then to digest.

Question. What was the purpose? Was it to take advantage of the needs of the Japanese people in order to promote the interests of the Community Party in Japan?

Answer. You know, to answer that question I have to remind one point. Between 1929 or 1930, when I joined the party to 1933 many historic events took place in Japan and in the Asiatic Continent; mainly that the military clique which were trying to capture power politically inside the country by 1933 almost succeeded in capturing the power, and by that time the independent Manchukuo Empire was already set up, and it was well underway to further conquer China and eventually to capture the United States, so far as the conquest of the Pacific is concerned. So at that time, so far as I was concerned, when I wrote it was more a question of arousing the people of Japan against the militarist power and militarist expansion policies, economic and political and socially, rather than to advance the aims or objectives or ultimate objectives of the Communist Party. It's more as a struggle against the existing power, to bring them down. Its initial stage of the fight, more or less.

Question. Did Harrison George explain to you why the Communist Party was interested in directing propaganda activities toward Japan?

Answer. He didn't have to. Because I had the idea we had to do it.

Question. Did you have any understanding with the Communists in Moscow as to what you would do in the future in the United States if they developed a plan by which you could be returned to the United States?

I may interpolate there that the witness was faced with quite a predicament in having been sent to school in Moscow and being a

Japanese national and not a national of the United States, so it was very difficult for the Soviets to get him returned to the United States. [Continuing to read:]

Answer. Yes.

Question. What was that?

Answer. One of the difficulties standing in the way of my coming back to the United States, of getting out of Russia, was that they could not find any way of sending me back to the United States in the first place. And they didn't see much purpose in trying to work out plans to send me back to the United States inasmuch as they did not know exactly what specific assignment they could give me. Therefore, I more or less proposed to those in charge in Moscow that there is a job that should be done and could be done in the United States, especially in connection with propaganda being aimed toward Japan—if they could send me back to this country.

Question. Therefore, you were carrying out the original plan made in Moscow when you started in this propaganda work with Harrison George on the west coast; isn't that true?

Answer. I just want to ask a question about that. Did you say "planned originally in Moscow"?

Question. Yes.

Answer. So far as I was concerned, when I came back to the United States I proceeded to do the kind of thing I wanted to do.

Question. To what extent did Harrison George assist or function in connection with this propaganda work?

Answer. He wrote articles.

Question. Did you translate them into Japanese whenever he did?

Answer. Yes.

Question. What disposition was made of those articles?

Answer. Those articles were published, printed.

Question. In magazines or in pamphlet form?

Answer. In magazine form.

Question. Were those magazines published in this country or in Japan?

Answer. In this country.

Question. Were they sent to Japan for circulation there?

Answer. Some I sent through the United States mail.

Question. Were others sent?

Answer. I cannot say.

Question. Did you try to send others?

Answer. I tried to send through mail, yes, knowing full well that some of them would be confiscated at the customs in Japan.

Question. But, however, didn't you attempt to send articles of that description by other means to Japan besides the mail?

Answer. So far as I am concerned, no.

Question. Well, even if you did not do it yourself, you do know as a matter of fact, do you not, that they were sent by other means?

Answer. This is very hard to tell. I even doubt what I sent through mails, not many of them ever reached there.

Question. Yes. I am not speaking of the success of the Japanese in censoring them or intercepting them. I am talking now only about the plan to try to get them to Japan.

Answer. That part is not my work.

Question. Whose work was that?

Answer. I do not know. My part was to write the article, translate article, that's all. I see that it comes out. But after that—

Question. Well, what would be done with these articles when they were assembled?

Answer. Printed?

Question. Yes. And then what was done with them?

Answer. I mailed some of them to Japan.

Question. How were the others disposed of?

Answer. This I cannot tell you, because I do not know.

Question. You may not know what ultimately happened to them, but what did you do with them? You had to get rid of them. Did you give them to someone in the Communist Party?

Answer. No. I had what I could handle—about two dozen copies—and the rest, I don't even see them myself. Because you understand the situation.

If I printed 500, or maybe 200, it is fairly bulky. And at that time the condition in which I was living was that I didn't have a big house or anything like that; I just had a room in a place. And you know how nosy those landladies are. I didn't want anything hanging around.

Question. Nevertheless, in a matter in which you were so vitally interested—
Answer. That's right.

Question. In which you had come from the East to the West to perform, where your whole object in joining the Communist Party was in order to be of some help, as you thought, to the people of Japan, you wouldn't have left just to mere chance the accomplishment of the thing that you set out to do: Namely, to get these documents in the hands of the Japanese people?

Answer. I agree.

Question. Isn't that right?

Answer. That is true. But the fundamental question here is that there has to be a division of labor.

Question. I recognize that. But equally true, you must have known what that division of labor was.

Answer. No; I don't. I don't know exactly what is the setup or anything like that. My part was to see to it that the article comes out. As to the disposition of the bulk of the material prepared, it was not my business or domain, and I did not ask questions on those matters.

Question. Do you know where Harrison George lived?

Answer. I do not know.

Question. At that time you were doing this work with him?

Answer. No.

Question. How many articles did Harrison George write during the 18-month period you have spoken of?

Answer. Probably between 2 and 3 dozen.

Question. You spoke of these articles having appeared in a magazine. What magazine?

Answer. The name of the magazine is Pacific Worker.

Question. Who published the Pacific Worker?

Answer. We did.

Question. What do you mean by we?

Answer. Between him and me. But it had a notation, "Organ of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat." That was the notation we had on it. What that had to do with us, I don't know, but we wrote it.

Question. Who financed the publication of the magazine?

Answer. I do not know for sure, but since it has been labeled as the official organ of the Pan-Pacific secretariat, I suppose it came from that source, and if it is, that fund should have come from RILU—Red International of Labor Unions, otherwise known as Profintern. But this is my assumption.

Mr. Chairman, at this point I think I should, to form a basis for my questioning, read into this hearing and to this witness some of the testimony of Maj. Gen. Charles Willoughby.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection that permission is granted, and you may proceed to read.

Mr. TAVENNER. General Willoughby brought to our committee the secret Shanghai police files, and he based his testimony on those files regarding Communist Party activities in China. This is what General Willoughby has to say regarding the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, which is usually referred to as PPTUS.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and its parent organization, the Shanghai branch of the far eastern bureau, were the most important and highly organized apparatus for Comintern labor activities in the Far East during the late 1920's and the early 1930's. The PPTUS set up in 1927 a conference in Hankow which was attended by several prominent Comintern leaders, including Lozovsky, a Comintern agent who rose from secretary of the Profintern in 1928 to a transient position as leader of the Soviet labor movement.

(Representative Clyde Doyle entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. VELDE. At this point may I interrupt to say that Mr. Doyle has arrived, and I now reconstitute the subcommittee, which will consist of Mr. Scherer, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Doyle, and myself as chairman. You may proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER (continuing to read) :

Another member of the Hankow conference who later became first head of the PPTUS was the American Communist, Earl Browder, who was assisted in his work in Shanghai by an American woman, Katherine Harrison. Other Americans, including a journalist, James H. Dolsen; one Albert Edward Stewart, and Margaret Undjus, were prominent in the affairs of the PPTUS, as was the German woman, Irene Weidemeyer.

I will not read further from his testimony except to indicate that this testimony related particularly to the Sorge spy incident in Japan and China.

General Willoughby had this further to say :

I pause here to establish the link in this police investigation. Sorge mentioned the Comintern group in Shanghai.

He is referring there to Sorge's confession.

This we pick up as the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat since Noulens was arrested. Obviously this man Walsh or Eugene Dennis, and his subsequent connection with Browder establishes the strongest inference that he was associated with him then.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Counsel, have you the date of General Willoughby's testimony before this committee?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir; he testified before the committee on August 9, 22, and 23, 1951.

Mr. VELDE. And if I am not mistaken, General Willoughby was the chief intelligence officer of the United States Army operating directly under General MacArthur, is that right?

Mr. TAVENNER. He was G-2 under General MacArthur during nearly all of the occupation of Japan.

Mr. SPEISER. Mr. Tavenner, I have a question. Did General Willoughby have any official position in Japan during the period of time that he was testifying—just a question with regard to his knowledge in the matter—was it indicated?

Mr. VELDE. I am sure counsel knows his right to confer with the witness and not to ask any questions, but I think counsel could very well answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. General Willoughby spent nearly a year in investigating Communist activities in China and Japan, and he brought this committee a well-documented treatise on the subject and testified in person, and this is part of his testimony.

Mr. VELDE. But I think the question that was asked was, did he have any official connection with the intelligence service at the time he testified before our committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. I didn't understand that.

Mr. VELDE. My understanding is that he was retired at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. This committee got in touch with General Willoughby nearly a year before he testified, and he prepared this work for the committee to prepare himself to testify, but could not appear before the committee until he returned to the United States, and this was within a week or a few weeks after his return to the United States, and he was retired, I believe, a short time after he testified. He was being processed at the time he testified, according to my recollection.

Mr. VELDE. That is right; I do recall that now, too. Yes; you are right. He did have the connection at that time.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was undergoing physical examinations at the time.

Continuing with the testimony of Mr. Joe Koide, K-o-i-d-e, the Japanese national:

Question. What was the general nature or the propaganda material which you wrote for this magazine?

Answer. This magazine was mainly concerned about analysis of the economic conditions in Japan under military rule, and also articles dealing with how to improve the conditions in the shops and factories and farms.

Question. Did the magazine carry other pertinent information for Communist Party purposes as, for instance, was the custom of the Daily Worker and the People's World?

Answer. No. This was mainly, basically, labor union publication, mainly, although it did have some articles dealing with international developments.

Question. Do you know whether Harrison George was engaged in this form of Communist Party activity prior to your being associated with him in it?

Answer. No, I do not know.

Question. Was Harrison George associated with you in this work during the entire 18-month period?

Answer. Yes. That is, I worked longer than that, but my association with him was about 18 months. But I worked longer than that.

Question. Tell us the circumstances under which he changed the field of activity in which he was engaged.

Answer. All I know was that he was taken out. I got that word that he's leaving, that I had to work with somebody else.

Question. Do you know the reason for his being taken from that work?

Answer. No; I do not know.

Question. Do you know what his new assignment was?

Answer. I did not know at that time, but shortly afterwards he became the editor of the People's World, the People's World established here.

And if I may say so, he is not the type to do any conspiracy work or anything like that. He wanted to mix to people and he wanted to do open and he didn't give a darn who he talked back to. He's a very independent and stubborn person, if I may say so. I think that's the reason he didn't last long in the party.

Question. Was your work censored or edited in any way by the Communist Party members on a higher level than yourself?

Answer. No, except I got criticism once in a while later on.

Question. From what source did you get criticism?

Answer. Profintern source.

Question. Tell the committee about it, please.

Answer. Pardon me?

Question. Tell the committee about it.

Answer. Some examples: So far as writing and editing and publishing was concerned, we did it on our own, no one to censor, no one to edit. We did it on our own responsibility.

Question. To whom do you refer when you say "we"?

Answer. To Harrison George and myself.

However, there were cases when some of the articles we wrote or we published were severely criticized, and correction in print was demanded.

Question. Now, are you speaking of corrections in the sense of typographical errors, or actual content of the articles?

Answer. Actual content. And if I may say so, political orientation.

Question. Describe more fully what you mean, giving an example, if you can.

Answer. At one time I wrote an article on how to organize a shop committee. A few months later we received the manuscript with a notation that this article be printed in toto without any editing or abridging. And this article, the nature of this article was a bitter denunciation of the whole line of argument we put forth in the article, previous article, on the organization of shop committee.

Question. Who signed the critical article?

Answer. This article bore the name of a Japanese representative to Profintern at that time.

Question. What was his name?

Answer. Tanaka. I don't know whether that's his real name or not, but this one Tanaka was on the executive committee of the Profintern at that time. I also do not know whether this article has actually been written by him or not. The fact is that article was sent to us to be printed, and there was no choice.

Mr. TAVENNER. Incidentally, that is not the Tanaka who is notoriously known in Japan as the author of the Tanaka Memorial.

Question. In that instance the Comintern itself directed what you should publish; isn't that so?

Answer. Well, I'd better say Profintern.

Question. The Profintern.

Answer. On this question I have to state that the magazine itself bore the title of official organ of the PPTUS. Now, if that is so, I think PPTUS has every right to criticize what we printed.

Question. Were there any other instances in which you received criticism of that character from the Profintern or any other international Communist functionary group?

Answer. Not that I know. There might have been some minor ones, but I do not remember. It was such small ones. But this was a big one, very big one.

Question. Who replaced Harrison George in this work?

Answer. Rude Baker.

Question. Can you fix the date?

Answer. Well, early in 1935 or some time in 1935; early 1935.

Question. How long did you work with Rude Baker in this type of propaganda work?

Answer. We parted in 1937. That is about 2 years.

Question. Did you continue in the same general line of propaganda activity with Rude Baker as followed with Harrison George?

Answer. No.

Question. What was the difference?

Answer. Up to that time I edited this official organ of the PPTUS, which, as I stated before, mainly concerned about economic labor-union problems. However, shortly after Rude Baker came I proposed, and later agreed, that I start entirely different type of propaganda material. And I started a publication, International Correspondence, a very small, about 16-page, pamphlet in Japanese. This pamphlet dealt more with political problems rather than economic and labor-union problems. This proposal of mine coincided with the holding of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. This congress was held in 1935, I believe.

Question. July 1935?

Answer. Was it July?

Question. In Moscow?

Answer. Yes. And this Congress adopted a new policy of people's front, and made a thorough examination of the past mistakes of the Communist Party throughout the world and adopted that new policy of people's front. And it was very urgent, I believed, that this new policy be spread to Japan. And that is one of the reasons I suggested to publish such a magazine. And also this fact made it possible for me to work more independently from Rude Baker. When I worked with Harrison George it was more or less a joint undertaking. He wrote something; I wrote something. In this new adventure of mine, or enterprise of mine, I was my own boss. Baker wrote no articles. I didn't have to take any articles from him to publish.

Question. However, you were subordinate to Rude Baker in the performance of this work?

Answer. I found that out.

Question. How did you find that out?

Answer. Since I was writing in Japanese and supplying no translation of the articles, most of the things I wrote Rude Baker did not know about for a long time. But after several months he did find out what I was writing about, and he started checking up on me, wanted to know what I was writing what I was going to write about in the next issue, and so forth. I did not like this interference. But it came to a point finally that I was put on the carpet for writing articles which has nationalistic tendencies or deviations; that I placed too much upon national phases rather than international aspect.

Question. Do you recall any specific instance in which he charged you with deviations?

Answer. No; I do not recollect any specific instances. But this criticism was labeled more against my response to his criticism rather than the article itself.

It started with his checking up on my articles, but when the break came it was more or less the question of my attitude toward the criticism.

Question. What was the result of this criticism?

Answer. I was told to get lost.

Question. Did you get lost?

Answer. Yes, I did.

Question. Did that end your propaganda work for the Communist Party on the west coast?

Answer. It did for over a year. I got completely lost. I didn't even try to look at anything communistic. I was sick and tired of the whole thing at that time.

Then as far as the rest of his testimony is concerned, it doesn't relate to matters that I am interested in questioning you about, but in order that the story may be completed, a year later he was assigned to the publication in Japanese language of the history of communism in the Soviet Union.

You have heard that testimony, Mr. George, and we are interested to find facts as to the method—first let us say as to the method, or as the witness said, as to the division of work in connection with the handling of this propaganda, how it was sent to Japan, by what method. Will you tell us that, please?

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

Mr. GEORGE. Well, it has been a very interesting recitation, but I don't see that under advice of counsel I can answer that question on the grounds of the first and the fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say on the advice of counsel?

Mr. GEORGE. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, of course you should seek your counsel's advice, but the important thing here is not what your counsel says, but what you think. Are you contending in good faith that to answer the question might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. GEORGE. Otherwise I wouldn't say so.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to make certain that is your idea.

Mr. GEORGE. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. If it is your idea, I cannot question you further about it.

Mr. GEORGE. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it?

Mr. GEORGE. It is.

Mr. TAVENNER. I want to call to your attention other evidence that the committee has received. Prior to locating the witness, Mr. Koide, testimony was received in executive session in Los Angeles—and it has now been released—taken on December 22, 1952. The witness was Anne Kinney, K-i-n-n-e-y. Miss Kinney admitted her former Communist Party membership and told of her activities within the party. It is necessary that I base questions to you on her testimony, and so it is also necessary to read it to you.

Mr. VELDE. May I confer with counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

(At this point Mr. Velde conferred with Mr. Tavenner, and Mr. George conferred with Mr. Speiser.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not certain just the date when this testimony was released and made public, but I have before me the printed release of the committee which is entitled "Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles Area, Part 5."

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. TAVENNER. This is a question asked of Miss Kinney by Mr. Wheeler:

From September 1934 to the fall of 1935 you stated you were a member at large. What is meant by the term "member at large"?

Miss KINNEY. You are not attached to any branch of any sort.

Mr. WHEELER. For what reason?

Miss KINNEY. Because I was given a special assignment.

Mr. WHEELER. In your opinion would you say that you were a member at large and not assigned to any group because of security reasons of the party?

Miss KINNEY. I presume so.

Mr. WHEELER. Were you assigned to any particular person?

Miss KINNEY. Yes, to Harrison George.

Mr. WHEELER. Will you further identify Mr. Harrison George?

Miss KINNEY. Harrison George was apparently carrying out some special assignment which had to do with publishing what I think was a trade-union paper that was sent to Japan. I knew very little about it because all I was supposed to do was to pick up mail for him that was sent to various addresses and take it to him.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall from whom you picked up the mail?

Miss KINNEY. No, I don't. I never made the arrangements for the use of the addresses. I simply went and got the envelopes and took them to George.

Mr. WHEELER. Do you recall any of the addresses where you picked up the envelopes?

Miss KINNEY. No, I don't.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you at any time acquire any knowledge as to what the envelopes contained?

Miss KINNEY. No, I didn't, nor did I ever know where they came from.

Mr. WHEELER. When assigned to Harrison George did you at any time have any knowledge of the branch of the party known as the Philippine committee?

Miss KINNEY. No.

Now, did Miss Kinney operate as a mail courier for you in connection with the publication of this magazine, pamphlet, of which we have been talking?

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

Mr. GEORGE. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee the purposes of the Communist Party in engaging in this propaganda activity?

Mr. GEORGE. That is a leading question, it seems to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, and I am leading purposely in the hopes that I may get an answer.

Mr. GEORGE. Well, I decline to answer on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the publication to which we have referred financed and directed by the Profintern?

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

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, it is apparent that the witness will not answer questions relating to this matter, so we will continue with the investigation.

Mr. VELDE. Well, Mr. George, if you were engaged in an operation that was sponsored by the Soviet Union as has been mentioned in the testimony of two witnesses, don't you think it vital to the security of our country at the present time that you assist this committee with information that you must have so that we might pass legislation which would further protect the security of the American people?

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

Mr. GEORGE. Well, some of your question was a presumption. But I would say I don't think what I would say would have any bearing

upon that thing. That is my opinion, and upon that opinion I base my declination to answer the question on the grounds of the fifth amendment as previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. What part of Mr. Velde's question was a presumption?

Mr. GEORGE. The presumption that the publication of this thing was for the Soviet government.

Mr. SCHERER. Who was it for?

Mr. GEORGE. That is not for me to say, but I say that is his presumption.

Mr. SCHERER. Can you clear it up for us?

Mr. GEORGE. No.

Mr. VELDE. I believe you could clear it up for us, Mr. George, but apparently you are not going to assist this committee in any way. Do you have any further questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ever receive any compensation, either directly or indirectly, from the Soviet Union?

Mr. GEORGE. I think I better decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you decline?

Mr. GEORGE. I do so decline, yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ever receive any compensation directly or indirectly from the Communist Party?

Mr. GEORGE. Same answer.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. When our chairman asked you a minute ago about whether or not the publication was at the instance of the Soviet Union, I understood your answer to indicate that you felt that was a presumption on his part. Did I so understand?

Mr. GEORGE. That was my implication.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, now—

Mr. SCHERER. I can't hear the witness.

Mr. GEORGE. That was my implication.

Mr. DOYLE. As long as you disagreed with his presumption, you tell us, please, in the interests of the national security of your own Nation, who it was as far as you know that was sponsoring the publication of this?

Mr. GEORGE. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you turn up the microphone for the witness? His fifth amendments are weak here.

Mr. TAVENNER. One further question: Where do you reside, Mr. George?

Mr. GEORGE. Los Angeles.

Mr. TAVENNER. What address?

Mr. GEORGE. Residence? 1923 East Fourth Street, zone 33.

Mr. VELDE. What is your occupation at the present time?

Mr. GEORGE. I am doing clerical work.

Mr. SCHERER. For whom?

Mr. GEORGE. Well, it is in a commercial enterprise owned by a doctor in Los Angeles.

Mr. SCHERER. You are not today employed by the Communist Party then?

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

Mr. GEORGE. No, I am not employed by the Communist Party.

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

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

Mr. GEORGE. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

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

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. If not, the witness is dismissed, and call your next witness, please.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Paul Chown.

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

Mr. CHOWN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF PAUL CHOWN, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, GEORGE ANDERSEN

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

Mr. CHOWN. My name is Paul Chown.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. CHOWN. Yes, I am.

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

Mr. ANDERSEN. My name is George Andersen, attorney at law, 240 Montgomery Street.

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

Mr. CHOWN. I was born in California.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation?

Mr. CHOWN. I am field organizer for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you held that position?

Mr. CHOWN. Approximately 3 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your employment prior to that?

Mr. CHOWN. I would have to ask time to gather together all the information pertinent to that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let us see if you can recall what your employment was immediately before you took your position with the UE.

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

Mr. CHOWN. I was employed by the joint action committee of northern California local unions.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you so employed?

Mr. CHOWN. Oh, I believe it was 2 or 3 months.

Mr. TAVENNER. That employment then was in 1949 as nearly as you can recall?

Mr. CHOWN. 1950, I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed in 1949—let us put it this way: I would like to know what your employment has been since 1945.

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

Mr. TAVENNER. Maybe it would be easier to begin there and come up rather than go back. But you may do it either way you like.

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

Mr. CHOWN. I have been in the trade union movement all of my adult life, and it would seem to me a lot easier if you asked me the particular organizations and the time you are interested in.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, it is from 1945 on up until the time I have mentioned, 1950.

Mr. CHOWN. Well, any particular year, counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let us begin with 1945 and state what it is. (At this point Mr. Chown conferred with Mr. Andersen.)

Mr. TAVENNER. If it will simplify it any—

Mr. ANDERSEN. Pardon me; we are consulting, if you don't mind.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me change the question, please, and then you can consult further.

Mr. ANDERSEN. You want to withdraw it?

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you how you were employed in 1948. Maybe that will simplify it.

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

Mr. CHOWN. As best I can remember I was working for the Alameda CIO Council in 1948. As I said before, counsel, it would require my checking my records which I have at home as to the exact times of employment, months and dates and so forth.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed in 1947?

Mr. CHOWN. In 1947 I worked for the, I believe, California CIO Council and the Alameda County CIO Council.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Charles David Blodgett testified that he was employed by the Daily People's World for a period of about 2½ years covering the years of 1947, 1948, and up into 1949, so probably I should ask you also how you were employed in 1949 before closing the questions that I have in mind.

Mr. CHOWN. I believe I was still employed by the Alameda County CIO Council in 1949.

Mr. TAVENNER. He stated that during that period of time he was in attendance and required to attend under the directions of Lloyd Lehman, the county chairman of the Communist Party of Alameda County, the meetings of the Political Affairs Committee of the Communist Party, and he described to some extent the operations of that committee, although he says he was there merely as an observer. He has identified you in the testimony as one of the persons who attended those meetings, and it was during substantially the period that I have asked you about.

The committee would like you to tell them just what activities that group engaged in and who took part in it, so let me ask you first: Did you meet with that group?

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

Mr. CHOWN. Well, in the first place, I was not present at the time this man you allege so testified did so, and I would not be willing to take the opinion of this committee as to what was said or what was not said by this Mr. Blodgett, and I would certainly like to be able to examine the transcript or have it read here in detail.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you know the facts, and it wouldn't change the facts, regardless of what may be on the record as to what the witness said or my recollection of his testimony, so let me then put the question this way: Did you at any time attend a meeting of the Political Affairs Committee of the Communist Party of Alameda

County, which you may answer independent of anyone else's testimony.

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

Mr. CHOWN. Well, it seems obvious to me this committee is trying to link me in with the stool pigeon and with an attempt to smear some other people politically, and I am going to decline to answer that question based on the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. My question related only to you, Mr. Chown.

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

Mr. CHOWN. I heard what you said, and my answer is still the same, that no one appearing before this committee can hope to beat the problem of paid, professional, hopped-up perjurers who come in here and bear false witness.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Chown, let me again disabuse your mind of this. This committee has never paid any witness to appear before it to give testimony and doesn't direct the testimony of the witnesses.

Mr. CHOWN. Mr. Velde, every stool pigeon I have ever known of has either been named or in some other way been—

Mr. VELDE. This committee does not direct the testimony of any witness that comes before it. But as far as I am personally concerned, I will take the testimony of Mr. Blodgett as the truth rather than rely on anything that you might say before this committee.

Mr. CHOWN. Mr. Velde—

Mr. VELDE. Is there anything further that—

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not certain the record shows what the reason for his refusal to answer is.

Mr. VELDE. I think it was very clearly stated it was the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. If he did, I have no further questions.

Mr. CHOWN. Wait a minute. I would like to answer the question.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes. I note you say you were employed by the California CIO council and Alameda council of the CIO in California. I am not sure of the dates, but my recollection is that I have read and heard that the CIO council of California, certainly in the last 4 or 5 years, took active means to kick out of CIO circles, so far as they knew or discovered, Communists. What part did you play, if any, as a CIO employee in kicking known Communists out of the CIO councils?

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

Mr. DOYLE. Would you please tell us? We are interested, among other things, in knowing what the methods were of these subversive commies in any field of endeavor in California, which is my native State, and you apparently have been employed by CIO councils several years. Now, what part did you play if any, in kicking any Communists out of the CIO councils?

Mr. CHOWN. I am afraid Mr. Doyle, that you are not familiar with what some of the real conflicts in the CIO have been. The real issue has been a question of whether or not the unions, such as my union and many others that have for a long time had a clear and clean record of fighting to maintain this country and fighting for political freedom rather than political dictatorship—that was the split in the CIO. It had nothing to do with Communists or non-Communists; that was just a red herring that was dragged into it, and our fight

was whether or not our membership would be able to vote for who they wanted for president rather than what a few people on top were trying to dictate to them to vote for.

That was the issue, and as you say, I was opposed to qualify—I was better qualified to decide what those issues were, Congressman.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course I wasn't close to it at all.

Mr. CHOWN. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. But I am sure I have read reports by CIO publications in the last few years that there was a definite program to kick Communists out of the CIO in California, and you don't know anything about that?

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

Mr. CHOWN. I have read in the papers, too, about some honest, good people, for 15 and 18 years have been fighting for the working people, who have been dirtied up in this committee. If you don't put any substance in that, I don't think you should put any substance in what you have read about in relation to the CIO, Mr. Doyle.

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

Mr. DOYLE. But I have read those articles in CIO papers.

Mr. CHOWN. Well, it seems to me that the best way to acquire some real knowledge of any situation is first-hand and not by what you read because these days it is pretty hard to get the truth out of what you see in newspapers.

Mr. VELDE. Will the gentleman yield for one question?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Is the United Electrical Workers still a part of the official body of the CIO?

Mr. CHOWN. We separated ourselves from the CIO when they tried to politically dictate to us what our members should do in elections and when they were using our dues money to try to raid and destroy our union.

Mr. VELDE. As a matter of act, you were kicked out of the CIO, isn't that true?

Mr. CHOWN. As a matter of act, we suspended paying dues. We walked out first.

Mr. VELDE. Walked out before you were kicked out?

Mr. CHOWN. That is right; we walked out.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, I still think my question hasn't been answered. Are you still a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CHOWN. I will be glad to ask—

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

Mr. SCHERER. That is all, are you still a member of the Communist Party today?

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

Mr. CHOWN. Would you mind repeating the question?

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

Mr. CHOWN. Well, of course that is a loaded question like when did I stop beating my wife. However, I would like to say this in response to that problem: It seems to me that the question of asking a person's political belief tends to undermine the whole philosophical concept upon which our country has been founded, and that came first from the people in the 17th century, people like Voltaire and Jean Rousseau, people like John Locke of England, and out of those writ-

ings which said that free inquiry and freedom of the human mind was going to be the thing for progress, that is what we based our Constitution on, and that is why we have the high standard of living and the kind of scientific development we do today, and I am not just going to be a party in answering questions one way or another to draw down a dark curtain on free human inquiry, and that is what it gets to, start telling people what they are for or against.

Mr. SCHERER. I am just asking you whether you happen to be a member of this conspiracy that it threatening to overthrow this Constitution which you so glibly uphold.

Mr. CHOWN. It happens I am not a member of any committee like this or similar to it, which ask people questions which in my opinion go toward destroying and undermining the basic rights that this country was founded on.

Mr. SCHERER. You still haven't given an answer as to whether or not you are a member of the party today.

Mr. CHOWN. I am going to decline to answer that question on the basis, first of all, of the first amendment which gives every man and woman supposedly freedom of association and freedom of speech and freedom of religion, and that is what I said before, that in relation to how this country has operated and what has made us great has been that we can have a conflict of ideas, and when you wipe out any conflict of ideas in the market place of political opinion, then we are on our first step to turning the clock back over 300 years, and I am not going to associate myself with any plots or schemes or plans which will head us in that direction. Also based on the fifth amendment I am going to decline to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. I thought that would be your answer.

Mr. CHOWN. Because I cannot know who will come here to bear false witness, and I know how this thing is set up where my attorney can't cross-examine people that come here, and we can't bring in our own witnesses and in our own behalf—

Mr. DOYLE. Now Mr. Chairman, may I proceed and complete my questions?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. SCHERER. I am sorry, Mr. Doyle. I thought you were finished.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all right. I was glad to have you interrupt temporarily. My questions will not be directed to your political beliefs, but I assume from your own testimony that you have been pretty closely in touch with the trade-union movement quite a while in California. As a matter of fact, you said all your adult life, and I am not interested, either, in inquiring into internal trade-union squabbles or difficulties. You have testified yourself voluntarily as to one difficulty apparently in trade unionism. I am not interested in that difficulty. But I am interested in seeing if I can get your cooperation in connection with your telling us whether or not to your personal knowledge, we will say, since 1945, 1946, 1947, there have been any persons subversively trying to destroy our form of constitution and government.

You understand, of course, the meaning of "subversive." The reason I use that language is that that is the language used in Public Law 601 in which we are expressly assigned to investigate the extent and character of subversive activities.

Of course we were not limited in that assignment because if there have been subversive activities to your personal knowledge—or don't you know? Let me ask you this way, and that may make it shorter, so I won't have to ask so many questions, and so you won't have to make a speech. But can I ask you this way: Have you known in the last 5 years of any subversive activities in the trade-union movement here in California, to your own personal knowledge?

Mr. CHOWN. Well, Mr. Doyle, the problem on that is, you mention the fact that subversive activity is supposed to be a simple and clear-cut thing, but I don't find it to be so.

For example, you have a colleague in Congress, a fellow named Lane from Massachusetts, who introduced a bill which—

Mr. DOYLE. Now—

Mr. CHOWN. Wait a minute. I want to say he introduced a bill defining subversive activity as anybody who engages in a work stoppage or slowdown and who should go to jail 2 to 10 years with a \$10,000 fine. Is that the kind of subversive activity you mean?

Mr. DOYLE. Of course I am taking the commonly accepted definition, to destroy, to dissolve, to exterminate, as given by Mr. Webster. That is my definition. Take Mr. Webster's dictionary definition with which you are very familiar, I am sure.

Mr. CHOWN. Well, I would say that those unions—the advancing of their constitutional provisions that would create second-class citizenship for various people, whether because of color or political beliefs, that that is the type of subversive activity that has been going on in the labor movement in recent times.

Mr. DOYLE. No, no; don't dodge the question, please.

Mr. VELDE. May I again advise the physical audience present that any expressions of disapproval or approval of anything that is said by the witness or counsel or a member of the committee will not be tolerated, and I would regret very much having to clear the hearing room, but in case there is further outburst, the chair will have to order the policemen to clear the hearing room.

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

Mr. DOYLE. Let me state this: I don't know as I ever met you, but I am in good faith in asking your cooperation.

Mr. CHOWN. So am I.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I assume you are in trying to answer this question again. I am looking for information, if you have any, under our assignment as a congressional committee under Public Law 601, to investigate the extent of subversive activities in any field.

Mr. CHOWN. I will try to answer that question again. There have been a lot of inquiries about sabotage and so on and espionage. To the best of my knowledge and belief certainly in my union and, as far as I know about the longshoremen, warehousemen, steel workers, and auto workers, I have never heard of anybody being charged or indicted with any such actions here on the west coast, and that seems to me to speak pretty well for itself that the record of these people as loyal Americans is pretty hard to question.

Mr. DOYLE. Then you have no personal knowledge of any of it?

Mr. CHOWN. Not as I understand and define the term "subversive," no.

Mr. DOYLE. Have you defined "subversive" according to your understanding?

Mr. CHOWN. As I understand it. I have no knowledge of subversive activities, except to the extent that there are people, of course, in California that would like to undermine the Bill of Rights, and I think again any attack on our Constitution—

Mr. DOYLE. No, no; don't dodge the question.

Mr. CHOWN. That is what I define as subversive, like there are certain Congressmen who would like to do away with the fifth amendment.

Mr. DOYLE. Let me ask you this then: Do you define persons in the Communist Party who favor the forceful and violent overthrow of our form of government as subversive? As long as we are discussing definitions.

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

Mr. CHOWN. In my own acquaintance I know of no one who is actively engaged in organizing the forceful overthrow of this country.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, will you answer my question, please? I didn't ask you whether or not you knew any. I asked you if that was included in your definition of "subversive." You have had quite a consultation with your counsel before you answered that, and that is all right. He has a right to advise you on your rights.

Mr. CHOWN. That is still a privilege which I should enjoy before this committee.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right, and I cherish the continued opportunity of every witness before this committee to have private counsel. But how will you answer my question, please?

Mr. CHOWN. Would you mind restating it?

Mr. DOYLE. Would the reporter please read it?

(The question was read by the reporter as follows:

Do you define persons in the Communist Party who favor the forceful and violent overthrow of our form of government as subversive?

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

Mr. CHOWN. It seems to me that that is a political question of certain presumptions as what the motivations of various people might be or a member of a political organization, and I am not going to get in a debate as to what the people who may be members of the Communist Party—what they advocate and what they don't advocate. I am just not equipped to do that.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, you don't know, is that it, what they advocate? Or do you know?

Mr. CHOWN. I am saying that I am not going to get in a debate with you as what they advocate or don't advocate.

Mr. DOYLE. I will ask you, do you know what the Communist Party advocates in the United States?

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

Mr. CHOWN. You want my opinion, is that it?

Mr. DOYLE. No, I am asking if you know.

Mr. CHOWN. Well, that still sounds like asking my opinion to me, and I am not going to debate the question of communism with you, Representative Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I see you are not even going to discuss the question of whether or not you know who is subversive and who is not.

Mr. CHOWN. I answered that as far as my understanding of what subversive is.

Mr. DOYLE. I think I have no other questions from this witness.

Mr. VELDE. Is there any reason why this witness should be longer retained under subpoena?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask one or two more questions.

Mr. Chown, in my opinion you made a very pertinent statement a moment ago. You stated the way to get information is to get it directly at first hand, so I am going back to my original question. I want to know about the activities of the Political Affairs Committee of the Communist Party of Alameda County and try to get from you first hand what knowledge you have, if any, of its operations.

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

Mr. Chown. Well, there again that assumes that I know something; that is an "iffy" question, Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. No; of course I don't want an answer unless you know. Do you know?

Mr. Chown. You are asking me an "iffy" question. Now, my point in answer to that is that there again that goes to the matter of who I associate with and who I don't associate with under the first amendment, and with the way this setup has operated—

Mr. VELDE. The situation is this: Regardless of whether it is an "iffy" question, will you answer the question?

Mr. Chown. Well, the problem is, you bring people in here to testify all week, and there is no basis for getting a crack at them to cross-examine.

Mr. VELDE. The problem is how can we get you to answer this question and give us some information. As Mr. Tavenner has very well pointed out, you mentioned yourself that the best place to get information is at the source of the information. We have sworn testimony that you were a member of the Communist Party and the Political Affairs Committee of it.

Now, will you either admit, deny, or refuse to answer the question?

Mr. Chown. Will you give my counsel an opportunity to cross-examine the witnesses who have so alleged?

Mr. VELDE. That is not an answer or a denial or refusal to answer.

Mr. Chown. It is a—

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

Mr. Chown. It is an aspect of it.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, you are certainly directed to answer that question.

Mr. Chown. Well, on the basis of the restrictions you place around it, I am going to decline to answer that based on the first amendment, and in fact, all of the amendments to the Constitution, and primarily the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE. Anything further, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. VELDE. Is there any reason why this witness should be further retained under subpoena?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. If not, the witness is dismissed, and the committee will be in recess for 10 minutes at this time.

(Whereupon, at 11 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 11:10 a. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 11:20 a. m.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order, please. Counsel, call your next witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. Bjerne Halling.

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. HALLING. I do.

TESTIMONY OF BJORNE HALLING, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, GEORGE ANDERSEN

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you state your full name, please?

Mr. HALLING. My name is Bjerne Halling.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell it?

Mr. HALLING. The first name is B-j-o-r-n-e, and the second name is H-a-l-l-i-n-g.

Mr. KUNZIG. When and where were you born, Mr. Halling?

Mr. HALLING. I was born in Norway.

Mr. KUNZIG. When?

Mr. HALLING. In 1909.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you today a naturalized citizen?

Mr. HALLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you become naturalized?

Mr. HALLING. 1937.

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

Mr. HALLING. 596 Page, P-a-g-e, Street, San Francisco.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where are you employed?

Mr. HALLING. I am a longshoreman.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I am in possession of testimony here taken under oath in executive session of this committee of one Ernest, E-r-n-e-s-t, Leroy, L-e-r-o-y, Seymour. S-e-y-m-o-u-r. The original testimony was taken November 6, 1953, and a supplemental part which I request permission to read was taken November 22, 1953, this year.

Mr. VELDE. Would you also identify Mr. Seymour a little better, please?

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Seymour is an admitted former member of the Communist Party acting here in San Francisco. He cooperated, Mr. Chairman, fully with the committee.

The questions went as follows:

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever have an occasion to meet Pat Tobin as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEYMOUR. Yes, under the same circumstances as Nell Crowe and Don Cameron.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever have the occasion to meet Al Saxton as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEYMOUR. Yes; Al Saxton was a member of the Communist Party of the American Communications Association in San Francisco group from 1944 until 1946.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever have the occasion to meet Robert or Bob Sherman as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEYMOUR. Yes; under the same circumstances as Al Saxton.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever have occasion to meet Nathan Jacobson as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEYMOUR. Yes; in 1942 at one or more Communist Party meetings of the waterfront section in San Francisco.

Mr. WHEELER. What union was he a member of?

Mr. SEYMOUR. The Marine Cooks and Stewards Union. He was an official of that union.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever have any occasion to meet David Jenkins as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEYMOUR. Yes; under the same circumstances as Nathan Jacobson. He was in the same union.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever have the occasion to meet Carl Williams as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEYMOUR. Yes; under the same circumstances as Nathan Jacobson. He was also a member of the same union.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever have any occasion to meet Archie Brown as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEYMOUR. Yes; he represented the San Francisco County committee of the Communist Party at policy meetings with the bay area utility workers' caucus of the Communist Party.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever have occasion to meet Joe Lynch as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEYMOUR. Yes; Joe Lynch was the control of the National Maritime Union in Portland, Oreg., in October of 1946.

Mr. WHEELER. You attended meetings in Portland with Joe Lynch when your ship docked there?

Mr. SEYMOUR. No; we had a personal meeting with Joe Lynch in the offices of the National Maritime Union.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you discuss with others Communist Party membership at that time?

Mr. SEYMOUR. We discussed Communist Party policy in relation to the National Maritime Union.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever have occasion to meet Bjerne Halling as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEYMOUR. Yes. He attended a meeting of the waterfront section of the Communist Party in the fall of 1944 and gave the CIO's unofficial opinion of some action which the waterfront section happened to be planning on taking. I can't recall definitely what the point was, but he was invited to speak.

Mr. WHEELER. It was just one meeting?

Mr. SEYMOUR. Yes.

Mr. WHEELER. Was this a closed Communist Party meeting?

Mr. SEYMOUR. Yes, definitely a closed meeting.

Mr. WHEELER. Did you ever have occasion to meet Herb Kalman as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEYMOUR. Yes; I knew him as a member of the Communist Party in a local group in Berkeley. I met him at one or two meetings in about 1947.

Before I ask any further questions, would counsel please state his name and address for the record?

Mr. ANDERSEN. Yes. My name is George Andersen. I am a lawyer. My address is 240 Montgomery Street.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Halling, I have just read to you this testimony of Ernest Leroy Seymour, given under oath before an executive session of this committee in which he identifies you as a member of the Communist Party. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

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

Mr. HALLING. I decline to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment.

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

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

Mr. HALLING. Same answer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know or did you ever know Ernest Leroy Seymour?

Mr. HALLING. To the best of my knowledge I wouldn't know him if I found him in my soup.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you ever been a member of the board of directors of the California Labor School, Mr. Halling?

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

Mr. HALLING. I decline to answer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I think I have no further questions. It is obvious the witness is going to take the fifth amendment on all questions.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no questions.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

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

Mr. KUNZIG. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. The witness is excused, and you may call your next witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Richard Lynden.

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

Mr. LYNDEN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF RICHARD LYNDEN, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, GEORGE ANDERSEN

Mr. LYNDEN. Counsel, may I make a request to address a message to the chairman? I would like to submit a detailed statement in respect to the character and structure of our union which is now in preparation, and I would like to have it made part of the proceeding here.

Mr. VELDE. Well, the committee will take any statement that is submitted and consider it for insertion into the record.

Mr. LYNDEN. Would it be made part of the proceeding?

Mr. VELDE. Well, I can't tell until we see that statement of course, until the members—

Mr. LYNDEN. I can tell you the nature of the statement. It deals with the structure of the union.

Mr. VELDE. There is no question pending at the present time.

Mr. LYNDEN. I am making a request.

Mr. VELDE. You will abide by those instructions. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. LYNDEN. Mr. Chairman, I am making a request to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. VELDE. The committee has taken the request, and I have given you the policy of the committee on it. We will take your statement into consideration, as we do all statements that are submitted to the committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think it should be very clear in the record, too, Mr. Chairman, that we are here investigating communism and individuals who may have been active in communism, and not the union.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly that should be definitely—

Mr. LYNDEN. You are not doing anything of the kind, and that is not true.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Lynden, will you please state your name for the record?

Mr. LYNDEN. My name is Richard Lynden, L-y-n-d-e-n. I am secretary treasurer of the Warehouse Union local 6.

Mr. KUNZIG. When and where were you born, sir?

Mr. LYNDEN. I was born in San Francisco in 1910.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would counsel once again please state his name and address for the record?

Mr. ANDERSEN. Yes. My name is George Andersen. I am a lawyer. My address is 240 Montgomery Street.

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

Mr. LYNDEN. 255 Ninth Street.

Mr. KUNZIG. Before this committee previously in this week a Mr. Rosser gave testimony as follows, and I will read it and recall it to your mind:

Mr. ROSSER. Hedley, H-e-d-l-e-y; Posner, P-o-s-n-e-r—his name—Posey,¹ P-o-s-e-y—I have forgotten the first name, Communist Party member who was a member of the warehousemen's union and who was assigned by the political action—that is Dave Hedley—to head the drive in the Fillmore district. That is where at that time the majority of Negroes and Japanese and minorities lived here in Frisco. Also we had a meeting with Dick Lynden.

Question. What is the name?

Answer. Richard Lynden. Richard Lynden is one of the officials of local 6 of the warehousemen's union, either the president or the secretary treasurer, I have forgotten.

Question. Now, you are speaking of the Communist Party members?

Answer. Yes; Dick Lynden is a member. I knew him when he was a member of the Young Communist League. I worked with Dick Lynden on the State committee of the Young Communist League, and then I knew him as a Communist, as I said, when he became an official of local 6 of the warehousemen's union here in the city. Dick Lynden was very active. He came from San Jose and then moved up here to Frisco, and through the party's manipulations he soon became the leader of this big union here in San Francisco.

I want to ask you, Mr. Lynden, have you ever been a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. LYNDEN. I want to answer that question in this way: I feel that I should not answer the question because I think that I am in danger of entrapment by this committee. It is well known that the president of the international union that I belong to, Harry Bridges, had three trials.

Mr. VELDE. Do you mean incrimination?

Mr. LYNDEN. I can answer the question. You know, you can frame the question, but you can't frame my answers, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. All right. You meant entrapment and not incrimination.

Mr. LYNDEN. I mean that this committee can entrap me, and the best proof I can offer you of that is what happened in the case of my international president, that he was brought to trial three times. He was cleared of any membership in or affiliation with the Communist Party. The fact of the matter is that these trials apparently are going to continue, the prosecution of Mr. Bridges has been continued and unremittingly.

Now, this trial cost my union—

Mr. VELDE. Witness, there is no use going any further. We have a number of witnesses to be called yet, and we have heard this same line many, many times. Mr. Bridges is not here as a witness. You

¹ Further identified as Max Posey.

are here as a witness at the present time to answer questions put to you by our counsel and by the members.

Mr. LYNDEN. Mr. Velde, if you don't mind, I will answer the questions in my own way.

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

Mr. LYNDEN. It is a direct answer to the question—

Mr. VELDE. Let me ask the question again: Have you ever been a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. LYNDEN. I will proceed to answer that again in my own way. I don't know anything about your lawyer's techniques, but I know how to answer that question, and I tell you I am not going to answer it.

Mr. VELDE. The question is very simple.

Mr. LYNDEN. And I am not going to answer it.

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

Mr. LYNDEN. I am not going to answer it because the president of my international union got in a load of trouble trying to answer this question forthrightly in the same circumstances. You people bring people up here and expect to embarrass them in the eyes of the public by asking them questions of this nature.

Mr. VELDE. That is not an answer to the question. You are here as a witness, sir. Will you answer the question or refuse to answer it?

Mr. LYNDEN. I will decline to answer the question, and I will state the reasons why. Mr. Velde, if you will quit just for a minute trying to frame my answer, I will have the answer out.

Mr. VELDE. I am not trying to frame your answer. You can answer the question very simply, and I wish you would.

Mr. LYNDEN. The answer to the question is I am declining to answer, and I am doing it because I don't want to run these risks. In the case of Mr. Bridges it cost our union over a half a million dollars to defend him in the three trials.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. LYNDEN. I am not going to run that risk when some paid stool pigeon comes in here and drops my name before the committee.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I submit the reasons the witness is giving are not a legitimate reason for not answering the question. It is a speech, and I am going to ask the Chair to direct him to desist from making a speech because the reasons he is attempting to give—

Mr. LYNDEN. Mr. Scherer, you make speeches all the time in this committee and gratuitous remarks, and I am addressing myself to the question.

Mr. VELDE. The gentleman from Ohio is making an observation and request.

Mr. SCHERER. I am going to ask that the Chair have the witness removed from the room unless he answers the questions.

Mr. VELDE. Or declines to answer them on a legal basis.

Mr. LYNDEN. I am declining to answer—

Mr. VELDE. You are again asked, Mr. Witness, or you are directed to answer the question asked of you.

Mr. LYNDEN. I will decline to answer the question on the ground, No. 1, of the first amendment, that it is none of this committee's busi-

ness. I decline further to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment, which protects me in my right not to bear witness against myself, and I want to say that the ILWU—

Mr. SCHERER. I submit the witness has answered the question.

Mr. LYNDEN. I haven't answered it. I haven't completed my answer to the question.

Mr. VELDE. You refuse to answer the question. Proceed, Mr. Counsel. Do you have anything further?

Mr. LYNDEN. I am declining to answer the question on the further ground that my union does not want to be put to the expense of any more perjury trials. Mr. Rosser came in here—

Mr. SCHERER. Now, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. VELDE. Do you have any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. SCHERER. I suggest that you follow my suggestion.

Mr. VELDE. What is your suggestion, Mr. Scherer? That he be directed to answer the question; is that your suggestion?

Mr. SCHERER. My suggestion is, if he persists in this type of conduct, that he be ordered to leave the room.

Mr. LYNDEN. You invited me here. That isn't a very good way to shown your hospitality.

Mr. SCHERER. He is in contempt of this committee and in contempt of the United States. His whole attitude shows it, and the record with record my remarks.

Mr. VELDE. First of all, do you have anything further, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. I haven't asked yet whether he has ever been a member of the Communist Party, or whether he is now a member of the party.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Lynden?

Mr. LYNDEN. I am going to decline to answer that question on the same grounds that I stated previously.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you now a member—

Mr. LYNDEN. I don't intend—

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

Mr. LYNDEN. And I don't intend, even if you rig the questions and hurry them along, to get pushed into any other answers than the ones that I have given.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, just answer this question.

Mr. LYNDEN. The record is pretty clear.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you today, this very minute, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LYNDEN. I decline to answer that question again on the ground of the fifth amendment, and I don't wish to bear witness against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. KUNZIG. No further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. VELDE. The witness is excused. Call your next witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Herb Naboisek.

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

Mr. NABOISEK. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF HERBERT NABOISEK, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS
COUNSEL, LAWRENCE SPEISER**

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you state your name, sir, please?

Mr. NABOISEK. Herbert Naboisek, N-a-b-o-i-s-e-k.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your address, Mr. Naboisek?

Mr. NABOISEK. I live at 837 San Luis Road, Berkeley.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would counsel please state his name and address for the record?

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

Mr. KUNZIG. When and where were you born?

Mr. NABOISEK. I was born in New York in 1907.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where are you presently employed?

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

Mr. NABOISEK. I decline on grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I can't possibly see how his present employment would tend to incriminate him, and I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, the witness is directed to answer that question. The direction is based on the reason that I expressed, I believe, yesterday, that we have an obligation imposed upon us by the House of Representatives of the United States Congress to ascertain the extent of the Communist and other subversive influences in all fields of American life and all types of employment. So you are directed to answer that question.

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

Mr. NABOISEK. I refuse on the same grounds, as I stated a moment ago.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you teach in any way at the University of California at Berkeley?

Mr. NABOISEK. No, I don't.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you connected in any way with the University of California?

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

Mr. NABOISEK. I decline to state for the reasons that I gave a moment ago.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I can't possibly see whether he is or whether he is not connected with the University of California would tend to incriminate him.

Mr. VELDE. I certainly don't, either.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that he be directed to answer the question.

Mr. VELDE. I don't think the University of California by any stretch of the imagination is engaged in any illegal enterprise. Anyone should be willing to admit their association or connection with it, so you are directed to answer the question.

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

Mr. NABOISEK. I do research work at the university in the department of psychology.

Mr. VELDE. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, there is testimony before this committee, Mr. Naboisek, given by Mary Elizabeth Parrott Bradsher, sworn testi-

mony on the 2d day of November 1953. We have already mentioned Mrs. Bradsher prior to these hearings this week in San Francisco.

She was asked the following question and gave the following answer:

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 in the party?

Answer. There was a fellow named Jerry; there was Jean Frederick and Van Frederick; Marian Redner, whom we knew as Marian Hammond, and Gene Hammond; Bill Redner; Clara and Bob Ragland, Bimbo Brown; Ella and Jack Gonzoles; Bruce Anderson; and June and Herb Naboisek.

I would like to ask you, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Naboisek?

Mr. NABOISEK. When you read that, you mentioned before this person who gave this testimony became inactive and mentioned me. Would you specify what the date was that she said she became inactive?

Mr. KUNZIG (reading).

I ceased any great amount of activity in 1947.

So that would have been prior to 1947, Mr. Naboisek, in the period 1945-46, that period of time.

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

Mr. NABOISEK. Would you repeat the question?

Mr. KUNZIG. The question is, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NABOISEK. Well, I would like to put my answer in this way: I am not a member of the Communist Party. I wasn't back to 1947, as indicated by the testimony of that witness, and as for any other period, I decline to state on grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let me ask you, were you a member of the Communist Party then in 1947?

Mr. NABOISEK. I decline to state.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member in 1946?

Mr. NABOISEK. I decline to state.

Mr. KUNZIG. 1945?

Mr. NABOISEK. I decline to state.

Mr. KUNZIG. 1944?

Mr. NABOISEK. I decline to state; I decline to state all questions of that nature.

Mr. KUNZIG. Any year I ask back before 1944 you will decline to answer?

Mr. NABOISEK. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you are not now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. NABOISEK. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. What occupation did you have during the war years, Mr. Naboisek?

Mr. NABOISEK. I was in the United States Army in the armored command.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then let me ask you, were you a member of the Communist Party when you were in the United States Army in the armored command?

Mr. NABOISEK. I decline to answer any questions prior to 1947 about membership in the Communist Party.

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

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no questions.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I think you said you were engaged or employed by the University of California in research in psychology.

Mr. NABOISEK. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. I know therefore you must have certain college degrees.

Mr. NABOISEK. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. What degrees?

Mr. NABOISEK. I am a Ph. D. in psychology.

Mr. DOYLE. I assumed you were, and I asked you that because I expect your cooperation with us as a committee of the United States Congress, as long as you are not now a Communist, since 1947, whether or not you were before you decline to state, but as long as you are a Ph. D. in psychology—I am not, but I want to be perfectly frank with you. In my asking these 2 or 3 questions, psychologically I assume you were prior to 1948 a member of the Communist Party.

Now, as you know, Doctor, one of the assignments this committee has is to study the extent of subversive activities in the United States, whether it originates in the United States or originates in foreign countries, and it is fair for me to say to you that preliminary to this question I assume that you, not being a member of the Communist Party, are therefore not bound by any former relationships when it comes to the matter of the internal security of our own Nation, which is your Nation. Is that a correct assumption, that assumption on my part?

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

Mr. NABOISEK. I think it is.

Mr. DOYLE. Very good.

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

Mr. DOYLE. Therefore, can you help us briefly in our investigation of subversive activities in the bay area, with special reference to any opinion you may have to the extent of subversive activities, say, at the University of California, since 1947 first and last, because that is the period you say you were not a member of the party, and you have stated now that you are not bound by any limitations by reason of any former affiliation.

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

Mr. NABOISEK. It is pretty obvious, it seems to me, Mr. Doyle, that if I have said that I know nothing particularly since 1947 about political activities, that I wouldn't be aware of activities of the nature as you indicate. I think I ought to go a little further and say that so far as I know, I never have known an individual or have been associated with anyone who has in any way, so far as I could tell, performed any action that I regard as being subversive in any way.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, then, as I understand your testimony, it is that you have never known anyone at the university in connection therewith or attending there who had any subversive attitudes toward this constitutional form of government?

Mr. NABOISEK. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you aware of any subversive or un-American propaganda now at or in connection with the University of California campus at Berkeley?

Mr. NABOISEK. No.

Mr. DOYLE. Since 1947?

Mr. NABOISEK. I can't say that I have.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, a minute ago you said that you had no knowledge of anything particularly. I caught that word "particularly." In my book that opens a question of whether or not you mean 100 percent or 90 percent.

Mr. NABOISEK. No, I was merely specifying that I have been so busy in my profession that I have had no time for any kind of outside activity, political or even social, for that matter.

Mr. DOYLE. Well without asking you to violate your own conscience in connection with claiming the constitutional protections, may I ask you this question: In your study of psychology what are some of the reasons why people join the Communist Party?

Mr. NABOISEK. I don't think those reasons, Mr. Doyle, are psychological at all. I think many of the witnesses who have appeared before this committee have been persons who became mature adults at the time, for example, of the depression in the 1930's. At a time like that, it seems to me, any person who had an inquiring mind, who was idealistic, would have felt that there was something basically wrong in the management of, we will say, economical and social affairs in this country, and looked for a better way, and looked for the answers in every possible direction that they could have found.

Many such people felt that an approach which nowadays is so condemned, at that time was the only answer. Along the same line I think that people who look at the world as it is today, who fear the threat of an atomic war, for example, and feel and have the honest feeling that under the present administration, and even under the past administration, for that matter, we were rapidly approaching a point where we would get into a position from which we could not back out from a war in which the whole world would be annihilated—such considerations would make people feel that there must be some other and a far-reaching difference in approach to how such questions are handled.

Now, these differences of opinion and these feelings that these questions are serious and take a serious and sincere approach, even though it might bring on them risks and dangers, such people might often feel that they would take the risk of being extremists or being called extremists by other persons and yet be completely honest and not subversive.

Now those reasons are not psychological.

Mr. DOYLE. What is the basis of those reasons if they are not psychological? What is the fundamental basis of those two reasons you have given?

Mr. NABOISEK. Those are reasons based on people's experience of political attitudes, of economic realities, of the bearing that economic realities have on political decisions that the leaders of our country make and so forth. When they feel—lots of people do feel that these things could endanger the welfare of the country, and then they feel that the matter of risk to themselves, or reputation, loss of employ-

ment and so forth—they feel there is nothing for them to do conscientiously but take extreme positions.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this personal question: How old were you during the depression of the thirties?

Mr. NABOISEK. I was 25 years old.

Mr. DOYLE. You are familiar with the Duclos letter which came to this country from France by the route from Moscow, I think in May 1945, aren't you?

Mr. NABOISEK. I have heard of it, although I have never read it.

Mr. DOYLE. You have never read it. Well, you are familiar with the fact that as a result of the coming of that letter to this country largely, Earl Browder was kicked out of the leadership of the American Communist Party because he advocated the possibility of the Communist system of government and our own American constitutional system of government living in the same world side by side. You are familiar with that fact, aren't you?

Mr. NABOISEK. Well, I have read statements that in general seem to be like that, yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand then that you feel a person, since the Duclos letter, which delineated the fact that the two systems could not exist side by side in the same world—do I understand your testimony that an American citizen can be patriotic and abide within the four corners of the United States Constitution and be a member of the Communist Party which has been proven to be an international conspiracy at all times and especially since April 1945?

Mr. SCHERER. I don't gather that the witness said that. I have been trying to follow him closely.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, perhaps my question—

Mr. SCHERER. I think it has been very fair. I may not agree with his conclusions, but I think he has been extremely honest.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course I am not inferring he is not.

Mr. SCHERER. No, I didn't mean—

Mr. DOYLE. Here is a brilliant educator, and we are searching, Doctor, for ways and means by which we might understand as legislators the problem of legislation in the United States Congress. You understand the import of my question?

Mr. NABOISEK. Well, I do. I really don't see how I could answer that because I have not thought about it, but it seems to me that what you are asking me now is to give you my personal opinion. I think that to give an opinion on a question which seems to be so important would be a very wrong thing for me to do until I had thought about it, until I could give you an answer that I have—

Mr. DOYLE. I don't want less than a considered opinion.

Mr. NABOISEK. I can't give you that.

Mr. DOYLE. Then I will not press you for it because only a considered opinion will be helpful to us as legislators.

One further question, Mr. Chairman. Again in our search for the basis of possible change or additional legislation in Congress on this subject of subversive and un-American propaganda and activities in our country, have you any suggestion to give this committee in the field of possible legislation on the subject?

Mr. NABOISEK. Well, I have tried to be fair to the committee, and I will make a statement which I feel again is fair. I agree with many of the witnesses who have appeared here that the intent of this

committee is not what it claims that it is. I am getting around to answering your question about what is subversive and your request for information about what is subversive.

I think anybody who is accustomed to weighing performance against statements by people who tell you or try to tell you what they are trying to do would easily see from the performance of this committee that they do not do what they say they are.

One such, I might as well say, is this question about the employment of witnesses who have appeared before this committee. Now, it seems to me that if this committee is looking for information about which to legislate, and this is your question, that it would not press people for employment—for that kind of identifying information because it has had sufficient experience certainly in its 15 years of history as to what happens to witnesses who appear here.

Now, that to me is certainly in direct contradiction to the stated purposes of the committee to legislate.

Now, with regard to the subversive activities other witnesses have questioned the committee with regard to what it feels are subversive activities. I would like to make this point because I have heard you, Mr. Doyle, say a number of times, talk a number of times, about the international Communist conspiracy. Now, the point that I want to make is that it certainly is easy to make people appear to be conspirators if all persons who have authority in the community engaged in a hunt for those who have been in some way associated with such activities or who don't like the political opinions they advocate, or who don't like people getting together about issues which are important to the community and so on.

Now, when people are after you, you certainly don't—you look out, you tend to try to protect yourself by hiding from those who employ all of the forces of the law who are engaged in a search for you.

What I am trying to say is that it is very easy to make people to look like conspirators, even when, if they were permitted the freedom to express their views, they would probably be very glad to do so openly because their views are not the kinds of views so far as I have even known about which a person should be in the least ashamed. Now—

Mr. VELDE. Will the gentleman yield just a minute there so I can make an observation in that respect, too? I appreciate that the witness has a right to express his views as we do here, too, and that is the great American right. I believe in it, and I know you do. But it is my opinion, and I think the opinion of the other authorities, that unless you actively advocate and teach the overthrow of our form of government by force and violence, you can still be a member of the Communist Party, and you have committed no crime whatsoever.

Mr. NABOISEK. You are not being very realistic.

Mr. VELDE. That is the reason we are asking you to give us any information about any Communist activities you might have so we can determine whether or not a great percentage of the Communist Party members were engaged in teaching and advocating the overthrow of our form of government of the United States. I am sure that a great majority of those we call friendly witnesses who have

named Communists in the past had no intention whatsoever of overthrowing our form of government. There are some, I am also sorry to say, who did attempt to overthrow our form of government by force and violence.

I can think of no one before this committee—I am sure there hasn't been anyone before this committee, and I don't think before any of the other committees of Congress, who has ever come and told the truth about their past connections—that have been incriminated in any way.

Mr. NABOISEK. Well, with regard to that, Mr. Velde, I might say that there are many people who are not in the least ashamed of the fact that they have, say, at certain periods been members of the Communist Party, but who know from the procedures of this committee that to answer such questions would be to involve other persons in the difficulties that seem to be inevitable from appearing before it as a witness.

Now, this is the committee's fault because the committee does cause damage to reputations in communities in which people live, and therefore I think any honest person would certainly not answer any questions of this committee that would involve other persons. For that reason I, myself, also have used the fifth amendment for what I think is its proper use, to protect innocent persons from damage which is inflicted by this committee.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you hear Blodgett's testimony, read his testimony, the witness who was before the committee the other day?

Mr. NABOISEK. No, I didn't.

Mr. SCHERER. You haven't had the opportunity to read that?

Mr. NABOISEK. No.

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

Mr. DOYLE. Well, of course, doctor, as a result of FBI agents such as have testified here and others in different parts of the country having been for long periods of time members of Communist cells in this country, we have uncontradicted evidence of the fact that certain Communists and in certain cells in the United States certain Communist leaders have and still do advocate force and violent overthrow of the United States Government. That is one thing, whether you know it or not. We have that.

The second thing is that we know for a fact through that channel and others that the Communist Party line today, this very day, in this country is that Communist Party members who are called before this committee shall plead the first or fifth amendments, whether they do it sincerely or not, you see. Therefore we are under the burden of responsibility of making as sure as we may that persons do answer in good faith and sincerely.

One further statement.

Mr. VELDE. If you have much further, Mr. Doyle, we will adjourn.

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

Mr. DOYLE. I want to call your attention—I would like this witness to be back after lunch for a minute or two.

Mr. VELDE. That is perfectly all right.

Mr. DOYLE. I do want to make this observation: You are aware, are you not, that every American jury in the United States before which alleged Communists, conspirators, have been tried under the Smith Act in the last 2 years in 10 or 12 different areas of the United States as I recall it—that every American jury has found every defendant in every one of those cases, with the exception of one defendant as far as I know, guilty of participating in an avowed conspiracy to forcefully overthrow the United States Government.

Mr. NABOISEK. Mr. Doyle, could I ask you a fair question?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

Mr. NABOISEK. In all of these trials under the Smith Act the acts under which these people were convicted were such as having read books, having met in somebody's home, having expressed an opinion. My question to you is this: Do you think that people in the United States, that any American citizen, should be sent to prison because he read a book, met at somebody's house, expressed an opinion?

Mr. DOYLE. No; you are mistaken, Doctor, and I am glad to see you have kept yourself informed since 1947. I had kind of gotten the impression that you hadn't been very close to the Communist problem since 1947. But I see you have kept up to date on these different problems involving the Communist conspiracy, and I assumed you would as a distinguished educator.

Now, that is not the basis of the instructions to the jury by the American judges, and you are radically wrong in your declaration, and I submit to you that you had better get into the clerk's room of this court and this county and other courts and read the instructions to the jury because your statement is not the fundamental reason these defendants have been found guilty.

Mr. NABOISEK. Oh, I know that.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I just want the record clear, that you do know, and I want to say this in closing, that I don't know of any member of this committee that thinks a man ought to go to prison because of any book he reads or because of the fact that he expresses an opinion. In my book controversy is the life blood of America and the freedom to discuss controversial subjects within the limits of the Constitution.

Mr. NABOISEK. I don't understand what that last phrase of yours means.

Mr. DOYLE. That means they have to discuss in a patriotic vein without participating in an avowed conspiracy to overthrow by force and violence, and that means subversive in my language.

Mr. NABOISEK. That is a curious stand to take, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. There is nothing curious about it.

Mr. NABOISEK. Who is to define what is patriotic and therefore what I can discuss and what I can't discuss?

Mr. DOYLE. The law of the land defines that.

Mr. NABOISEK. As defined by whom?

Mr. DOYLE. The Supreme Court.

Mr. KUNZIG. There are 1 or 2 important questions I feel should be asked at this time.

Mr. Naboisek, you said under oath a little while ago that you were taking the fifth amendment here today to protect other persons.

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

Mr. NABOISEK. I think that what I said, Mr. Counsel, was that other people had refrained from discussing their views, their activities before this committee for fear of involving persons in the damage which occurs to them when they appear here. I don't believe that I said that that was the reason why I was using the fifth amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. It sounded very much like that. Let us make it clear. Are you using the fifth amendment in the only way that it may be used, to protect yourself?

Mr. NABOISEK. Yes; I am.

Mr. KUNZIG. Because you fear that you may incriminate yourself, is that correct?

Mr. NABOISEK. No; I am using it because as I understand the fifth amendment, it is a committee like this cannot compel a witness to testify against himself.

Mr. KUNZIG. In a criminal proceeding, don't forget that last little phrase, because that is in the fifth amendment, too.

One further question. You talked at great length about the 1930's hunger and poverty and so forth. I just want to ask you one further question. In 1946 and 1947 after the letter referred to by Mr. Doyle, it was perfectly clear that the Communist Party was a conspiracy to overthrow this government by force and violence. Just once and for the clarity of the record, were you a member of this Communist Party in 1946 and 1947—not the '30s—1946 and 1947?

Mr. NABOISEK. On the grounds of the fifth amendment I will not answer that question.

Mr. KUNZIG. Thank you. I think you have made your position clear.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may the record show this to be a fact—I want the gentleman to tell me if it is not a fact. I have never met you before, have I, that you know?

Mr. NABOISEK. Not that I know of.

Mr. DOYLE. I think, Mr. Chairman, that this discussion between the doctor and myself, in which I was seeking for his suggestion as to legislation, is concrete evidence of the fact that we do go into that field of investigation without knowing in advance what the answer of the witness may be in that particular field, and I want to thank you for giving that.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, several questions, if I may. I must apologize for not being here during the course of your testimony, but I was necessarily absent on business of the committee.

Do you believe, sir, that the theft of official documents from the files of the United States Government, the photographing of those documents, their transmittal to agents of a foreign power, is an expression of boyish precocity, or is that a conspiracy?

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

Mr. NABOISEK. I think it is very plain, Mr. Jackson, that there are laws in this country which cover crimes, and that those things, those acts which you have just indicated, are crimes. It is not the business, as I see, of this committee to be concerned with what is someone else's business, namely, the Department of Justice, and that all of this fanfare and so forth is really quite irrelevant to the question that you are asking.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, the answer is brilliantly put, but it is not an answer to my question. Do you consider those acts to be the acts of a conspiracy, or do you feel that they are just in the normal—

Mr. NABOISEK. I feel that those are criminal acts.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you realize, sir, that it was this committee that disclosed the nature of that form of subversion? Whether it should have been done by someone else is not the question. The point is that it was not done; that had it not been for this committee, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, so far as we know that sort of thing might have continued to this day. I was very much interested—and I will be very brief, Mr. Chairman—in your very lucid and brilliant explanation as to why, in your opinion, many people enter into the Communist Party. I think there is a great deal of truth in what you have to say.

I should like to have, sir, your opinion as to why people remained in the Communist Party following the attack by North Korea and the subsequent entry of Red China against the forces of the United Nations, in the light of contemporary history, in light of the fact that we know today that men and women, human beings, are struggling through the night trying to reach a free world, carrying with them the evidence of physical torture.

We know that yesterday there developed in Washington, out of the result of congressional inquiry, testimony that proves that American GI's with their hands bound behind them were shot through the head.

I say, sir, that that is part of the international Communist conspiracy, and as soon as this committee and all the other agencies of government find out about it our civilization, in my humble opinion, will be much safer than it has been for a long time.

I have no question unless you want to explain why, in your opinion, people stayed in the Communist Party in the face of atrocities, brutality, savagery unknown to civilization since Genghis Khan and Adolf Hitler.

Mr. NABOISEK. Well, I would not be afraid to answer that, Mr. Jackson, but I think that it would take me some time. I have tried to be very fair to this committee, and I think that I could give an answer that, so far as I can see, would answer your question.

Now, I don't know whether you will give me sufficient time to do that, or whether you merely wanted in this instance to express the feelings that you have. If you want to give me an opportunity—and I imagine it would take some time, I would be very glad to do so.

Mr. JACKSON. That matter lies within the discretion of the committee so far as I am concerned, and I would personally vote to have inserted into the record your statement as to why you people can remain in this conspiracy and still have any true feeling for humanity, for international law, for common human decency.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair would concur with that, and we do have a great number of witnesses called, Doctor, and I think that it is time to adjourn, and we would like to dismiss you as soon as we possibly can.

Do you have any questions?

Mr. SCHERER. No. I think we should have his statement in the record. I would like to have it.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle, do you concur?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, I would like to have it, and I would like to see the chairman ask him to file it with the committee promptly.

Mr. VELDE. As promptly as you have it, we will be glad to receive it, sir. The witness is dismissed, and the committee will stand in adjournment until 1:45.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 1:45 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 2:05 p. m. of the same day, the hearing was resumed, the following committee members being present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Donald L. Jackson, Gordon H. Scherer, and Clyde Doyle.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Before proceeding with further witnesses, I would like to make a brief announcement in order to correct any erroneous impression that may have resulted from the testimony of Donald Ames during the committee hearings yesterday relating to a bookstore in Berkeley at which he obtained Marxist literature during his membership in the Communist Party as an undercover agent for the FBI. The Chair wishes to state that after discussing this portion of the testimony with Mr. Ames and following an examination of the record that the testimony of the witness related to a bookstore in Berkeley and is not the Berkeley Bookstore. No inferences whatever should be drawn by anyone from the testimony by Mr. Ames of the place where he secured his Communist information that it was the Berkeley Bookstore.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. William Bailey, will you come forward, please, sir?

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. BAILEY. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM J. BAILEY, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS
COUNSEL, DORIS BRIN WALKER**

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

Mr. BAILEY. William J. Bailey.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel, Mr. Bailey?

Mr. BAILEY. I am, sir.

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

Mrs. WALKER. Doris Brin Walker, attorney at law, 345 Franklin Street, San Francisco.

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

Mr. BAILEY. January 23, 1910, Jersey City, N. J.

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

Mr. BAILEY. My educational training consists of going to school for about 4 years, and I graduated—not graduated, but I left school at the fourth grade, grammar school.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation?

Mr. BAILEY. I don't think that concerns this committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I ask that the chairman direct the witness to answer the question?

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

Mr. VELDE. Yes, it does concern the committee as I have explained previously, Mr. Witness, and you are directed to answer the question.

Mr. BAILEY. I am willing to answer the question, Mr. Velde, if you would tell me how it would pertain to this committee.

Mr. VELDE. Well, I don't want to bore you or other members of the committee, but I feel it my duty to tell you that it does very definitely pertain to the work of the committee. The committee is authorized and directed by a resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress to investigate subversive activities and propaganda and to recommend remedial legislation which would capably handle the problem of all subversion.

The information that we seek is how far Communists and other subversive activities have penetrated into all types of employment, so therefore your employment is a very pertinent matter to this committee.

Now, will you answer the question, under direction, where are you presently employed?

Mr. BAILEY. I am unemployed.

Mr. TAVENNER. How were you employed in 1946?

(At this point Mr. Bailey conferred with Mrs. Walker.)

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Chairman, not being quite familiar with where I was employed, I feel I should decline to answer that question on grounds of the fifth amendment, and secondly, on the grounds I don't think it is any of your business where I was employed.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are relying on the fifth amendment as the grounds for your refusal to answer?

Mr. BAILEY. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I can't possibly see how his employment in 1946—unless he was employed in some way with the Communist conspiracy—could incriminate him, and I therefore ask that you direct him to answer the question.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair concurs, and the witness is directed to answer the question as to his employment in 1946.

(At this point Mr. Bailey conferred with Mrs. Walker.)

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Counsel, I think I could save the committee a lot of time if you would allow me to read a statement off that I have laboriously put down on paper which may help you to determine all future answers about names of organizations, names of people, and so on and so forth right down the line.

Mr. VELDE. Does this statement show where you were employed in 1946, Mr. Witness?

Mr. BAILEY. I don't know if it does or not; if you allow me to read it—

Mr. SCHERER. Did you write it, or did somebody else write it for you?

Mr. BAILEY. I am quite capable of writing my own statements, Mr. Congressman. Why do you make that type of inference? Do I look like an idiot or a dummy here that I have to have ghost writers write statements for me?

Mr. SCHERER. Did you write it, that is all I want to know.

Mr. BAILEY. I wrote the statement.

Mr. SCHERER. All right.

Mr. BAILEY. I said it was a statement from William J. Bailey. I would like to read the statement.

Mr. VELDE. May I see the statement to see whether or not it relates to your employment in 1946?

Mr. BAILEY. Well, I will show you the statement, Mr. Velde.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, may I make a suggestion, or are you reading?

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please.

The Chair yields to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SCHERER. May I suggest, will you caution some of the spectators at least about demonstrations, and I suggest that you instruct the police to remove those that they may see breaking your instructions with reference to the—

Mr. VELDE. Certainly the gentleman's suggestion is well taken, and I authorize the police at this time, should any individual or number of individuals in the audience start creating a demonstration of any kind, on the record to remove them from the hearing room.

As far as the statement is concerned, it will be taken by the committee in line with its policy in the past and its duties and considered for insertion into the record.

However, as you probably knew when you submitted this statement, there is nothing in here relative to your employment in 1946.

Now, will you answer the question from your own knowledge, where were you employed in 1946?

Mr. BAILEY. I think the record—

Mr. VELDE. That is under direction of this Chair.

Mr. BAILEY. I think the record will show, Mr. Velde, that I said, not being aware of where I worked in 1946, that rather than to drag this thing all the way over the place, I decided to rely on the fifth amendment.

Mr. VELDE. And you decline to answer the question?

Mr. BAILEY. Certainly I decline to answer the question on the following ground that I gave.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time during 1946 acting as the west-coast coordinator of the seamen's branches or waterfront branches of the Communist Party?

Mr. BAILEY. Where would you get that information?

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it wrong?

Mr. BAILEY. Well, where would you get the information?

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it wrong?

Mr. BAILEY. Well, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question?

Mr. BAILEY. I declined to answer that question or any other questions dealing with organizations, names, or anything else.

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

Mr. VELDE. Certainly the witness is purely in contempt of this committee, and you are directed to answer that question.

Mr. BAILEY. I just gave an answer, Mr. Velde.

(At this point Mr. Bailey conferred with Mrs. Walker.)

Mr. SCHERER. Will you proceed with the next question now?

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

Mr. SCHERER. No further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. No questions.

Mr. VELDE. Is there any reason why this witness should be longer held under subpoena?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think I should ask the witness—

Mr. VELDE. Do you have any more questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. I think I should ask the witness if he desires to state the grounds upon which he refuses to answer that question.

(At this point Mr. Bailey conferred with Mrs. Walker.)

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Chairman and Mr. Counsel, I refuse to answer that question on grounds that I refuse to be a witness against myself, which is imbedded in the fifth amendment of the Constitution which is still part of the land—part of the law.

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

Mr. BAILEY. Well, frankly, Mr. Chairman, I don't think that is any of your business.

Mr. VELDE. Well, regardless of whether it is our business or not—

Mr. BAILEY. I would give you the same answer I have given the FBI, riot squads, police department, and everybody else, that it just is none of your business.

Mr. VELDE. Let the record show that the witness has raised his voice in contempt of the committee of Congress, and in the Chair's opinion, and I think that the other members of this committee will agree with me, it is the business of this committee to determine whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party, the Communist conspiracy, at the present time, I can assure you.

Mr. BAILEY. That is your conclusion.

Mr. VELDE. And that is the only reason you have for not answering the question.

(At this point Mr. Bailey conferred with Mrs. Walker.)

Mr. VELDE. We are giving you every chance in the world, as counsel did in his last question to you—

Mr. SCHERER. I think we should dismiss the witness.

Mr. VELDE. Let the record show, too, that the witness is now being represented by counsel, conferring with counsel.

Mr. SCHERER. And has consulted with counsel.

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

Mr. SCHERER. No further questions.

Mrs. WALKER. Was there a direction to the witness to answer the last question?

Mr. VELDE. No; there was no direction on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. VELDE. Is there any reason why this witness should be further retained under subpoena?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. If not, the witness is dismissed at this time.

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

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. James Kendall, please.

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

Mr. KENDALL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES KENDALL

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

Mr. KENDALL. James Kendall.

Mr. TAVENNER. And when and where were you born, Mr. Kendall?

Mr. KENDALL. I was born August 3, 1922, in South Bend, Ind.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mr. KENDALL. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is the rule and practice of the committee to advise every witness of his right to counsel, to have counsel with him at the time he testifies or to consult with counsel at any time he desires during the course of his testimony.

Now, in light of that, do you desire counsel?

Mr. KENDALL. No, sir; as an American of average intelligence I believe I can answer your questions.

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

Mr. KENDALL. I graduated from high school, and I started to college, which I attended approximately 1 year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you attend college.

Mr. KENDALL. San Diego State.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what year did you complete your college work?

Mr. KENDALL. 1939.

Mr. TAVENNER. After the completion of your college work how were you first employed?

Mr. KENDALL. A friend of mine and myself decided we would like to go to sea, and we set out and came to San Francisco and eventually ended up in Seattle where I got my ordinary seaman papers in the merchant marine, eventually sailing to Alaska. From that time for a while I was in the merchant marine on the various jobs.

Mr. TAVENNER. During what period of time were you in the merchant marine?

Mr. KENDALL. From the year 1940, I would say to 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. During that period of time did you become a member of any union or unions?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes; in approximately February of 1942 in the port of Seattle, Wash., I signed up as a member of the National Maritime Union affiliated with the CIO by a port agent who at that time was named Eugene Williams.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you later become a member of any other union?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes, in 1944 I became a member of the Masters, Mates and Pilots affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, Mr. Kendall, it is not my desire or purpose to ask you any question calling for a discussion of any problem between labor and management or employers, and it is not my purpose to go into any question involving any internal disputes within any labor organization of which you have been a member. It is my sole purpose and intention to ask you questions relating to your knowledge, if you

have knowledge, of Communist Party activities within the unions of which you were a member and also any knowledge you had of other Communist Party activities outside of those unions.

Now, what has been your opportunity to know of Communist Party activities in general?

Mr. KENDALL. In approximately April of 1942 I was on shore—on the beach, as a seaman likes to use the term—here in San Francisco, and while in union hall awaiting assignment to a ship I was recruited into the Communist Party of the United States by David Saunders.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the date?

Mr. KENDALL. It was in April of 1942.

Mr. TAVENNER. As a result of that were you assigned to any special group of the Communist Party or cell of the party?

Mr. KENDALL. By the mere fact of being a seaman I was automatically in the waterfront section of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that in San Francisco?

Mr. KENDALL. In the port of San Francisco; yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you remain a member of that group or branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. KENDALL. Officially I remained a member of that particular branch or group, I would say, about 1946; probably officially in the eyes of the Communist Party I remained in until about 1948.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were the meetings held of that group of the Communist Party?

Mr. KENDALL. When I first joined there was a basement on Stockton Street. I don't remember the address, naturally, but it was held below this Chinese laundry or some other facility run by some Chinese folks, and in the basement we held meetings there. Eventually we moved over on to North Broadway in which they had rented a hall—that is, upstairs over a grocery store—and the remaining time that I was in the Communist Party their meetings were held in that location.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the National Maritime Union at the time you became a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes, I had not been a member, as you can tell, very long. In the meantime, Eugene Williams became agent of the port of San Francisco. Willie Hernley was the agent at Seattle, and it was in this hall that I was recruited.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at sea frequently during the period that you were a member of this group of the party?

Mr. KENDALL. Oh, yes; I would say over the entire period I went to sea I doubt very much—including the period I attended a particular school—if I was ever ashore a total of, in 8 or 9 years, more than 10 months during the total time.

Mr. TAVENNER. I wish you would tell the committee, please, what the method of operation was of the group of the Communist Party that you were a member of; that is, what the membership consisted of, how they functioned as members, and any other information that you can give us regarding the activities of that group.

Mr. KENDALL. Well, they recruit the various seamen; each particular union, of course, has the particular fraction within the union, and it is their method to recruit new members out of the membership of the individual unions, and in turn the various fractions of the individual

unions belong to what is known as the waterfront section of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. How many persons composed this group at any one time, this group of the Communist Party, in your judgment?

Mr. KENDALL. In the section or in the particular fraction?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let us begin with the fraction.

Mr. KENDALL. Well, of course the fraction depended upon the activity and the ability of the individual members of the fraction, in some cases—say the NMU—if they had a large membership, they had a larger membership of the fraction. In our particular fraction in the NMU at times I have seen, I would say, possibly maybe out of attending one shoreside meeting, regular union meeting, there might be as many as 15 or 20 active members of the Communist Party scattered among the membership. I cannot speak for the other unions because I never belonged to the other unions involved, which I think you know about. I know you could go into them; waterfront unions, that is.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what about the membership of the section?

Mr. KENDALL. The membership of the section, of course, I would have to guess because I, of course, never had complete knowledge of the entire membership, but I have estimated and friends I have talked to have estimated it in the port of San Francisco, sailing out of this particular port I would say there would be possibly as high as 200.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you mean at any one time as many as 200?

Mr. KENDALL. No, it is possible that it might have gone up to 300 total at any one time, but possibly maybe out of a total of all waterfront unions, seafaring part of waterfront unions, probably 100 ashore would be a maximum except during a strike there might be more.

Mr. TAVENNER. What about visiting members of the Communist Party? That is, members of the Communist Party on incoming ships? Did they have any place to meet or to engage in Communist Party activities of any character?

Mr. KENDALL. At the foot of Market Street, go down Market and turn to the left, there is a little bookstore there I believe is called the Embarcadero Book Store.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. KENDALL. Embarcadero. This particular bookstore was run by the waterfront section of the Communist Party, and the members of the various fractions within the union was always told that when the ship was ready to sail to go there, pick up the latest literature, take it aboard ship, to pick up the latest magazines. The seamen, when they came in, the first thing they always did was of course go to the bookstore and to pick up the latest literature and to receive the latest party line, so they could go forward and give the word.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that the practice and the rule?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes, very definitely for ships that sail out of San Francisco; when we came in or left usually the last place we contacted or somebody in the group contacted was the bookstore. Seafaring ships from out of town where their home port was New York or Baltimore, something like that, when they wanted to contact the various party members in the local city, well, the bookstore was the meeting place; they would go in there and by mutual acquaintances or by some previous word or token they would identify themselves, and the membership or caucus on board that particular ship would

then be told where the meeting was on North Broadway, and they would show up at the meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the result of having this single place where members of the Communist Party from all parts of the United States sailing on ships as members of the crew could meet? What was the effect and the result of that? In what way did that aid, if any, the Communist Party to carry on any of its programs?

Mr. KENDALL. Well, actually it was just a clearinghouse, to give my idea of why they did it or something. I don't think it would be a factual statement. I have my own ideas, and I would be glad to tell you, but I really think we should stick to the actual facts.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes; if you don't have actual knowledge, I think you are correct.

It is a fact, however, that incoming sailors on the New York ships could impart any new information regarding the Communist Party activities in other parts of the country to persons on outgoing ships whom they would meet at this central point?

Mr. KENDALL. That is quite true, but it would be a very slow way, counselor, because a ship takes quite a while. They could airmail the same information here. But it is quite possible.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said that this bookshop was operated by the Communist branch or section, the waterfront branch of the Communist Party?

Mr. KENDALL. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know the personnel who operated that bookshop during any of the period of time when you had occasion to be there?

Mr. KENDALL. Most of the time that I had occasion to go into the bookstore it was handled by a gentleman named Mr. Rogers. I don't know his first name. I understand he is since deceased, and at other times a gentleman known to me as Alex Treskin had taken charge of the bookstore. Mr. Rogers also had a son which I do not know his name.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. KENDALL. At the bookstore also.

Mr. TAVENNER. What part did Mr. Alex Treskin play in the Communist Party setup?

Mr. KENDALL. Most of the period that I knew Alex Treskin as a member of the Communist Party he was the waterfront organizer for the Communist Party in San Francisco, the port of San Francisco, seamen's branch.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you have told us that the branch of the Communist Party, of which you were a member—what was the next organization on a higher level?

Mr. KENDALL. Well, of course the waterfront section composed of the various fractions within all the unions along the waterfront, the seafaring unions—

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you first, how many branches of the Communist Party were there in the waterfront section?

Mr. KENDALL. Well, there was the National Maritime Union, CIO; the MFOW, Marine Firemen, Oilers, and Watertenders.

Mr. TAVENNER. Don't go quite so rapidly, please. What was the last that you named?

Mr. KENDALL. The MFOW; that is Marine Firemen, Oilers, and Watertenders, I believe, and the MC and S, Marine Cooks and Stewards.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you named three?

Mr. KENDALL. Three; National Maritime Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who were the section organizers, or rather, the section officers of this waterfront section or branch of the party?

Mr. KENDALL. Well, of course they were elected officers at the section meeting; they would vote on the major officers and elect those officers, and they would also appoint or elect a waterfront section organizer, and this is the position that Alex Treskin held. It is quite possible—I should state that it is possible that he was a direct appointee instead of being elected. At this time I don't recall; I want to make it clear that that is not a definite statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, explain the organizational setup a little more fully, please, so that the committee will understand just how the waterfront was organized in the Communist Party.

Mr. KENDALL. The various fractions were within the unions that I mentioned before, and in turn they were responsible to what we call the executive committee which was elected by the membership of the waterfront branches.

The executive committee in turn was responsible to the county committee, which I never got in on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who composed the executive committee or who were on the executive committee at any time during your connection with the Communist Party in the port of San Francisco?

Mr. KENDALL. In the year 1946 I can recall, I had occasion to visit the executive committee of the waterfront section of the Communist Party, and I can recall several of those members.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give us the names of those that you can recall?

Mr. KENDALL. At this one particular meeting that I was asked to attend, Hugh Bryson of the Marine Cooks and Stewards was there; Alex Treskin was there; Bill Bailey was there; there was a man from Marine Cooks and Stewards—I do not recall his name; Walter Stack.

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

Mr. KENDALL. William Bailey. That is the witness that was here a few minutes ago when he had lapse of memory about 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. I interrupted you. Are there others that you can identify that were members of the executive committee?

Mr. KENDALL. I am quite sure there were several others. However, I am not positive about the others, so I would rather not say, give any names that I am not absolutely sure of.

Mr. TAVENNER. What were the circumstances under which you visited that executive meeting at that time?

Mr. KENDALL. Well, it is quite a long story. I was a member of the Master Mates and Pilots holding a chief officer's license.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you a question first. When was this, approximately?

Mr. KENDALL. This was in the year 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us develop a little more of your record in the Communist Party before we come to that.

Mr. KENDALL. All right.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee what ships, if you can recall, you had joined as a member of the crews?

MR. KENDALL. Is this from the time that I became a member of the Communist Party?

MR. TAVENNER. From the time you became a member of the Communist Party, and while you were a member of the National Maritime Union.

MR. KENDALL. Steamship *Arthur Middleton*, the Steamship *Joseph Priestley*, the Steamship *Nira Luckenbach*, the Steamship *Santa Ana*, and there are a couple of short coastwise trips which I do not remember. I can find out. I have my discharges here.

I might point out, I would like to put it in the record, that these are not notes; they are discharges from various ships, and if I look at them from time to time they are just merely reference points and dates that I would be looking at. To a seaman a discharge is like a marriage license—you know where you have been and why.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you begin with your first sailings after becoming a member of the Communist Party and tell the committee in a general way what Communist Party activities took place and the extent of the Communist Party infiltration among the crews of these ships?

MR. KENDALL. The first ship that I sailed out on after becoming a member of the Communist Party was the Steamship *Arthur Middleton*. It had just come into port from the South Pacific, and I went on board. They took on a whole new crew, and I went on as an ordinary seaman. I was 18 or 19 at the time, I might mention.

There was the entire crew that went aboard, and I would say there must have been 125, 135, maybe possibly 200, and out of this I guess there was approximately, I would say, 25 members of the Communist Party aboard this ship.

This was a troop-carrying ship under charter to the United States Navy, and aboard this ship I was in the deck department; the entire deck crew, I would say there was approximately 10 members of the Communist Party in that crew.

Each particular department, the deck, engine, and the stewards department held their own individual fraction meeting, and in turn we had joint meetings. The union, however, would have joint meetings; the individual fractions never would hold joint meetings aboard the ship. In that particular ship there was a little rivalry for leadership among themselves was Dave Jenkins, who later became one of the heads of the California Labor School here in the port of San Francisco, and David Saunders.

MR. TAVENNER. Can you recall at this time the names of any others who were active in Communist Party work on board the Steamship *Arthur Middleton*?

MR. KENDALL. Ernest Fox was aboard the ship; however, before it sailed he was taken off. However, he was a Communist. At this time that is all the names I can definitely remember.

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

MR. TAVENNER. What about the strength of the Communist Party on the crews of the other ships you mentioned?

Mr. KENDALL. After the Steamship *Arthur Middleton*, we made two voyages on that, I went on the *Nira Luckenbach*, I believe. There was a couple of members of the Communist Party aboard that ship. It was not a well-organized ship. We made a trip to South America, and at such a late day I cannot remember any definite names except myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. What about the extent of infiltration on the other two ships that you mentioned, the *Santa Ana* being one of them?

Mr. KENDALL. The *Santa Ana* had a fairly large crew. There were 3 or 4 members aboard that ship. They were definitely Communist Party members. I remember one very distinctly, Leo Rossman. He did not belong to the seamen's branch of the Communist Party, however; he belonged to some Hollywood group.

Mr. SCHERER. What was that last name?

Mr. KENDALL. Rossman, Leo Rossman.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the first name or the initials?

Mr. KENDALL. Leo. So far as the steward department, engine room, I don't remember anybody in those 2 departments that were definitely Communist Party members. There was, I believe, another one in the deck department, but I don't remember his name, another Communist, but I am not sure of his name, so therefore I don't care to give it.

Mr. VELDE. What was the year of that sailing that you are referring to at the present time?

Mr. KENDALL. If I may have a second. I am sure it was 1943. However, I would like to just make sure. I signed on the *Santa Ana* December 22 of 1942, and I signed off after 2 trips on June 28, 1943.

Mr. VELDE. Did they hold regular meetings while you were traveling?

Mr. KENDALL. You mean Communist Party meetings?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. KENDALL. No. That particular ship there was not enough aboard to have a meeting on.

Mr. VELDE. Will you tell the committee how you happened to know that there were Communists on board this ship?

Mr. KENDALL. Mr. Leo Rossman—I was an able bodied seaman; he was an ordinary seaman, and he slept under the bunk directly below me. After living with the man for 6 months reading each other's literature and books and so forth and I can't remember definitely but I am quite sure that we never discussed the party like I remember any particular time but I know he knew that I was a Communist and I knew that he was a Communist.

Mr. VELDE. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you elected a delegate to any convention of the union while you were a member of the crew of the *Santa Ana* or one of these other ships on which you had sailed?

Mr. KENDALL. In the year 1943 when we came back from the south Pacific on the second voyage of the *Santa Ana*. I was the ship's delegate representing all three departments, in case there were any disagreements about wages or overtime or anything like that particular nature: I had been elected by the crew. The National Maritime Union had called their biennial convention in the port of New York, wartime convention. governmental approval on its traveling, and each

ship, each port, was to send representatives if they could afford it. In our particular ship we had a fairly large crew, average, good size. Through various means they had gathered quite a bit of money. This was strictly on a union activity and the crew nominated me and gave me a fund to go back and represent the steamship *Santa Ana* to the 1943 convention of the National Maritime Union in the port of New York.

MR. TAVENNER. You say that was a strictly union activity?

MR. KENDALL. The actual election of the delegate at the meeting, joint meeting, of the crew was strictly a union activity. However, I should clarify that, that I was told at our regular party meeting that in all cases that the party members should be nominated and elected, if possible, to attend this particular convention, which was always the policy, and because I was ship's delegate, I was the logical one, and the crew felt, to go back and represent them, and of course the waterfront organizer at that time was Mr. Treskin, which I previously mentioned, and they were very happy that I was elected.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you receive any instructions from Mr. Treskin before you attended the convention?

MR. KENDALL. Most of the delegates from the various ships went back together on a train. Our crew had pretty good fun, so I went home and spent a few days and then I flew back to New York.

I was told that when I reached New York of course I was to present my credentials to—I believe the official title was the national secretary of the National Maritime Union, Ferdinand Smith, at which time I was told that Mr. Smith would tell me who to contact as far as the party was concerned.

MR. TAVENNER. You mean the Communist Party?

MR. KENDALL. That is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. From what source did you get that direction?

MR. KENDALL. Mr. Treskin himself gave me that information.

MR. TAVENNER. Do you have any personal knowledge that the representatives or delegates from other ships received similar instructions?

MR. KENDALL. I have no definite information. Mine was an individual case.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you report to Ferdinand Smith?

MR. KENDALL. I did.

MR. TAVENNER. What activities took place in New York at that union in which the Communist Party played a part, if any?

MR. KENDALL. You mean at the convention, counselor?

MR. TAVENNER. Yes, or preliminary to the convention.

MR. KENDALL. Well, I presented my regular union credentials to Ferdinand Smith, and I was told to contact some particular individual which, because of the time element, I cannot remember who it was. However, on the floor of the actual convention—

MR. TAVENNER. Just a moment. How did Ferdinand Smith know that you were a member of the Communist Party?

MR. KENDALL. I assumed—well, it is an assumption, naturally, but—

MR. TAVENNER. Let me ask you this: Did you tell him that you were a member of the party?

MR. KENDALL. No, sir, I did not.

MR. TAVENNER. Did you have that information at the time that you presented your credentials to him?

Mr. KENDALL. Very definitely. I presented my credentials, we got the union business over with in short order, and then he told me who to contact insofar as the party activities were concerned.

Mr. TAVENNER. What party activities were there at that convention?

Mr. KENDALL. If my recollection is correct, I believe we had one joint meeting before the actual convention; it was a regular New York waterfront section meeting of the Communist Party in which Mr. Smith was at the door checking individuals; Blackie Meyers was there, who also was an official in the maritime union, and of course all the delegates from the west coast were there. It was strictly a party meeting of the waterfront section.

I might make it clear that I know that this meeting was held—now whether it was held during the convention or just before, I don't remember, but I do know this, that I made my contact as directed by Mr. Smith, or better yet, on the floor I was contacted by somebody that I trusted. I don't remember who it was at this time, and he told me to follow the lead on resolutions and so forth, several key members of the National Maritime Union, and very definitely Blackie Meyers at that time was heading up the Communist group within the convention, and he took the leads and saw to it that the Communist Party members were placed on the key committees, in fact, to see that they were placed on all important committees.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is there anything else that you can tell us about the Communist Party manipulations or activities at that convention?

Mr. KENDALL. At that particular time we were having a very rough time; we had been driven out of Europe, we had no navy.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean the United States?

Mr. KENDALL. The United States. So it was at the time that the glorious cry for the second front was heard around the world, and we saw to it, of course, that the appropriate resolution was passed at that convention that called for a second front, and also the resolution was passed that praised the Soviet Union for their stand at Stalingrad and for their stand on the eastern front.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are there any other activities that you can recall at that convention?

Mr. KENDALL. No, I believe that sums it up entirely except that I might add that 90 percent of your resolutions and on every committee there were active Communists, if not in complete control, dominating that way by having men with lower I. Q.'s and so forth among them, they could definitely dominate the committee, if not in number, in brains.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let us go back to your experience on the crews of these various ships. Do you know whether there were any Communist Party members who were radio operators on these ships?

Mr. KENDALL. Going to sea you find that the men are very clannish.

Mr. TAVENNER. I did not understand you.

Mr. KENDALL. Going to sea you will find the men are very clannish. The deck department sticks to itself; the engine department sticks to itself; the stewards stick to themselves. The radio operators are a crossbreed, not accepted by the crew and not accepted by the officers. So I would not know too much about them.

MR. TAVENNER. Did any instance come to your attention where you acquired information that a radio man was a member of the Communist Party?

MR. KENDALL. In the back of my mind I have one recollection, but I don't have names; I don't even remember the ship, but I remember that there was one particular ship that I know that there was a party man actively on duty in the radio room. Beyond that I cannot give any further information.

MR. TAVENNER. When the ships landed in foreign ports, what was done by the Communist Party members with reference to getting new information relating to the Communist Party line, if any?

MR. KENDALL. In foreign ports?

MR. TAVENNER. Yes, or did they go to foreign ports?

MR. KENDALL. You mean when the crews—I would like to ask a few questions. When the crews went to these foreign ports you want to know where would they go to get the information?

MR. TAVENNER. Yes; would they go ashore and obtain information in the same general manner as the crews for the incoming ships in San Francisco?

MR. KENDALL. The party lines were never picked up in a foreign port for the American seamen. We always received our party line here in the United States. However, they a lot of times did make contacts with the Communist Party and make an appearance at some dance or meeting which showed solidarity in the world and so forth, the party line.

MR. TAVENNER. Were there any occasions on which you were requested to deliver material of any character from a port of the United States to a foreign port?

MR. KENDALL. I was requested to deliver some literature to New Caledonia when I was ship's delegate of the ss *Santa Ana*. It was not out-and-out Communist literature.

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

MR. KENDALL. However, it was literature that was being passed out at the time. However, San Francisco, as far as I know, all over the United States, it was a win-the-war pamphlet, and I delivered these to New Caledonia, and on the *Nira Luckenbach* I was asked to take some literature down to Buena Ventura, Colombia, which I did.

MR. TAVENNER. This was just the ordinary type of Communist Party literature and information which you had in your bookstore here in San Francisco?

MR. KENDALL. That is correct; however, it did not have the seal of the Communist Party on it any place, nor did it say Communist Party on it. It was strictly literature, front organization literature. I did not take the material ashore. When I got here they knew that I was coming, and they came aboard and got it themselves.

MR. TAVENNER. Were there any security provisions, protection, afforded in getting that material off the ship?

MR. KENDALL. It was not my responsibility to get it off the ship. When I got to the particular places involved, they knew I was coming, and they came aboard and contacted me, and they came and told me they came to get the papers or leaflets or so forth, and they were

given the leaflets, and at this late date, I don't remember exactly how they got them off. They threw them on a sling or something and threw them over the side with a load of cargo, numerous other ways.

MR. TAVENNER. How did you receive the information that you were to deliver to those foreign ports?

MR. KENDALL. As long as the material did not carry anything adverse to what I believed in, well, I carried it down there—and did not carry the official seal of the Communist Party; it was literature you could have picked up any place on the streets; they were passing out on the streets and everything.

MR. TAVENNER. I mean, who gave it to you in the first instance for delivery?

MR. KENDALL. I am quite sure that Alex Treskin—I picked it up at the bookstore. How I was notified to pick it up at the bookstore at this time I don't remember, but that is where I got the information and the leaflets.

MR. TAVENNER. You were doing it under directions, were you?

MR. KENDALL. I wouldn't say directions. I was asked to do it, and I did it.

MR. TAVENNER. I mean, you were not doing it solely on your own initiative?

MR. KENDALL. No, sir; no, sir.

MR. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

MR. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

MR. JACKSON. It has been well established before this and other committees that San Francisco was an important stop on the courier service of the party from eastern parts of the United States to the Far East. At any time did you come into possession of any information, or did you have any knowledge of the operation of such a courier service?

MR. KENDALL. No, sir, I have never taken part—never heard of—I have heard of it, not at the time I was in the party. I wish I had—of any courier service or any information leaving these United States about anything that would have endangered our country, never have heard of it.

MR. JACKSON. You have no personal knowledge of it?

MR. KENDALL. No personal knowledge, no sir.

MR. TAVENNER. Can you give us the names of any other members of the Communist Party who were members of the crews of these ships who have not already been named by you?

MR. KENDALL. At the time I was a sailor?

MR. TAVENNER. Yes, at the time you were a sailor.

MR. KENDALL. Aboard the steam ship *Santa Ana*. I have given the names there.

Will you excuse me a minute? I would like to look at my discharges to refresh my memory on the various ships.

I believe that I have given all the names that I can remember at this time.

MR. TAVENNER. You asked me if I wanted that information as to while you were seaman. Was your status changed in the marine service?

MR. KENDALL. United States Merchant Marine, counsel.

Yes, in the year 1943 I made application to the United States Maritime Service officers' training school at Alameda, Calif., and I was accepted in September of 1943 and became an officer candidate in that school.

Mr. VELDE. At this point, Mr. Counsel, we will have a recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 3:05 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 3:15 p. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 3:25 p. m.)

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

Before proceeding further, Mr. Counsel, I would like to make this announcement, that with the conclusion of this witness' testimony the committee will adjourn until a time announced by the chairman of the committee. Therefore, all other witnesses who have subpoenaed to appear before the committee here in San Francisco are continued until further notice by the committee.

You may proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether there were any persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party in attendance at the officers' training school which you mentioned a moment ago?

Mr. KENDALL. There were two members that I knew definitely that were Communist Party members. One's name was James Drake, who was a former San Pedro port agent for the National Maritime Union who was attending that school to become an engineer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know anything about Communist Party activities on his part at a later date?

Mr. KENDALL. No; after I graduated from the school I lost all further contact with him, never heard of him again to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. Proceed, please.

Mr. KENDALL. The second man was named Duncan Keir, K-e-i-r, I believe that is how you spell it. He fought in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. Are you certain of the spelling of the name?

Mr. KENDALL. I am not certain of the last name, no, but it is—

Mr. TAVENNER. The information that the committee has indicates that the name is K-e-i-r.

Mr. KENDALL. I can tell you in a minute. I have the graduation list here, and he was a roommate of mine. K-e-i-r, Duncan Keir, Jr., excuse me.

He was a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade which fought in Spain. At a later date, I might add, he was expelled from the Communist Party. At the time that I knew him in my class in school he was quite disillusioned at that time. Later on he was expelled for—I think the terminology used to expel him was Trotskyite.

Mr. TAVENNER. Proceed, please.

Mr. KENDALL. That is the only man that I knew attending the officers training school at Alameda that were members of the party besides myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you again go to sea after the completion of your training course?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you receive a commission?

Mr. KENDALL. I received an ensign commission in the United States Maritime Service, yes, sir, and I was requested to go on the steamship *Alice H. Rice*, which I did. I went aboard as third officer. It was a new vessel being built over in Richmond, and I went aboard that particular vessel, the first trip as an officer.

Mr. TAVENNER. What Communist Party activities occurred on board that ship?

Mr. KENDALL. That ship was loaded—let us put it that way. The chief officer was David Saunders, and the third officer, myself, and the deck department especially.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you identifying those persons as members of the Communist Party that you are naming?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes, sir; very definitely. The purser was Dave Teitelbaum.

Mr. VELDE. Will you spell that name, please?

Mr. KENDALL. I might have a crew list here; I will look and see—T-e-i-t-e-l-b-a-u-m.

Mr. VELDE. Will you tell the committee how you knew that these persons were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KENDALL. I attended meetings with Mr. Teitelbaum and we discussed quite frequently aboard ship among the other party members various phases and problems within the party, outside the party line, and so forth. There is no doubt that Mr. Teitelbaum was a Communist.

We had a bosun whose name was Sam Telford.

Mr. TAVENNER. Spell it, please.

Mr. KENDALL. To the best of my knowledge it is T-e-l-f-o-r-d. We had two McDonald brothers aboard the vessel; one was named Hughie, and the other one I don't know his first name. They were not members of the Communist Party. However, they attended Communist Party meetings, and they were definitely what you might classify as fellow travelers, but to the best of my knowledge they were not actual members of the party. I am afraid that I would have to look at a crew list of that particular vessel, which I did not keep to identify the rest. However, there were—

Mr. TAVENNER. How many on that vessel were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KENDALL. Offhand I would say 10 to 15, maybe not—closer to 10 probably would be correct.

Mr. DOYLE. Out of a total crew of how many?

Mr. KENDALL. Let me see, ships of that size usually carried about 45 or something like that; one-fourth of the crew or maybe a little less.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you remain a member of the same union after you were commissioned and shipped on the vessel that you mentioned?

Mr. KENDALL. At the time of my graduation I retired my book from the National Maritime Union as a seaman, and I applied for and was admitted to the Masters, Mates and Pilots Union.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was there a Communist Party cell or branch within that union when you joined it?

Mr. KENDALL. No, sir. However, there were party members within the union, but they did not hold fraction meeting and—

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, there was no organization, Communist organization, within that union?

MR. KENDALL. That is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. Although there were some members of the Communist Party?

MR. KENDALL. Yes, sir.

MR. TAVENNER. Were you assigned any particular job to do in that union; that is, assigned any job by the Communist Party?

MR. KENDALL. In the year 1946 I was getting ready to sign on a vessel, the steamship *Robert T. Hill*, a liberty ship bound for Genoa, and I was asked by Alex Treskin—

MR. TAVENNER. Who is Alex Treskin?

MR. KENDALL. Alex Treskin most of the time was the waterfront organizer for the seamen's branch of the Communist Party of the port of San Francisco, and for a long time they had been trying to get all the members of the Communist Party within the Masters, Mates and Pilots into a particular working fraction. They had not succeeded for various reasons, I don't know why, and they had asked me, or Alex had asked me to please get off this ship, stay ashore and see if I couldn't get something going in that particular union. He asked me to appear before the executive board of the waterfront section of the Communist Party.

MR. TAVENNER. So you were taken off of the ship at the instance of the Communist Party to engage in Communist Party work?

MR. KENDALL. I was not taken off the ship. I don't believe I could phrase it that way. I was requested to come ashore, and after talking to the executive board, I agreed to come off the ship.

MR. TAVENNER. What was the nature of the work that you were called upon to do?

MR. KENDALL. I was to try to organize the active or the Communist Party members within the Masters, Mates and Pilots.

MR. TAVENNER. Was there a shortage of mates at that period of the war?

MR. KENDALL. No; not at that particular time. The war was over at that particular time. The war ended in August of 1945, and this was 1946, counsel.

MR. TAVENNER. Well, tell the committee, please, the nature of the work that you engaged in at the instance of the Communist Party.

MR. KENDALL. The purpose of my work within the Masters, Mates and Pilots was, number one, if possible, to see if we couldn't elect somebody who was either sympathetic to the Communist Party or that would be more lenient towards the party; number two, second resort, and the most feasible, was to elect somebody that would at least be fair within the union as the head of the union and not use dictatorial methods, because unfortunately in this particular case, in my opinion, and many of the non-Communist opinions, the union was ruled with an iron hand in a dictatorial method, even though it was non-Communist. I was called or asked to come before the executive board. We sort of outlined the program what we would do, and in turn—

MR. TAVENNER. Is this the meeting which you had started to describe at an earlier point in your testimony when I stopped you and you went back to correct your history to that point?

MR. KENDALL. That is correct. This is the executive board of the waterfront section of the Communist Party in the port of San Francisco. At this particular time, which I mentioned before, I was told

where to come. It was on North Broadway and was upstairs. I went up in this particular room and the—

Mr. TAVENNER. Who told you to appear there; do you recall?

Mr. KENDALL. I believe at that particular time Alex Treskin was the waterfront organizer, and I was dealing mainly through him, so I don't remember the actual incident where he told me to come, but I am quite sure that he would be the only one that I would accept it from, but I don't remember the actual incident where he told me to come.

But I did attend this meeting, that he was carrying on some other business, and I was sitting down there for awhile, and they finally got to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was this a Communist Party meeting?

Mr. KENDALL. This was the executive board of the waterfront section.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. KENDALL. Communist Party in the port of San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee what occurred.

Mr. KENDALL. We went over very briefly what we had to accomplish within the Masters, Mates and Pilots which I had previously stated, and they agreed to give a little financial help, if necessary, and they also arranged a place for me to stay while I was ashore to keep my own expenses down, and Alex Treskin made arrangements through other party personnel to give me the necessary technical help to print a particular paper, specifically about the Masters, Mates and Pilots. The men present at that meeting—Hugh Bryson of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, David Jenkins of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, also working at the California Labor School; Alex Treskin; there were several other members present, but I cannot definitely recall. I believe I can, but unless I am certain, I don't care to give you any more names.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, what did you do as a result of the instructions you received at that meeting?

Mr. KENDALL. We got our fraction together in this location that they had located me to stay, and from the county committee of the Communist Party they sent technical aid to us in the form of one Leon Kaplan, K-a-p-l-a-n, and a young lady from the Young Communist League to do our typing for us.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall her name?

Mr. KENDALL. No, sir. He came out to our fraction meeting and gave us a little technical advice, and I believe he attended 1 or 2 fraction meetings, and that was all.

However, he came to us directly from the county committee specifically for this particular project.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know at that time the names of other members of the county committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. KENDALL. I knew at that time, yes sir. There was a lady named Yates, but I had no personal contact with the committee myself. I mean, I only knew them through some mass meeting we attended or something.

Mr. TAVENNER. What occurred as a result of the technical advice and assistance that was given you by the county committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. KENDALL. Well, quite frankly, really the only help we got was the young girl. She typed our stencils for us or what they call cut them on the typewriter. She did our typing. The greatest help from—Mr. Alex Treskin made arrangements for me to secure paper—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a minute. What was it that you were attempting to do, to put out a leaflet or pamphlet of some kind?

Mr. KENDALL. A mimeographed sheet that would reach the members of the Masters, Mates and Pilots, pointing attention to the overhanded methods of its president, which by any standards, as I said before, was a dictatorial—

Mr. TAVENNER. And the Communist Party was attempting to use those shortcomings or faults in the management of the union in order to advance its own Communist Party purposes?

Mr. KENDALL. They figured that anything was better than the president that they had of the Masters, Mates and Pilots.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right; now, will you proceed, please? You were saying that arrangements were being made to give you additional help.

Mr. KENDALL. Mr. Treskin arranged to have some paper given to us through the book store previously mentioned on Embarcadero, and then in turn he made arrangements for me to go up and contact Bob Robertson of the ILWU to secure some more paper or technical help, if necessary, and I did go up and see Mr. Bob Robertson of the ILWU, who in turn—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a minute. At that time do you know whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KENDALL. Bob Robertson?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. KENDALL. I was directed to go to him by Alex Treskin, about whom I have already stated his position.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. KENDALL. I never asked; I just assumed, and that is all I could do because I did not ask him whether he was a party member. The fact that I had been directed to him by a party functionary was enough to me that he was a party person, or he wouldn't have sent him to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you go to his office?

Mr. KENDALL. I went to the office, west-coast office, of the ILWU, contacted Mr. Robertson. He was expecting me or he knew I would be in. He in turn introduced me to Mr. Bjerne Halling.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that last name?

Mr. KENDALL. You will have to get it some place else. It is a Norwegian name of some sort. I don't have it.

Mr. TAVENNER. B-j-o-r-n-e is the first name, and H-a-l-l-i-n-g.

Mr. KENDALL. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that correct?

Mr. KENDALL. He was about 6 foot, blond hair, in stature. I could probably find it if I took time and went through the records here, but I don't think I have his name in this particular group of papers that I brought with me.

Mr. VELDE. Did you talk over Communist Party matters with these two gentlemen, Mr. Robertson, is it, and Mr. Halling?

Mr. KENDALL. The Communist Party as such was never mentioned in my meeting with them. If I may continue, Congressman, I think it will clear it up a little bit.

Mr. VELDE. All right, please do. Proceed.

Mr. KENDALL. In turn I was introduced to Mr. Smith who was also an official of the ILWU.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall his first name?

Mr. KENDALL. I believe it was Harry, but I am not sure. I am very definitely not sure of that because that was too long ago.

Bob Robertson then took me over to a young lady who was doing the—compiling—handling the publicity or public relations work for the ILWU, newspaper layouts and so forth and she told me she would help me in any way possible to get out this newspaper, this little printed leaflet.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did it have a name?

Mr. KENDALL. The Horizon, yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. KENDALL. And in turn they also gave me some paper to have this printed on, some more paper which we would need. Then Mr. Robertson took me into the office of Harry Bridges. Mr. Bridges—he talked to him for a few minutes previously before I went in. Mr. Bridges told me that he was glad to see us getting something going. He asked us just what we had planned on, and I told him roughly in a general way.

He told me that if we could get something going in there that we could count on—I could count, rather, on our group, on getting all the necessary help from our people to help us.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mr. Bridges say who he meant by “our people”?

Mr. KENDALL. He did not. There was only one assumption that I made.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am not asking you to make assumptions.

Mr. KENDALL. All right, sir. His longshoremen were not my people, I just want to make that clear.

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you do? Was that the—

Mr. KENDALL. That was the extent of that meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. The extent of your conversation with Mr. Bridges?

Mr. KENDALL. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. That what occurred?

Mr. KENDALL. We started printing the paper, and we mailed it out to the various ships, what addresses we could find in the telephone books, and it caused quite a fracas within the Masters, Mates and Pilots.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you continue in the work of editing and publishing the Horizon?

Mr. KENDALL. I don't know exactly how many editions we put out. However, I came ashore on May 21, 1946, and I quit the work prior to September 4, 1946. During that time I made a brief coast-wise visit or coastwise trip back as an able-bodied seaman down to San Pedro—no significance to the trip; it was just to get away for a few days.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who assisted you in the editing and publication of the Horizon other than the person sent to you from the Young Communist League to do typing?

Mr. KENDALL. There was a Captain Barry—I don't know how to spell his name. There were 2 or 3 others, and although I can remember a lot of names, unfortunately there were 2 or 3 men in there that I

just cannot remember their names. There was one that helped me that was not a Communist, and in fact, he had no real use for the Communists, but he disliked the particular leadership of the union very much, so he helped us, and his name was Carlos Toredó. I couldn't spell that, either.

Mr. TAVENNER. During 1946 was there any particular difficulty on the San Francisco waterfront which eventually involved you?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes, the SUP, Sailors Union of the Pacific, were—I mentioned they went on strike of that year, and also the National Unity Committee I believe it was called. In other words, the NMU and the ILWU were coming up in that year for wage negotiations and contract negotiations.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what year was that?

Mr. KENDALL. 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you continuing up to this time to edit your publication, the *Horizon*?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes. Like I say, I don't remember exactly how many editions we had put out, but we put out several editions, and I was ashore that entire time previously mentioned. However, along toward the end there, they brought some resolutions to me and asked me to submit them to the membership of the Masters, Mates and Pilots, which dumbfounded me. They were resolutions which praised the Soviet Union for some move they had made, and all of a sudden the light started to glow that instead of worrying about cleaning up the union, what we originally started out for, they seemed to be more interested in getting some resolutions passed which obviously couldn't be passed in that union because the resolutions were out and out Communist resolutions praising the Soviet Union, so that, along with the meeting that I was called to attend on North Broadway—I decided to give up the work and go back to sea.

Mr. TAVENNER. Before you attended the meeting that you have spoken of, what had become your position in the Communist Party within your union? You had a position of leadership.

Mr. KENDALL. Within the fraction itself I was appointed by the—I don't know who exactly appointed me, I will be very frank with you at this time; there were two cochairmen of the fractions. One was Captain Barry and one was myself.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you give the full name of Captain Barry at this time?

Mr. KENDALL. I can't do it at this time; Captain Barry was chief officer, B-a-r-r-y, but beyond that I couldn't—

Mr. TAVENNER. The two of you were cochairmen of the Communist Party?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Within the unit?

Mr. KENDALL. The Communist fraction.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Communist fraction?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. So you were one of two top-ranking members of the Communist Party in your fraction?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes; it was a very small fraction, I might add.

Mr. TAVENNER. But it was the only fraction in that union, was it not?

Mr. KENDALL. That is correct: as far as I know, that was the only fraction on the east coast.

Mr. TAVENNER. The only representation that the Communist Party had in that union was the representation which your small group had?

Mr. KENDALL. On the Pacific coast, that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. You state you were asked to attend another meeting?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes.

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

Mr. KENDALL. In this particular meeting I was approached by Alex Treskin and told to take a streetcar out Stockton to come out to North Broadway and to get off there, and he would meet me; there was a very important meeting, and I was to be there at a certain time on a particular Saturday morning, and I did, and he met me, and he took me down the street there into a Masonic lodge, and there were a couple of men standing in front—I don't remember who they were. I knew them, I remember that.

We went back into the rear of one of the rooms, and there were a couple of men at the door, and they let us—

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment. Had he told you what the nature of this meeting was to be before you got into the building?

Mr. KENDALL. When I met him, after I had got off the streetcar, on the way down, he told me that it was a meeting of various Communist Party leaders in the waterfront unions along the Pacific coast.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where was this meeting held?

Mr. KENDALL. It was held on North Broadway in a Masonic hall, lasted 2 days.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the place well enough to give some description of the hall as to how you were able to get in?

Mr. KENDALL. We went to the front door, and it was divided into two or three halls, meeting halls. I wouldn't say—I guess it was the first; it was the first door to the right, it was on an angle, away back in there, set up for a regular Masonic meeting, and we went in. I mean, they had the American flag there, and that was it. As far as the description of the building, I could take you there in a minute, but as far as the address or anything, I don't know.

Mr. JACKSON. You say there were two men at the door in the hall?

Mr. KENDALL. There were 2 men in front, and there were 2 men in the hall on the actual door leading into the hall itself.

Mr. JACKSON. Did you know them, or did they request any identification from you?

Mr. KENDALL. I don't remember who they were at the time. I mean, we had to be identified; the fact that I was with Treskin, and they knew me, they just let us in.

Mr. JACKSON. But would you say they were obviously there for the purpose of determining who was entering the hall? Was that the impression you gathered?

Mr. KENDALL. Well, I figured they were definitely there for security measures.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. What time of the day did your meeting begin?

Mr. KENDALL. It was early in the morning, 9 or 10 o'clock, something like that.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did the meeting last?

Mr. KENDALL. It lasted maybe not real late in the evening, but it lasted fairly late, 5 or 6 o'clock, if I remember, something like that. The first day was very tiresome, as I remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did it last more than 1 day?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes, it lasted 2 days. It broke up early Sunday.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee, please, what occurred at that meeting as near as you can from the very beginning of your entrance to the room.

Mr. KENDALL. Well, as I went in, of course I noticed the various people that were there, from as far away as Seattle, Wash., Portland, and as far south as San Pedro, the union officials for various unions. Most of them were known to me as Communist Party members. We were told in the very beginning when the meeting was called to order that while the back door was open we were never to mention the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. That while what?

Mr. KENDALL. While the back door or the main door was open that we were never to mention the Communist Party because they had went to a great deal of trouble to lease the hall or rent the hall for that particular 2 days, and they had rented it under a different name, of course, and we were not to cause any embarrassment to anybody by mentioning the Communist Party as such when the door was open in case somebody would be out there that was not a member.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then it was a Communist Party meeting without any doubt?

Mr. KENDALL. There was never a doubt in my mind.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any persons present at that meeting from the east coast?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes, Mr. Al Lannon—at least that is the name I knew him under.

Mr. TAVENNER. Al Lannon?

Mr. JACKSON. How do you spell that, please?

Mr. KENDALL. Al L-a-n-n-o-n, I believe.

Mr. JACKSON. L-a-n-n-o-n?

Mr. KENDALL. I believe so. I might state that since, I found that is an alias also.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is that?

Mr. KENDALL. That is an alias. I have been notified of that. I have identified a picture other than that name. I don't remember the name, but that is not his correct name.

Mr. TAVENNER. What position did he hold in the Communist Party?

Mr. KENDALL. He was a national coordinator of the waterfront section of the Communist Party. He had flown out from the east coast especially for this meeting.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were there any Communist Party representatives from the east coast that you can now recall?

Mr. KENDALL. No, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Continue with your description of what occurred after you were told that the Communist Party name should not be mentioned at any time while the door was open?

Mr. KENDALL. We were told that we were going to hear a report from Al Lannon from the east coast. At that time the NMU was

going through its struggle with the forces of Joseph Hearn's trying to rid the union of the Communists and Blackie Meyers was the individual who the Communists had around, and it was a struggle of power within the NMU, and he was going to give a report on that particular struggle.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was on the east coast?

Mr. KENDALL. That was on the east coast, that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. That involved Ferdinand Smith, did it not?

Mr. KENDALL. Ferdinand Smith was also allied with Blackie Meyers as a Communist.

Mr. TAVENNER. That fight resulted in Ferdinand Smith being expelled from the union, did it not, and his deportation at a later date?

Mr. KENDALL. Sir, I don't know. I mean, I know he was deported, but whether that particular battle was decisive to that thing, I don't know.

Then we were to have a report from the various unions up and down the coast from our party functionaries within that union who held offices in that union on the problems and different problems that had arisen on the coast; in other words, a complete report on how the Communists were doing within the unions and whether they had complete control and whether there were factions fighting them and just a general report.

We also were to receive a report—now, I don't think we were told we were going to see the report, but I better start naming off the people that were there.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, and the unions which these Communist Party members represented.

Mr. KENDALL. All right. Walter Stack was there, and he was from the MFOW, here for the port of San Francisco.

Mr. TAVENNER. The name?

Mr. KENDALL. Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders.

Mr. VELDE. How is the name spelled, please?

Mr. KENDALL. Marine Fire—

Mr. VELDE. The name of the person.

Mr. KENDALL. S-t-a-c-k, to the best of my knowledge. He was here from the port of San Francisco. Neil Crowe, San Pedro, C-r-o-w-e agent of the National Maritime Union, CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell that, please?

Mr. KENDALL. N-e-i-l. He was from San Pedro. Neil Crowe did not come alone. There was somebody from the San Pedro branch of the ILWU for that particular local. There were 2 or 3 men with him. I didn't know those men. I knew Crowe because I had shipped down there, as I mentioned previously, for about a week on another ship, just for the ride, and to take it easy a little bit as an able-bodied seaman. I held a license, and I knew that Crowe was in that position, and I believe he was an agent; if not, he was what he called a patrolman, and if not the actual agent, he was a patrolman, but I am quite sure he was an agent there at the time.

We had representatives of Portland with which I was not too familiar because I didn't know anybody in Portland. The NMU had an office up there, but it wasn't much of an office, and the ILWU was helping out as much as they could. In the port of Seattle the NMU agent was there, and they had a representative, a couple of representatives of the ILWU which was there.

Now, when I give unions, they were all represented to me as Communist Party members in those individual unions. Harold Oakerly—I mentioned Walter Stack—Alex Treskin was there; Harry Bridges was there; Bjerne Halling was there; and Bob Robertson was there.

MR. VELDE. Is there any question in your mind about any being there whom you have named so far?

MR. KENDALL. No.

MR. VELDE. Are you certain that Harry Bridges was there at that meeting?

MR. KENDALL. Very definitely, yes.

MR. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, a point of information. Captain Barry I believe you had previously identified as a member of the Communist Party; is that correct?

MR. KENDALL. That is correct.

MR. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what happened during the course of that meeting? What was done?

MR. KENDALL. First of all we had a report from Al Lannon from the east coast who told about the internal struggle with the NMU which was the major interest at that time as far as the east coast was concerned. After he spoke we had various reports on party activities of the various ports up and down the coast from the various union representatives, Communist Party representatives, that held positions in the union. Then we had a report on the negotiations at that time that were going on between the shipowners and the ILWU, where it might have been the committee on maritime unity at that time. I forget just what the official title was of the negotiating group.

MR. TAVENNER. Who made that report?

MR. KENDALL. Harry Bridges. The reason that I remember it so well, this particular report, was two things. First of all, Mr. Bridges constantly during the meeting, on hearing the other reports, was drinking milk and eating crackers. The reason given for it to me was that he had a very bad case of ulcers, and he was quite ill. However, he gave the report. The latter part of the second day he did not attend the meeting, the final meetings, I mean, part of the meetings, as he was too ill. But he gave the report.

MR. JACKSON. He was there during the first day of the meetings and for the morning session of the second day?

MR. KENDALL. Yes.

MR. VELDE. Do you know how these individuals were notified of the meetings?

MR. KENDALL. I only have knowledge of my own notification.

MR. VELDE. Maybe you have already stated, but how were you notified?

MR. KENDALL. Alex Treskin notified me to come to the corner of north Broadway and Stockton where he would meet me and take me to the meeting place.

MR. TAVENNER. What was the nature of the report that was made by Mr. Bridges, can you recall that?

MR. KENDALL. Well, at the particular time, as far as I could read in the papers, they were still negotiating with the city shipowners, I believe was the title, and it was quite awhile, 30 days or so, where they had to go in the contract or negotiate in as far as I knew. However, Mr. Bridges told the group that the shipowners were going to stall,

and they were stalling, and that there would be a strike and for party members within the union to go back and prepare the membership for a strike, which came to me—I was a little dumfounded on it because there was still, I thought, a lot of negotiation to go on.

Mr. JACKSON. Do I understand that this directive to go back and prepare for the strike was a directive to all of the unions concerned, not only the union of which Mr. Bridges was an official?

Mr. KENDALL. Anytime on the waterfront, Congressman Jackson, where you have a strike of one particular union, automatically nobody would cross another union's picket line, in those cases at least, at that time, and therefore if one struck, they were all out of work, so they had to set up certain facilities so they could be giving help to the union members of their respective unions, even though one particular union might be the one doing the striking. Say, for example, if it was the longshoremen's union that went out on strike, automatically the seamen would be out and all the rest of the unions would be out on the waterfront because they would not cross the picket lines, so they prepared for the strike, and that was the reason the instructions were given.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make a report also at this meeting of the Communist Party activities in your union?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes, I did. I told of our activity and so forth, up to that particular time. However, at that particular meeting was the beginning of the end as far as I was concerned, I might add. That was one of the turning points, when Mr. Bridges instructed the party people to go back and prepare their membership for a strike before negotiations had even got into full swing, as far as I was concerned, and that was at the very time that Chiang Kai-shek was fighting for existence in China, and it was after the Duclos letter, and I began to realize the international complications involved.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you recall any other decision or action that was taken at that meeting?

Mr. KENDALL. I don't remember whether or not it was before that particular meeting or at that meeting it was announced that Bill Bailey was the west coast coordinator, or that he had been given the job of the west coast coordinator for the waterfront sections of the Communist Party.

I remember at that particular meeting he was, he held that position. Whether or not he was elected at that—I don't think he was elected at that particular meeting, but at that particular meeting was the first time that I had ever heard of it, that he held that position. So they either appointed him just prior to that meeting or they announced it, but anyway, that was the first time that I knew of that particular position. It was a new position, I might add, in the party. It was something nobody else had had.

Mr. JACKSON. Who presided as chairman at the sessions?

Mr. KENDALL. I have thought many times over that, looking back on it. It is very peculiar; I am sure it was 1 of 2 people, but as I have stated previously, unless I am absolutely sure who the presiding chairman was, I will not state.

Mr. JACKSON. It was 1 of 2 people?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. If you have identified them as being present in the meeting hall, I see no firm commitments. As long as you say you are

not certain, but it was 1 of 2, if you will name the 2 persons, I think it would be all right for the record in this instance.

Mr. KENDALL. At this time you mean you want me to name them again?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, the 2 people who may—or 1 of whom did preside as chairman.

Mr. KENDALL. It was Alex Treskin or Bill Bailey who was chairman of the particular meeting involved. The most significant fact, outside of what I have given about the international complications of the meeting all of a sudden coming up, was that in addressing this meeting Harry Bridges was not introduced as a Communist. I didn't expect him to be because we know from the years we have had, there have been a lot of problems and trials and so forth on his citizenship—however, his first words to address this meeting could be taken many ways—but the words were “comrades.”

Mr. VELDE. Are you positive that this was a meeting closed only to actual Communist Party members?

Mr. KENDALL. Throughout the entire discussion of this meeting, I have tried to make it clear, there was no doubt in anybody's mind, there was nobody there that was not a Communist. For a fact I will be—well, I am not certain, so I won't say more. But I am positive that the meeting was a closed Communist meeting. There were some people that were there that I did not know. They might not have been Communists, it is quite true, but everybody that I did know that was there, they were Communists. I mean that I actively worked with and knew was a Communist. I knew Bridges, Halling, Robertson, and Smith, and I couldn't say they were Communists because I never got close to them. However, everybody I did know and had close contact with that was there were Communists except those mentioned.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did any other person make a report for the ILWU besides Harry Bridges?

Mr. KENDALL. There was a report made from San Pedro and also a report from Portland and also a very, very—

Mr. TAVENNER. I couldn't understand your last statement.

Mr. KENDALL. There was a report made from Portland. I remember they were having some particular problem up there, union trouble, and the anti-Communist forces within the union of the ILWU were having a terrific fight with the Communist fraction up there, and they reported on that. All the reports basically were in regards to Communist Party problems within the various unions. They mentioned several times minor fracasas that they had with other unions—I mean the unions they were in might have had with other unions that were not Communist Party business; however, the basic reports were definitely Communist reports on activities in unions of the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was any report made to your recollection from the San Francisco area by a representative of the ILWU other than Mr. Harry Bridges?

Mr. KENDALL. I can't definitely say at this time.

Mr. SCHERER. The extreme security measures for this meeting which you have described were taken, were they not, because this was a Communist meeting?

Mr. KENDALL. At the last part the microphones fluctuated. I wish you would repeat.

Mr. SCHERER. Would you read that, please?

(The question was read by the reporter as follows:

The extreme security measures for this meeting which you have described were taken, were they not, because this was a Communist meeting?)

Mr. KENDALL. That is a conclusion, but very definitely; I mean, that is the only reason it could have been. If it had been a union meeting, there would have been no other reason. There wouldn't have been any necessity for double guard, and not mentioning the Communist Party if the door is open.

Mr. SCHERER. Merely the matter of notification was evidence of an extreme security measure; your manner of notification of this meeting and your going to the meeting indicated that it was highly secretive?

Mr. KENDALL. That is correct, and that was the first time they had ever called upon me to attend a meeting of such a high echelon caliber—especially a Communist Party meeting, and that is probably why they had me come the way I did.

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

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it customary among the waterfront unions to have a strike vote before a strike is called, or is this determination generally made by a board or a few men or an individual?

Mr. KENDALL. Very definitely among the more democratic unions on the waterfront section—and I believe the majority of the waterfront agents are probably more democratic than any other unions in the United States—they always have a strike vote.

Mr. JACKSON. Had that strike vote been taken to the best of your knowledge, let us say, in your own group? Had any mention been made of a possible pending strike before the directions were given to go back to your unions and tell them to get ready to strike? Do you know of any—

Mr. KENDALL. Remember, I was a member of the Masters, Mates and Pilots. I was not a member of one of the unions that were going on a strike.

Mr. JACKSON. Was a strike vote mentioned, to the best of your recollection, in any of the unions which were represented in this meeting?

Mr. KENDALL. No, I am sure the strike vote wasn't mentioned, because the strike vote is a formality that you always give to your negotiators if nothing more as a bargaining agent.

Mr. JACKSON. It really does not constitute balloting by the membership of the union?

Mr. KENDALL. It does, but after all, your negotiating committee, if they do not have the power to call the men out on strike if they can't reach an agreement, they are handicapped, and the shipowners and so forth, they know that. So for a negotiating committee to go in to a group of shipowners without the power to strike would certainly not be intelligent negotiating at all, and the union would always give power to strike.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a couple of questions at that point? You have said that when Mr. Bridges first began to speak he said—I am quoting you—"we are comrades."

Mr. KENDALL. No, I said, "comrades"—period, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I stand corrected. Then how did you Communists who were there salute each other? Did you use the term "comrades" as between yourselves?

Mr. KENDALL. Normally anybody that would be speaking on the floor, if he spoke of some other comrade, you would say Comrade Jones or Comrade Smith. That is normal at any party meeting. However, as far as the particular meeting outside of the actual speaker or the chairman involved, I couldn't remember how they addressed each other. It was the normal procedure off the floor to call each other comrade.

Mr. JACKSON. That is not the usual procedure, I assume, in any other activity of the union or any open meeting of any sort?

Mr. KENDALL. You mean the term "comrade"?

Mr. JACKSON. The term "comrade."

Mr. KENDALL. That is one of the large questions always. The term "comrade" can be used in many ways.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it used in union meetings?

Mr. KENDALL. Not lately.

Mr. JACKSON. Was it a frequently used term at that time?

Mr. KENDALL. No, no; I don't think at any normal meeting that you would get up and call a man comrade.

Mr. JACKSON. In other words, you call people comrades in Communist Party meetings?

Mr. KENDALL. Period, yes, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. DOYLE. I have a further question. During these 2 days of meetings did any men who were not there the first day come into the meeting the second day? I mean did people go and come during the meetings? Was the number larger or smaller? Did they come in and out of the meeting room freely or what?

Mr. KENDALL. No, no; everybody was there the second day that was there the first day.

Mr. DOYLE. No new persons?

Mr. KENDALL. To the best of my knowledge I can't remember any new persons. Like I say, Mr. Bridges left early on the second day because of illness.

Mr. DOYLE. You mentioned the two guards were at the door when you went in. What is the fact with reference to whether or not the door was closed during the meeting?

Mr. KENDALL. Oh, yes, very definitely.

Mr. DOYLE. Was it locked, or do you know?

Mr. KENDALL. I wouldn't know. I never—

Mr. DOYLE. Were the guards that were there when you went in—did they come inside the room and guard the room inside so that no one came from outside, or did they stand outside?

Mr. KENDALL. No, they did not stand outside. They were actively part of the meeting. At the meeting they might have been appointed sergeant-at-arms or something like that to take care of the door, but that is all. I mean, they weren't definitely guards—I mean, they wouldn't be just to guard the door is what I am trying to put over. They were actually a part of the meeting, however, they had been asked previously to be security guards, I assume, or afterwards very likely in addition to the chairman we also nominated sergeant-at-arms or some sort of security guards.

Mr. DOYLE. Were you men in attendance introduced to one another by your regular legal names or by assumed names, or were you introduced to one another at all?

Mr. KENDALL. I can only speak for myself as to that. But at no time ever when I was a member of the Communist Party had I ever used an assumed name, never.

Mr. DOYLE. At this meeting where these men from Portland came that you said you did not know, were they introduced to you?

Mr. KENDALL. We were all introduced to each other.

Mr. DOYLE. When you were introduced, were they introduced by the term "comrade" as a prefix?

Mr. KENDALL. It was not the habit in the party meetings to call each other comrade on the floor of the meeting, no, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. All right, thank you.

Mr. TAVENNER. You had described the place of meeting. Will you fix the time?

Mr. KENDALL. In relation to days and so forth?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, the day and the month, if you can, and the year.

Mr. KENDALL. At a previous investigation that was held at which I was asked to help, we traced—

Mr. TAVENNER. I suggest that you not comment upon what somebody else did. If you can fix the time yourself of your own recollection, do it, and if you can't, say you can't.

Mr. KENDALL. It was in the month of August of 1946, and the meeting lasted 2 days, and it was on a Saturday and a Sunday.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't know who paid the rental for the hall, do you?

Mr. KENDALL. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. You wouldn't know whether that was paid by check or cash?

Mr. KENDALL. I was pretty low down the line; I didn't handle anything as far as the—

Mr. SCHERER. You wouldn't know under what name the hall was rented then?

Mr. KENDALL. No, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. You knew it was rented under some assumed name?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes, sir, that is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Of assumed organization?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. May I ask you whether or not at the time you were invited to this meeting you held any official position in your union?

Mr. KENDALL. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. So the only purpose under which you could have been invited to this meeting was because of your superior position in the Communist Party; isn't that correct?

Mr. KENDALL. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long was it after that before you got out of the Communist Party?

Mr. KENDALL. At that particular meeting it became clear to me that here were men being told to go back and prepare their unions for a strike, and that we had not tried every means of negotiation. And I began to wonder—I had wondered before because of the famous

Duclos letter, but this was one of the things that made me stop and wonder. I was getting a little older, too, at the time, and then also—

MR. VELDE. What did you wonder, whether or not the order to prepare for a strike was in some way or other handed down by the Communist Party or by the Soviet Union through the Communist Party—if you can tell the committee just how you felt about that particular order.

MR. KENDALL. For the first time, you see—going to sea I had not been ashore very much, until this time, and all of a sudden the true implication of the international conspiracy, as I saw it then, started to just blossom out. In other words, here we were preparing, instead of trying to work out something on a peaceful settlement with the shipowners—which of course I mean I had no love for it at that particular time anyway, but Chiang Kai-shek was fighting for his life over in China, and we were trying—in other words, all of a sudden it became clear to me that actually the wages and conditions which—the Communist Party had built themselves up to be supposed to be the working party or class—all of a sudden it seemed secondary, and there was international implications that came above working conditions for these various unions which they had control of.

That is one of the reasons—I mean, later on maybe if I have time I will go into the full reason, but on that particular issue is one of the things that I decided then and there that I was going to get a ship out, along with these resolutions that they had handed me, asking me to go before a group of intelligent men, which I assume they are intelligent—Masters, Mates and Pilots—praising the Soviet Union for some deed that they had accomplished. The war was over and everything else; I mean, all of a sudden I just began fitting together, and I was ashore for the first time since the Jacques Duclos letter, and it just didn't strike right to me.

MR. TAVENNER. As a result did you get out of the Communist Party?

MR. KENDALL. No, sir; not at that time. I told them that I wanted to go to sea again, and I got on a ship—the *Claymont Victory*, which was an Army transport going to Alaska for Operation Willoughby, and we were all ready to sail, and I was on this ship—I took a job I believe on there as second mate, navigating officer—we were all ready to sail when the SUP went out on a strike, the Sailors Union of the Pacific, A. F. of L. They were on a strike, and the ship held Army cargo, and we had Army troops aboard, and Mr. Harry Lundeborg, president of that union, had o. k.'d the clearance of that particular ship because it was Government cargo, so everybody got clearance but me, and the Sailors Union of the Pacific would not give me clearance because of the fact that Charlie May, the president of the Masters, Mates and Pilots, had a very strong suspicion that I was putting out this *Horizon*, this paper that was causing them no end of embarrassment.

So I went over to see Harry Lundeborg, and Harry told me, he says, well, he told me that he had heard that I was putting out this paper, and I swore up and down that I wasn't, of course, so then I went over to see Alex Treskin, and the executive board of the Masters, Mates and Pilots told me that if I came before them, they would like to ask me a few questions; they would give me clearance, and in turn Harry Lundeborg would give me clearance, and in turn I would be

permitted to pass through the picket line to sign on the ship. So I appeared before this portion of the executive board, and Alex Treskin told me to go over there and tell them anything I wanted to, that it didn't make much difference—in other words, lie to them, tell them that I didn't have anything to do with it, because after all, the ultimate goal, I believe, as the terminology always used, the ultimate goal is what we are after, not individual trust at some particular time. I mean, that was always the party line.

Mr. JACKSON. Phrased a little differently, any means to the end.

Mr. KENDALL. Correct, sir. So I appeared before this committee, and this is the statement which I signed. It is brief, and I would like to submit it in the record, if I may.

Mr. DOYLE. When is it dated?

Mr. KENDALL. September 4, 1946.

Mr. TAVENNER. I ask it be introduced in evidence and marked "Kendall Exhibit No. 1."

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

(National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, executive committee minutes, September 4, 1946, San Francisco, Calif., West Coast Local 90, containing a statement signed by James Kendall, dated September 4, 1946, was received in evidence as Kendall Exhibit No. 1.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I suggest you read it.

Mr. VELDE. The statement is short; will you read it, Mr. Witness?

Mr. KENDALL. All right.

Executive committee minutes, September 4, 1946, 11:30 a. m., San Francisco, Calif., International Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots, West Coast Local 90.

Present: Capt. C. F. May, Capt. H. Michelson, Capt. K. Hjorth, Capt. A. W. Lawberg, Capt. J. J. Sawaska, Mr. M. A. Viera

Meeting called to order 11:30 a. m. to hear the case of James S. Kendall, No. 4089.

James S. Kendall No. 4089 stated he is not in any way connected with the *Horizon*. And an information that he was the editor of the *Horizon* is erroneous. He came before the executive committee of his own free will to obtain a clearance from the organization and the SUP for the steamship *Claymont Victory*, which is a troopship and not affected by the strike of the SUP

and I signed my name.

Motion made by Captain Lawberg, seconded by Captain Michelson, that the above statement made by James S. Kendall, No. 4089, is accepted as a true statement, and this statement be retained on file, and the above-named man to be given clearance. Motion carried unanimously and so recommended. Meeting adjourned at 12 noon.

I submitted this to Mr. Lundeborg, and he wrote on here "Okay for clearance through SUP picket line, Harry Lundeborg, secretary treasurer." So I sailed away on the steamship *Claymont Victory* and went to Alaska, and when I came back the SUP strike had been settled, and in the meantime the committee for maritime unity, the longshoremen were a part of, had gone out on strike, and I came back to the port of Seattle, so I thought I would try again, so there was no group up there within the Masters, Mates and Pilots. However, Jack Smith, who was the agent of the National Maritime Union and a Communist Party member, was there, and so I attended several

KENDALL EXHIBIT NO. 1

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION of MASTERS, MATES & PILOTS of AMERICA

— AFFILIATED WITH A P. of L. —

WEST COAST LOCAL No. 90

Headquarters
SAN FRANCISCO, 11
C. F. MAY, PRESIDENT

SEATTLE 1, WASHINGTON
ROOM 311 MUTUAL LIFE BLDG
605 1ST AVENUE
TELEPHONE ELIOTT 8386
TELETYPE BE 494

PORTLAND 4, OREGON
303 HENRY BLDG
4TH AND OAK STREETS
TELEPHONE ATTY 8381
TELETYPE PD 287

SAN FRANCISCO 11, CALIF.
209 CALIFORNIA STREET
TELEPHONE SARKIS 8177
TELETYPE BF 187

SAN PEDRO, CALIF.
617 S. PALOS VERDES ST
TELEPHONE TERNAL 5-2778
TELETYPE SPD 7349



EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MINUTES
SEPTEMBER 4, 1946, 11:30 A.M.
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA OF
THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF
MASTERS, MATES & PILOTS OF
AMERICA, WEST COAST LOCAL #90

*o.k. for clearance
through S.U.P. - Patrick
Navy Department
see memo*

PRESENT:

- Capt. C. F. May
- Capt. H. Michelsen
- Capt. K. Hjorth
- Capt. A. W. Lawberg
- Capt. J. J. Sawaska
- Mr. M. A. Viera

Meeting called to order at 11:30 a.m. to hear the case of James S. Kendall #4089.

James S. Kendall #4089, stated that he is not in any way connected with the Horizon, and any information that he was the editor of the Horizon is erroneous. He came up before the Executive Committee of his own free will to obtain a clearance from this Organization and the S.U.P. on the SS CLAYMONT VICTORY, which is a troop ship and not affected by the strike action of the S.U.P.

James S. Kendall
James S. Kendall #4089

Motion made by Capt. Lawberg, seconded by Capt. Michelsen, that the above statement made by James S. Kendall #4089, is accepted as a true statement, and this statement to be retained on file and above-named man to be given clearance. Motion carried unanimously and so recommended.

Meeting adjourned at 12 noon.

C. F. May

Capt. C. F. May

K. Hjorth

Capt. K. Hjorth

J. J. Sawaska

Capt. J. J. Sawaska

H. Michelsen

Capt. H. Michelsen

A. W. Lawberg

Capt. A. W. Lawberg

M. A. Viera

Mr. M. A. Viera

BUY VICTORY BONDS

meetings with him at the local waterfront section of the Communist Party in the port of Seattle, Wash.

I never took any active part in the Masters, Mates and Pilots organization as a Communist in the port of Seattle. However, I did come back to the Communist Party fraction meetings and tell them of each—I used to come back to the fraction meetings of the section meetings that we had within the party up there of the various members of the waterfront section and tell them what the stand of the Masters, Mates and Pilots was.

But it was nothing contrary to anything; I mean they could find out by papers the same things I told them, only they got it a little

faster, that is all. At this particular time, because of the elements that I met in the port of Seattle that belonged to the party, I made up my mind clearly and definitely it was time for me to get out, because I realized that this was not for me, that for the first time since I joined the party I had been ashore for a period of time and worked with these people, and I realized that I had made a terrible mistake. This was in the year 1946, and in 1946 in the month of December I signed on a vessel as second mate known as the *Cape Diamond*. The strike was over in December, I believe, if I remember right, and in January of 1947 I actually signed on the *Cape Diamond*, and I went to the east coast where I remained on the *Cape Diamond* for a couple of trips, and then I went to several other ships for various companies.

I did not contact at any time on the east coast, after leaving the west—at no time did I attend a party meeting or any regular party group on the east coast, but I began reading the papers and began realizing the full significance of the party, its international tie up, its international complications. I look back and realize how they have been able to dupe me for quite a long time. For awhile I thought, "Well, I will just let it go," and then something I read in the paper one day—I will be very frank, I can't remember what it was; it was something on the international scale that they had done, Communists in the Soviet Union, that I realized that I had only one choice, and so I notified the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and in the meantime, the very same day, for a fact, I sent a letter to the Communist Party, the New York official office, in which I told them after a period of time I realized there was basic ideological differences that the party had and that I as an American could not stand, and so I was officially severing all relationship with them.

The FBI got there after I had mailed it unfortunately, because they were rather disturbed that I had sent the letter off. They had hoped that I hadn't sent it off. They tried to stop it, but they didn't get to it in time.

Since that time I have worked wherever I could in my way to help any organization of the Government expose, try to help people that have belonged to the party, and there is one thing for sure: If enough people will come forward and not be afraid and bring up the fifth amendment to provide the missing links, I am sure that we are going to be able to tie this into the international organization as it is.

I traveled all over this world as an officer in the merchant marine, and there is no doubt in my mind that the Communists directly take their orders from Moscow, and there hasn't been a major strike on this coast, unfortunately, that did not have international complications, and even though that the unions that are dominated by the Communist Party members in most cases have better working conditions than the unions that are not dominated by the Communists Party, the ultimate goal is world domination by the Communist Party, and if they ever attain that goal, the immediate gains that are gained by that union dominated by Communist Party members will be lost forever, and if we can get the word to enough young people, especially the young college group which I think right now is the most susceptible group, and actually expose these people for what they are—that it is an intermediate conspiracy with world domination as their ultimate

and only goal—that the working man is not their friend; he is a means to the end—the helping and the understanding of the minority problems in this country is a means to the end for them only.

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

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. No, I have no questions.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no questions.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I think any question I might ask would seem so insignificant compared with the magnificent contribution this gentleman has made that I will not ask any questions.

Mr. VELDE. I certainly join with my colleague from California, and I am sure it is in the hearts and minds of my other two colleagues here, in expressing the deep gratitude of this committee for the fine information which you have given to it, declared in such a concise manner. I am sure that my colleagues will agree that we think you have redeemed yourself from any past mistake which you might have made and are now a very fine American citizen.

We thank you, and with that you are discharged.

So that you might be under the jurisdiction of the Congress of the United States, you will be retained under subpoena until further notice.

At this time you are dismissed.

At this time the Chair desires to yield to the gentleman from California, Mr. Doyle, so that he might make some observations relative to these hearings.

Mr. DOYLE. I will be very brief, Mr. Chairman, because of the lateness of the hour. I made a memorandum here a minute ago as Mr. Kendall was testifying, just 5 or 6 things I wanted to suggest, and I make these suggestions with all the vigor there is in me.

First, I want to urge every person who is now a member of the Communist Party who claims to be a patriotic American citizen to withdraw from that party forthwith and begin actively to oppose the Communist Party program.

Second, I want to urge that every such person and that every person in the United States cooperate actively with all United States Government agencies to help to discover and dissolve any or all subversive organizations or programs.

Next, I urge that every patriotic American citizen be alert in all or any groups in which they are members at any level of American experience in which they live and earn their living, in industries, in education and labor, or any other group; and lastly, I want to urge all patriotic American adults and all parents of American children and American youth to consistently teach and to consistently exemplify before American youth the value of the American way of life.

Mr. VELDE. Thank you, Mr. Doyle. And now the Chair yields to the other gentleman from California, Mr. Jackson, for a statement of his summation of the proceedings here in San Francisco, Calif.

I want to say that Mr. Scherer and I have both read the summation which Mr. Jackson is about to read and clearly concur heartily in the statement which he is about to make.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Doyle has also had an opportunity to read this. Upon conclusion of the present hearings in the San Francisco Bay area the committee wishes to place in the record a few observations relating to the disclosures made during the week by witnesses, cooperative and otherwise, who have appeared here under oath to give their testimony or to refuse their cooperation.

The committee is, first of all, indebted to all of the security agencies in the area for their splendid cooperation; the police departments of San Francisco, Berkeley, and Oakland, the Alameda County sheriff's office, the United States marshal and his deputies, the agents and employees of the Federal security agencies, the employees of the city of San Francisco, all of whom have lent every possible measure of cooperation and assistance to the committee and to its staff. For this aid and for the helpful spirit displayed the Congress of the United States tenders its appreciation through the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Thanks to the splendid coverage of the hearings by the bay area press and radio, full coverage of the hearings and of the testimony of witnesses has been made available to all listeners and readers. Each reporter has been able freely to record his individual story without interference, threat, intimidation, or coercion of any form or type. This essential function of a free press in a free land is one of the monuments of a nation's greatness, and the preservation of that freedom is one of the greatest charges laid upon a free people.

The committee appreciates the full coverage given the hearings in this area by the press and radio.

The use of this beautiful room in which the committee has held its sessions has facilitated the conduct of those hearings and has made it possible for a considerable number of citizens to view the proceedings. The Congress and the committee are appreciative of the courtesy extended by the San Francisco County Board of Supervisors in this regard.

The nature of the testimony adduced during the week of hearings can lead the committee to one inescapable conclusion, and that is, the existence of a widespread Communist infiltration into almost every activity in the bay area. The actual extent of that infiltration cannot accurately be determined by the facts presently in the record of the proceedings, but on the basis of similar hearings previously conducted by the committee in other great cities of the Nation it can be stated on considerable authority that the total membership of the Communist Party in this area probably numbered several thousands of persons.

However—and the committee wishes to stress this point—the actual numerical strength of the Communist conspiracy is not the yardstick by which its power to inflict irreparable damage on our institutions and our defenses can or should be measured. A handful of determined Communists in a local labor union can and will destroy democracy in that union if unretarded by the vigilance of the majority of union members.

One Communist faculty member in a school can and will poison the minds and wither the souls of young students if his activities both on and off the campus are not made the subject of constant scrutiny.

The myth that the Communist conspiracy constitutes nothing more than the activities of individuals gathered together for the pursuit of legal political activities has long since been exploded. Those who meet in secret under assumed names for the purpose of fomenting disorder, turmoil, and revolution deserve the name "conspirators."

Arrogance, contempt for and vilification of constituted authority are the unmistakable hallmarks of the conspiracy and of its agents. Under the guise of protecting human rights this conspiracy in fact seeks to destroy them. Against this organized effort to destroy constitutional government by unconstitutional means must be arrayed all of the forces and weapons available to a free people.

This committee is established by the Congress of the United States and has been cloaked by that body with wide power under Public Law 601. It is one of the weapons in the hands of the American people. Who dulls the edge of that weapon brings joy to the hearts of those whose dedicated task it is to destroy the Constitution of the United States and place human freedom behind barbed wire.

The fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States is a sacred privilege, oft abused as it has been during the course of these and other hearings. In answer to the many citizens of the bay area who have written to the committee relative to the use of the amendment by uncooperative witnesses, the committee can only state again that there is presently no legislative device to meet that misuse; the need for clarifying legislation is clearly apparent. Communist directives lay a charge upon Communists and Communist sympathizers to carry the class struggle into courts and hearing rooms, to remain always on the offensive, and to use whatever devices are necessary to prevent disclosures which might be harmful to the Communist conspiracy.

The evidences of this technique were abundantly made clear during the Medina trial and in subsequent court action stemming from violations of the Smith Act and other antisubversion legislation. Turmoil in courts and hearings replaces decorum in the Communist scheme, and dignity becomes an early casualty to the premeditated tactics of the Communist conspiracy.

Those familiar with the techniques of the Communist Party have had a firsthand opportunity to witness communism in action here in this room for the past 5 days. Committee members and the staff have been maligned and vilified in this very room and in paid advertisements inserted in the press. The motives and the purposes of the investigation have been misrepresented and sorely distorted. Charges involving the integrity of the Congress of the United States and the elected representatives of the American people have been hurled indiscriminately and venomously by witnesses using every tactic and evasion to cover their alleged activities within the Communist conspiracy.

The committee is confident that these efforts to undermine public confidence in the committee and its work will be as unavailing in the bay area as they have proven to be in other cities throughout this country.

To those witnesses who have given the American people the story of their own experiences in the Communist conspiracy the committee extends its thanks. Those who have lived through the lie of communism

and have come forward to do an American duty as they see that duty should have not only the thanks of the Nation, but the sympathetic understanding of business associates, employers, and former friends and associates outside of the Communist Party. Scorned and vilified as they are by former associates within the party, these witnesses should find understanding among the vast body of loyal American citizens. They should receive every assistance toward economic, social, and political rehabilitation consistent with the quality of trustworthiness which marked their testimony.

It should be remembered that without the testimony of the hundreds of former Communists who have severed their ties with the conspiracy and who have testified fully as to the extent and nature of the activities of the party there would not today be an ever expanding volume of knowledge and information in the hands of the American Congress and available to the American people.

Eternal vigilance is indeed the price of liberty. Vigilante action is neither needed nor desirable. The work of tracking down subversion of every type and of insuring the passage of Federal remedial legislation designed to meet the threat against human freedom is a charge which must rest upon duly constituted authority at all levels of Government.

Intelligent and loyal citizens armed with facts of subversion and disloyalty can render a signal service to the American people by contacting the Federal Bureau of Investigation or other agencies the duties of which include investigation and proper evaluation of information.

The question has been asked as to what purpose is served by the disclosure of the names of individuals who may long ago have left the conspiracy and since devoted themselves to home and work in the manner of loyal American citizens. This is a reasonable question and one deserving of a reasonable answer. The testimony of a cooperative witness is not tampered with in any way by this committee or by its staff. That testimony must stand the cruel test imposed by the subsequent appearance before the committee of those who are named. It would be an act of intellectual dishonesty for this committee to add or detract one name from the list of those whom the witness is prepared to identify under oath as having been within his own knowledge a member of the conspiracy during the period of the witness' own membership. The identity of an individual having been made in public or executive session, the committee has no alternative but to place that individual in the witness chair at the earliest possible moment.

The decision on the part of a witness as to the nature of his testimony, whether he will cooperate or not is not within the authority of the committee to rule upon. Every member of the Communist Party, past or present is or was a small section of a jigsaw puzzle, and each had his role to play. The fact of having left the conspiracy in no way eradicates or erases his knowledge of events that transpired during his membership nor of the role he played. The committee has no way of knowing the status of his membership at present until he is placed under oath and the information is sought to be elicited.

Upon the front of a great public building in Washington, D. C., there are graven on stone the words "The past is prologue." If this

is true, and if individuals insure the future by reference to the past then it is equally true that nations under unremitting attack must look to the past in the preparation of its future defenses. One missing piece of the vast and forbidding puzzle may well be in the possession of a former and disillusioned member of the conspiracy. The risk attendant on failure to make adequate and comprehensive inquiry at every available source is too great to justify the theory that former Communists should be immune to interrogation. The bank robber, the embezzler, or the murderer who leaves the pursuit of crime to take up a quiet existence in a rural community enjoys no immunity for his past activity and the stake of society involved in the transgressions of those who steal physical properties or money is, while important, as nothing when compared to the activities of those who would enslave the world.

In conclusion, the committee wishes to extend its thanks to the hundreds of citizens of the bay area who have communicated to the committee their expressions of support and of encouragement. The work of the committee is made easier by the knowledge that the vast majority of loyal Americans stand behind their Congress and behind their elected officials in the vital work so necessary to the defense of the American Republic. So long as that support and encouragement are evidenced by those who freely elect their representatives to the legislative halls of this Nation it is inconceivable that there should ever come into being the Union of Soviet United States. [Applause.]

Mr. VELDE. I thank you for that very fine statement, Mr. Jackson, and before adjourning I would like to mention that I forgot to mention the fact that the gentleman from California, Mr. Doyle, also read the statement that Mr. Jackson just read before he gave it and concurs heartily therein. Is that true, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. I do, very heartily.

Mr. VELDE. Now the committee will stand in adjournment until further call of the chair.

(Whereupon, at 5:05 p. m., the hearing was recessed subject to call.)

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